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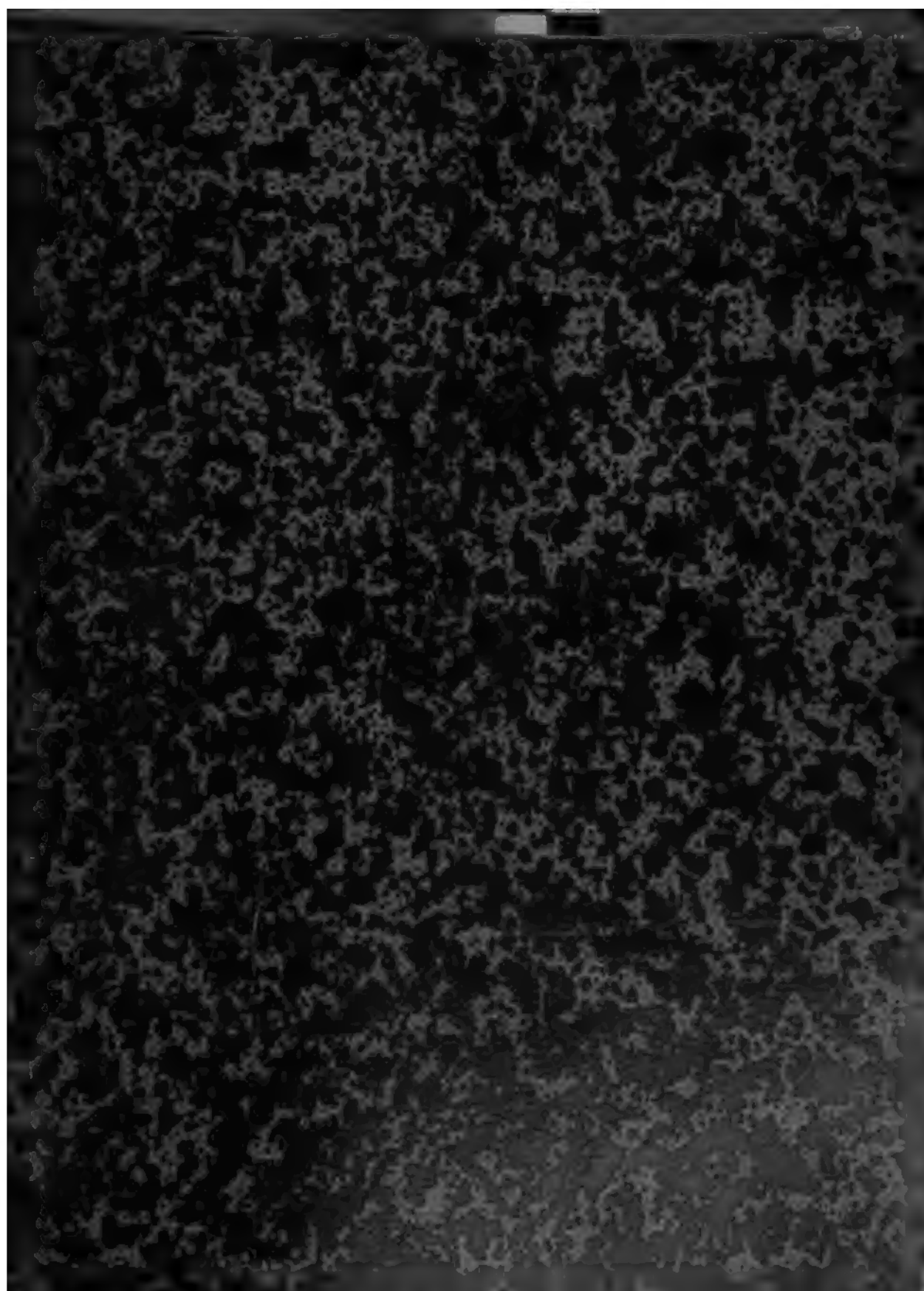
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WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

VOL. XXI.

JANUARY—JUNE, 1889

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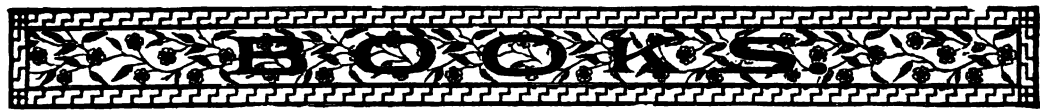
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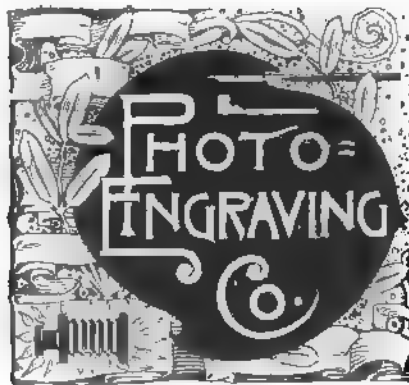
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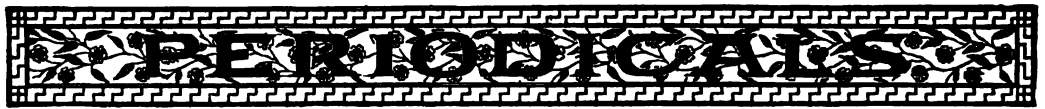
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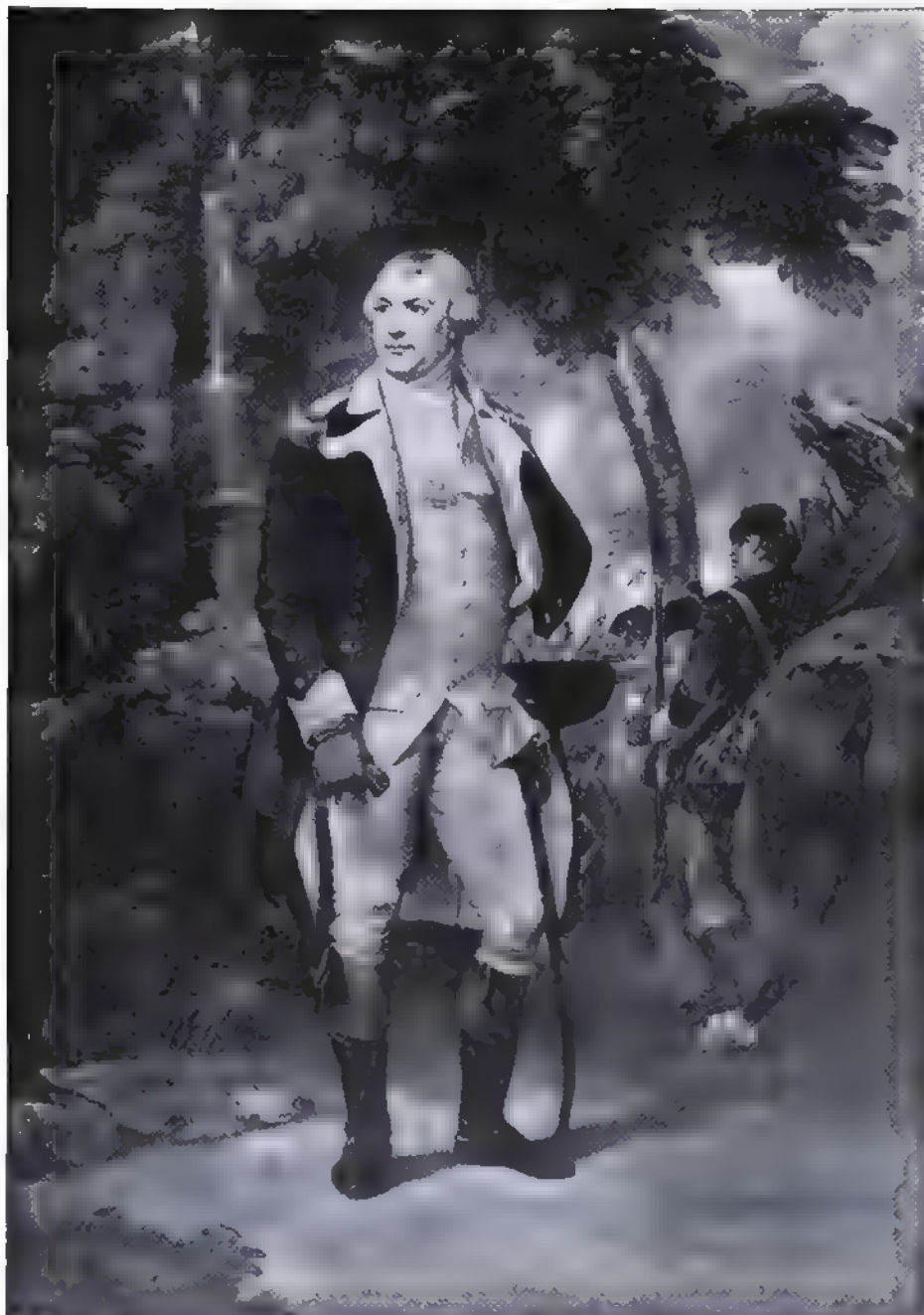
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No. 1

HISTORIC HOMES AND LANDMARKS

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE AND PRESENT CONDITION

CHAPTER I

THE tide of modern improvements now sweeping like a cyclone over the "west end" portion of Manhattan island, will soon have destroyed all traces of its precious landmarks. Every foot of the entire region bordering on the Hudson, from the southernmost boundary of Riverside park to Spuyten Duyvil, is historic ground. Like many other of New York's interesting possessions, it has been very little talked about, and many of its characteristics, legends, and stories are unknown. The beautiful river it overlooks is a perpetual reminder that it has had a romantic past. Yet the most vivid imagination can never create pictures that will not seem feeble in comparison with the simple truth. What would the venturesome sailors have thought, who steered the first European craft over these placid waters nearly three hundred years ago, could they have foreseen the broad streets and avenues rushing up and down, and the turrets and towers, the stone palaces, and the long blocks of elegant and costly dwellings springing up as it were in a night!

Until a comparatively recent date this fruitful territory was only a rich farming district—a place for old fashioned country-seats, deer parks, cultivated gardens, orchards, rocky steeps, patches of forest, dusty roads, and all kinds of un-ornamental fences. The crowded metropolis ignored it, or considered it too far off, but overflowed into more accessible New Jersey, Brooklyn, and beyond, found a convenient outlet on the east side, ran up and captured the Harlem flats, jumped the Harlem river, and laid its plans indefinitely on the maps of the main land to the north. All the rest of the world passed it by also, and went west. Great and prosperous towns and cities were founded from one end of the continent to the other—even to the shores of the Pacific; and the two oceans were actually brought into proximity by lines of railway, before the business mind of the metropolis caught the idea that the corporation had within its own precincts the most magnificent site in the world for the building of homes and palaces, as yet unappropriated. Since then the swiftness of the changes has been magical.

The heights beyond Manhattanville were from the beginning less accessible than those of Bloomingdale below, but they were if possible more alluring. The soil was rich and the situation delightful. Colonel Roger Morris, a British officer and a bachelor of forty, fixed his eye upon it in his frequent horseback rides from the city to Yonkers, while he was courting the beautiful Mary Philipse, of Philipse manor, and immediately after his betrothal he purchased several hundred acres and erected upon it what is now so widely known as the "Jumel Mansion," at 161st street. It was in 1757 that this imposing dwelling-house was rising, taking shape, and spreading its wings. Colonel Morris selected for its site one of the highest and most picturesque elevations in all this region, commanding a view of the Harlem waters from Kingsbridge to the East river and Long Island Sound, of the Westchester fields and Long Island landscape, thence to Brooklyn, and Staten Island in the distance. The main part of the building was nearly square, two stories high, with a spacious attic. It was constructed with an extension of octagonal form, containing a large and stately parlor, with bed-chambers over it. The grandeur of the great central hall, or passage way to the parlor, twenty feet wide, with two handsome rooms on each side, reflected the refined tastes and social inclinations of its projector. He expected to entertain an army of guests. The walls of the mansion were of imported Holland brick, sheathed with plank, and the front presented a high porch with four Doric columns, and a gallery at the second story. The roof, like that of the Philipse manor-house, was crowned with a balustrade, and under the entire edifice was a cellar dug out of solid rock. The interior was elaborately finished, and its mantels, carvings chiefly, imported from England. The house was surrounded with highly cultivated ornamental grounds, and the quarters for a retinue of negro servants were comfortably arranged near by.

Colonel Morris brought his bride to this charming home in the summer of 1758. He had also provided a substantial city residence, to which they returned every winter. The aristocratic splendor of their style of living was in perfect accord with the home life in which Mary Philipse had been reared. Her father was Frederick Philipse, the second lord of Philipse manor, a man who was never hampered with any of the cares which attend the accumulation of property. Born rich, he was educated, and spent much of his early life in England, and when he came into possession, by inheritance, of the manor property, he presided over his tenants and serfs like a right royal old feudal sovereign. At his death, in 1751, his son Frederick—the brother of Mary Philipse—succeeded him, and lived in even greater magnificence than his sire. The manor-house was furnished and



THE ROGER MORRIS MANSION, NOW CALLED THE "OLD JUMEL MANSION."

From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.

furnished anew, and on every side was costly and pretentious display. His wife was an imperious woman of fashion, and it is said that she often appeared upon the roads of Westchester skillfully driving four spirited jet-black horses, holding the reins in her own hands. Mary Philipse, in becoming Mrs. Roger Morris, found little change in the luxury of her domestic concerns. The bewitching flavor of romance associated with her name, in connection with Washington, whom she is supposed to have captivated in 1756, has made her an interesting historic character for all time. Yet there is no authentic basis for believing that Washington, in so brief an acquaintance, gave verbal expression to his admiration or spoke to the lady one word of love. She was two years older than Washington, and thirteen years younger than her favored suitor. Colonel Morris was a handsome and magnetic man of the world, who, born and bred in England,

had joined the army and been sent to this country as the aide-de-camp of Braddock ; he was with the latter on his unlucky expedition, and there he made the acquaintance of Washington. Later on, he was in service in the French war under Loudon, was in Wolfe's expedition against Quebec, was at the battle of Sillery in 1760, and commanded the third battalion in the expedition against Montreal under General Murray. In 1664 he was appointed by the crown one of the counselors to the governor of New York, which office he continued to hold until the Revolution.

The Philipse property had been largely increased by the valuable estate of Adolphe Philipse, the great-uncle of the bride of Colonel Morris—whose inheritance was a rich tract of land about and including Lake Mahopac. She was in the habit of visiting her numerous tenants there semi-yearly, up to the outbreak of hostilities, and was greatly beloved by them. She not infrequently made the journey of fifty miles on horseback, and at first occupied the little log-house that had belonged to Adolphe Philipse. Later on she caused to be erected a larger and better structure of logs, in which she passed several weeks every season. This log-house is still in existence, a frame-house having been stretched around it, completely hiding it from public view. It is near the famous "Red Mill" built by the tenants of Adolphe Philipse in 1745, to grind the grain of that "remote country." The loft of the mill was used as a church, and Mrs. Morris always attended divine service in it when in the neighborhood. Both the mill and the log-house were associated with many tragic events during the Revolution.

Mrs. Morris presided with queenly dignity over her household on Harlem Heights for nearly a quarter of a century. Her home was what we in our day are prone to call a social centre. The fashion, the rank, the beauty, the scholarship, and the courtliness of the capital were often assembled under its roof, and both the host and the hostess were cordial, hospitable, graceful and sincere. Noblemen from England who had occasion to visit or pass through New York were usually their guests. Sir Jeffrey Amherst spent some time with them one summer ; Major-General Monckton, Sir Henry Moore, the Earl of Dunmore, and Sir William Tryon came and went with something akin to regularity during their varied careers in New York ; to say nothing of the numerous citizen celebrities for which the metropolis of that stirring decade was famous. Dr. Franklin was a dinner guest on several occasions. At the time Colonel Morris erected his house lightning-rods were slowly making their way into use, and the great philosopher was indulging in all manner of experiments with the electric current. He brought it into his library, tried it on mag-

nets, tried it on the sick, tried it on the well, tried it on animals, and he had electrical correspondents everywhere. But lightning-rods were a terror to the community nevertheless, and Morris, while laughing at fear, was not persuaded into using one. Science in those days encountered serious obstacles, as, for instance, an earthquake had recently occurred, and a good New England divine preached a stirring sermon on the theme, in which he tried to convince his congregation that the lightning-rods, by accumulating the electricity of the earth, had produced the earthquake.

Colonel Morris and his wife were not long without agreeable neighbors in their picturesque solitude. General John Maunsell, B.A., a British officer of note, was married in 1763 to Elizabeth Stillwell, the young and beautiful widow of Captain Peter Wraxall, and purchased a fine tract of land adjoining the Morris estate, and built a substantial frame-house, which is still standing, in good repair, on the corner of 157th street and St. Nicholas avenue. Lydia Stillwell, a sister of Mrs. Maunsell, was the wife of John Watkins, who not far from the same time purchased a very extensive landed property near by, of the Dyckmans, which, bounded on the west by the Hudson river, stretched across the entire heights, including the site of the present Trinity Church Cemetery. The house stood at what is now the corner of 152d street and St. Nicholas avenue, nearly a mile south of the Morris house. It was built of stone and was very commodious, although its finished apartments were nearly all upon the ground floor. Architecturally it was of precisely the same pattern as that of the Bussing homestead, built on the plain below, at Eighth avenue and 147th street, and was probably the work of the same architect—and doubtless built the same year. These pre-revolutionary country homes possess a peculiar fascination for the lover of history, from having sheltered the warriors on both sides in the great conflict which ended so gloriously for America. The Watkins house has passed away, but the home of the influential Bussing family remains, and is a fine example of the practical application of certain principles of foreign domestic architecture to the requirements of a young and progressive people. The picture represents it as it appears to-day.

In the Kingsbridge road, in front of or near the Watkins house, stood the quaint Ninth Mile Stone, showing that this point was nine miles from the New York of that period. This relic has been preserved and can be seen by the curious just outside the police station at 152d street and Tenth avenue. The Tenth Mile Stone is also treasured as an heirloom, and is built into the front porch of the modern residence of Mr. James Monteith, at 154th street and St. Nicholas avenue.

The Stillwell sisters—daughters of Richard Stillwell, of New Jersey,

of which there were six, inclusive of Mrs. Maunsell and Mrs. Watkins—were noted far and wide for their beauty and their accomplishments. One of them married Lord Afflick, and lived and died in a castle built by William the Conqueror; another married Mr. Clement Clark, who resided at Chelsea, as it was then called, near the foot of 23d street and the Hudson, and her daughter became the wife of the celebrated Bishop Moore; another was Mrs. de Visne, the mother of the wife of Aaron Burr, and grandmother of the beautiful Theodosia; and still another, Mrs. Smith, was the mother of the wife of Dr. Samuel Bradhurst. This gentleman built the old Bradhurst mansion, a short distance to the south of the Watkins house, a notable landmark of the olden time, now standing in 148th street between Tenth and St. Nicholas avenues. The land about it and its site was a slice of the Watkins estate, as was also the site of "the Grange," a little further south, the old historic home of Alexander Hamilton.

But neither the Bradhurst mansion or "The Grange" were colonial houses, although they now have unquestionably reached a very respectable age. They were built about the same time, at the beginning of the present century. Hamilton planned and projected his country home in 1800. General Philip Schuyler, the father of Mrs. Hamilton, presented him with the timber for the frame-work. The workmanship of the house is solid and substantial, befitting the character of its illustrious occupant; and its rooms are spacious and numerous. Hamilton named it "The Grange" from the ancestral seat of his grandfather in Ayrshire, Scotland. It was completed and first occupied in 1802, and Hamilton took great pride in it. He generally drove to and from the city in a two-wheeled carriage with a single horse. The old edifice is now, at this writing, itself on wheels, having started on a journey toward a new site, for the specific accommodation of a New York street.

While Hamilton was building "The Grange," and the Bradhurst mansion was opening its doors for a "house warming," another dwelling that has survived the storms and basked in the sunshine of almost ninety years was being erected. John B. Lawrence, of the well known New York family of that name, bought the magnificent site from an Italian nobleman, who had some time before secured it for the express purpose of building for himself a palatial residence. Circumstances prevented his coming to this country, and Mr. Lawrence profited thereby; for nothing could have been more charmingly desirable than this elevation above and overlooking Manhattanville. To his home lot Mr. Lawrence added many acres in the vicinity, making a most valuable landed property. One of the streets in the vicinity now bears his name. When his house



THE BUSSING HOMESTEAD.

From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes

was finished it became his summer home for a long series of years—even to the end of his life. He had a commodious city residence in Chambers street, and the removal of his household and servants and effects from one house to the other every spring and autumn, was a proceeding of no little importance. Each of the three historic homes—of Bradhurst, Hamilton, and Lawrence—were located in conformance with the line of the Bloomingdale extended road built after the Revolution. The hill was exceedingly rough and steep near the Lawrence house, as may readily be inferred from the elevated situation of the old dwelling at the present time, as compared with the gentle descent of the well-graded boulevard. After the death of John B. Lawrence, the homestead was purchased by Cornelius W. Lawrence, who lived in it six or more years. He was the mayor of the city at the time of the great fire in 1835, was also president of the democratic electoral college in 1836, collector of the port of New York

under President Polk, and president of the bank of the state of New York for some twenty years. It was just to the east of this house, on what became afterward a part of its grounds, that Washington's advanced guard—two brigades—under the command of General Nathanael Greene, encamped on the night of the 15th of September, 1776, and were vigorously attacked on the 16th by a detachment of British troops numbering according to General George Clinton "about a thousand." They clambered up the heights as best they could, dragging their guns with them, but were met with determined resistance. Thomas W. Lawrence, a son of John B. Lawrence, says that several cannon balls were found at this point on the Lawrence estate, during his early life at the family homestead.

But the most notable battle-field of that memorable September day was beyond. The implements of war—cannon balls, pieces of shells, broken swords, parts of bayonets, and other interesting trophies—have been exhumed in such profusion from the site of Trinity Church Cemetery, and in the excavations for building, and the extension of streets in that immediate vicinity, that there would seem no reasonable excuse for doubts as to the place where the severest fighting occurred on the occasion of the much misunderstood battle of Harlem Heights. Wherever our first settlers in surveying the land found the *debris* of fish and oyster shells in abundance, they quickly decided that an Indian village once existed there. If in a similar manner they had discovered a crop of bullets and cannon balls, they would naturally have marked the spot as the scene of civilized combat. In Trinity cemetery alone enough relics of this character have been found to form a creditable collection, which Mr. Muller, the keeper of the grounds, has in his possession, and treasures with scrupulous care. The clasp of a sword-belt ornamented with the English crown and the letters "G. R." underneath, together with "XXXVIII Regt" in gilt lettering, a shield, a molding cup for bullets, a pair of huge army scissors, a saw, a drinking-cup, sockets of signal flags, the end of a sword, badges, British buttons, bayonets, broken shells, and prominently and chiefly cannon balls—which are not commonly rolled about for sport like marbles—are vouchers in themselves of some unusual proceeding. These cannon balls are of different dimensions—one is a twenty pounder—showing that the several field-pieces on the ground of which Silliman speaks in a letter to his wife, were of varied calibre. A six-pounder was recently in the hands of the writer, which Mr. Monteith has in his possession, and which was found by some workmen in 154th street, close by his house. Hon. Seth C. Hawley states, that in the summer of 1879 some laborers laying gas mains, found a cannon ball and the skeleton of a horse at the



THE LAWRENCE MANSION, OVERLOOKING MANHATTANVILLE.

north-east corner of 155 street and the boulevard, and they were in such juxtaposition as to favor the idea that the cannon ball killed the horse. Colonel Jacob M. Long, superintendent of the Harlem Gas Company, corroborates this, and adds that there was also found a bridle-bit and part of an iron stirrup. At another time his men discovered a cannon ball in digging a trench for gas pipes in 155th street, about one hundred feet west of 10th avenue. Near this spot, about two hundred feet west of 10th avenue, Rev. Dr. Charles A. Stoddard says a number of buckles, buttons, and bullets were thrown out while digging the foundation for his house.

These relics have been found more plentifully during the year 1888 than

heretofore, owing probably to the rapidity with which building and streets have progressed. On the chair, in the sketch, may be noticed a cannon ball and the fragment of a shell exhumed only a few weeks since near St. Nicholas Place and 153d street. These are in possession of Rev. Dr. Maunsell Van Rensselaer, who resides near by. Instances might be multiplied indefinitely—indeed there seems to have been cannon balls enough already garnered from this battle field with which to secure a very respectable victory should an enemy approach with hostile intent. And it is a noteworthy fact that specimens of actual warfare have been found nowhere else except at the places where it has been heretofore demonstrated, with tolerable exactitude, that the actual fighting on the 16th of September, 1776, took place. The chair of the picture is in itself a relic of interest, having been made from a tree that grew on the Watkins farm, where the battle raged, and the handsome scarlet broadcloth coat thrown across the chair, with its white silk linings, and gold trimmings and epauletts, belonged to General John Maunsell, B.A., and is also in possession of Dr. Van Rensselaer.

The families who had planted their homes on Harlem Heights prior to the Revolution, considered it the better part of valor to leave them before either army arrived on the scene. General Maunsell went to England, and on account of his American ties and family interests, was stationed at some inconsequential post there, until peace was established, and where his family joined him. Mr. Watkins removed his family to New Jersey. Colonel Morris and his wife retired into the country, but returned after the departure of Washington's forces, and resided in their beautiful home until the end of the war. These historic houses were occupied by American officers on their retreat from the city, September 15, 1776. Washington and his staff took possession of the Morris mansion.

It is no part of the purpose of this paper to narrate in detail the military events of that stirring period. A brief glimpse in passing must suffice. The battle of Long Island, as is well known, resulted in the retreat of the American army to New York, which was not a fortified city, and the enemy was already in her very doorway. There was nothing to prevent the British army from landing at any point, at any moment, or from cutting off all retreat from Manhattan Island. Like the cat with the mouse, delay, on the part of the trained warriors of King George, was chiefly the outcome of the assurance of power. The consternation of the New Yorkers may be imagined. As soon as it became generally understood that the city was to be evacuated by American soldiery, many of the inhabitants hurriedly prepared to go also. Probably nineteen-twentieths of the families

had already removed from the town, or had not returned from the summer retreats, but there were enough left to create great embarrassment. Saturday, September 14, was a black day for citizens and soldiers, who all worked together with marvelous energy. The most exasperating delays occurred through the scarcity of conveyances, for it was necessary that everything should be done at the same time. Wagons that were sent over the tedious land route to Kingsbridge seemed to carry very little in the way of military equipments and stores, however heavily laden, and the water-craft employed was wholly inadequate to such an emergency. Washington's headquarters were at the Apthorpe mansion, but he was constantly on the alert, and when a rumor reached him late in the afternoon of that day that 6,000 of the enemy were quartered on the islands near the mouth of the Harlem river, he sprang into his saddle and rode in hot haste to Harlem Heights to make observations. He had chosen this high ground, which from its conformation was a natural fortress, as the only avenue by which he could withdraw his forces from the city to a more convenient field for action; it extended from Manhattanville to Kingsbridge, rising from the Hudson and Harlem rivers in rough, rocky, forest-clad precipices, in the language of one of our eminent scholars, "nearly a hundred feet in height, which, for well nigh three-fourths of its circumference, were almost inaccessible. These natural buttresses support an irregular plain, the surface of which rises towards the centre to an eminence two hundred feet above the Hudson river, and to another on the side of the Harlem river of about equal height, between which lies the most level part of the entire region." Washington did not intend to remain there long, but it might be made his castle



HISTORIC CHAIR, AND RELICS.

[IN POSSESSION OF REV. DR. MAUNSELL VAN RENSSELAER.]

From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.

until ready to move further on. He must have been surprised that the British generals failed to see how easily they could have landed above him and hemmed him in. But they went to sleep quietly instead. For the Americans there was no repose. A situation more perilous could hardly be imagined. All night long the work went on, and just as the sun was rising on the 15th, three British men-of-war rounded the Battery, "fired smartly at the town," and anchored in the Hudson. Of course there was no further opportunity to remove army stores by water.

The morning was one of alarms. Five British war vessels an hour later sailed into the East river, anchored in Kip's Bay within fifty yards of the American breast-works, and commenced a brisk cannonading. The occupants of Kip's mansion took refuge in the cellar. Very soon eighty-four flat-bottomed boats, filled with British troops in bright scarlet uniforms, appeared upon the East river, making it look like a clover-bed. Their occupants in landing under the protection of their ships, sent the several detachments stationed along the shore to delay their approach, flying before them, and the scenes were enacted which have been so often and variously described. Our interest, however, centres about the half-formed column in the city, so suddenly and distressingly endangered. Ready or not ready it must march at once or never. In any case, it could not be a swift-moving body. It was two miles long and included about three thousand five-hundred persons, counting the women and children and the hangers on. There were but few wagons. The guns were dragged by hand, the soldiers were all on foot, as well as most of the people, and they started on their thirteen mile march without having had any sleep for two or more nights and days, and very little food. As the train, shaped by the heroic officers into something like an orderly procession, moved slowly along Broadway, passing what is now City Hall Park, Putnam met Washington on the road at about 42d street, and paused a moment for hasty consultation, then lashed his horse into a foam as he rode towards the city to hurry on the column, which by the time he reached it had worked its weary way as far as Bleeker street. Aaron Burr, Putnam's aide de camp, dashed toward the city in advance of the general, to convey orders to General Silliman, who had been left with his brigade to guard the city until the other troops could be withdrawn, and was now in imminent peril. He had followed the train to Bayard's Hill fort, just above Canal street, and with him was Knox with a detachment of artillery which included Alexander Hamilton and his company. They knew the enemy had landed at Kip's Bay and was hurrying down the old Bowery road, and supposed all avenues above them were closed, and

retreat impossible. Burr came upon the little garrison just as they were finishing their preparations to fight until the bitter end. He assured Silliman that he knew every inch of ground on Manhattan Island, and could pilot the party through farm-roads, lanes, and byways, and the brave commander yielded to his persuasive eloquence, moving with celerity. Overtaking the column, Silliman's party formed the rear-guard. Silliman, Putman, and many other officers, were constantly on the outlook for an attack, riding furiously from front to rear, and from rear to front, stimulating the weary travelers to increased speed by encouraging words and their own coolness and intrepidity. Burr was everywhere conspicuous. He was then a young man of only twenty, boyish-looking and fearless. He led the train west of 8th avenue from 15th street north, through pathways which had become familiar to him in his frequent visits to the home of the Clarks, at Chelsea, and keeping in the woods, often countermarching, or crooking through irregular lanes to avoid being discovered by the enemy's ships in the Hudson, they finally reached the old Bloomingdale highway in safety, and about sunset turned into a narrow lane not far from Grant's tomb, which brought them to the Kingsbridge road, and thence to Harlem Heights, where they encamped at a late hour. They had been given up for lost by their friends, wrote Colonel Humphrey. "That night," he says, "our soldiers extremely fatigued by the sultry march of the day, their clothes wet by a severe shower of rain towards the evening, their blood chilled by the cold wind that produced a sudden change in the temperature of the air, and their hearts sunk within them by the loss of baggage, artillery, and works in which they had been taught to place great confidence, lay upon their arms, covered only by the clouds of an uncomfortable sky. . . . The regiments that had been least exposed to fatigue that day furnished the necessary picquets to secure the army from surprise."

The British line was extended across the island from Horen's Hook on the East River at 90th street, to Bloomingdale Heights on the Hudson. Directly after Putnam and his train passed the junction of the Bloomingdale and Kingsbridge roads, Howe and his officers took possession of the Apthorpe House, which Washington had but just vacated. Dr. Thatcher says in his journal that "ten minutes would have been sufficient for the enemy to have secured the road at this turn, and entirely cut off General Putnam's retreat." Howe's army was thrown out in front for a mile and a half, the Highlanders and Hessians quartered at convenient distances apart, and General Leslie commanding the vanguard overlooking Manhattanville from the south. Lieutenant George Harris, of the Fifth

Regiment of Foot, wrote: "After landing in York Island we drove the Americans into their works beyond the 8th mile-stone from New York, and thus got possession of the best part of the island. We took post opposite to them, placed our picquets, borrowed a sheep, killed, cooked, and ate some of it, and then went to sleep on a gate, which we took the liberty of throwing off its hinges, covering our feet with an American tent, for which we should have cut holes and pitched it had it not been so dark." On the other hand, Captain Gradon writes from the American camp: "I was on guard at a place distinguished by the appellation of *The Point of Rocks*, which skirted the road leading to Kingsbridge. This was our most advanced picket towards New York, and only separated from that of the enemy by a valley of a few hundred yards over."

At the termination of this valley by the river's edge there was a marginal meadow called Matjte Davit's Fly, a well-known landmark, that for a century had been mentioned in charters, patents, deeds, and acts of the legislature, and laid down with the utmost precision by actual survey. A bird's-eye view of the valley, embracing this meadow, was made by J. H. Hill, and lithographed by Endicott, in 1834, one copy of which is still in existence in this city.

The headquarters of the commanders of the two hostile forces were three miles apart, Howe and his generals at the Apthorpe mansion, and Washington and his generals at the Morris mansion, and their respective armies being thrown out before them face to face, the British on Bloomingdale Heights, the Americans on Harlem Heights—their picquets, on each side of Manhattanville valley, watched each other. In full view of both lines of picquets Harlem Plains stretched away to the east, its fields covered with the fruits, grain, and other products of early autumn. The position of the armies at this date is an established fact, about which there has never been any difference of opinion, and it has important bearing upon the events that followed.

Washington naturally expected to be pursued and attacked, and, as can readily be seen, he was unprepared. Very little work had been done, as yet, in the way of fortifications—the only intrenchments of any account being near the Morris mansion. Before daylight, on the morning of the 16th, he sent Colonel Knowlton, with a picked company of one hundred and twenty men, *as a reconnoitring party*, to learn the whereabouts of, and, if practicable, take the enemy's advanced guard. From near headquarters this party descended the ravine, now Audubon Park, passing along the low shore of the river to Matjte Davit's Fly, and beyond into the woods that skirted the bank west of Vanderwater Heights, so called from the

Vanderwater property in that vicinity then climbing the bluff, not far it seems from where General Grant now sleeps, presently found themselves nearly parallel with the left flank of the vanguard of the British under General Leslie. The two parties discovered each other about the same moment, just as the sun was rising, and took the order of battle without hesitation. Knowlton allowed the British to come within six rods of him before giving the order to fire, and after eight rounds apiece, he detected a movement to outflank and surround him, and he ordered a retreat, "which," wrote one of Knowlton's captains, "we performed very well, without the loss of a man while retreating, though we lost about ten while in action. We retreated *two miles and a half*, and then made a stand and sent off for a reinforcement, which we soon received, and *drove the dogs near three miles.*"

It is very clear that



THE DEPRESSION OR RAVINE AT THE RIVER BANK.

From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.

Knowlton retraced his steps to Harlem Heights by the same route he took in going out—the low, wooded shore of the river—it being more convenient and accessible than any other. He was closely pursued by Leslie with his entire command. The British afterward claimed that this movement on the part of Knowlton was a decoy. One of the Hessian officers reported, “the Americans did this intentionally to entice the pursuers deeper into the wood, where a stronger division was already concealed for their support, computed at 3,000 men.” Sir Henry Clinton wrote the following marginal note in his copy of Stedman: “The ungovernable impetuosity of the light troops drew us into this *scrape*.”

It was, indeed, a *scrape*. It was between ten and eleven o'clock in the forenoon when Knowlton and his rangers reached and ascended the ravine at Audubon Park—about the length of time it would take pedestrians now to tramp a similar distance through swamp, underbrush and wooded tangle—and Knowlton himself hurried to headquarters, near by, for reinforcements. Almost simultaneously one hundred of Leslie's light infantry, following close in Knowlton's trail, appeared on the high plain south of the ravine, and blew their bugle-horns, as usual after a fox chase. They had left three hundred men concealed in the bushes at the river bank. Standing on the bridge over the boulevard which connects the two divisions of Trinity Cemetery, one may readily note the depression, which was the ravine, at 157th street, and the plain on the high ground to the south of it.

Washington quickly ordered Major Leitch, with a detachment of Virginia riflemen, to join Knowlton and his rangers, and with Colonel Reed as a guide “to steal” around to the rear of the enemy by their right flank, while another detachment was to feign an attack in front. The hollow-way, or ravine, through which coursed a little rivulet, was between the British troops and Washington's headquarters, near where several regiments were encamped, and seeing only a small detachment coming out to fight, they ran jubilantly down the slope to meet them and took post behind a rail fence, firing briskly. As the Americans pushed forward they left the fence, retiring up the hill. The rattle of musketry brought the reserve corps of the enemy to the rescue; and just then, by some mistake or failure to obey orders to the letter, never quite satisfactorily explained, the spirited charge of the rangers and riflemen began upon the flank of the enemy instead of the rear as intended. Both Knowlton and Leitch fell within ten minutes near each other, and within a few paces of Reed, whose horse was shot from under him. According to Aaron Burr, who was on the field with General Putnam, and must have known all the particulars,



THE SITE OF THE RAVINE AND MINULET, AT 157TH STREET AND THE BOULEVARD

From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes

Knowlton fell at a point which is now the corner of 153d street and the boulevard. Washington reinforced his gallant soldiers, about which he writes: "Finding they wanted a support I advanced part of Colonel Griffith's and Colonel Richardson's Maryland regiments, with some detachments from the eastern regiments who were nearest the place of action." Putnam, Reed and other prominent officers took command, charging upon the British with great intrepidity, and driving them through a piece of woods, where they fought desperately from behind trees and bushes, into a buckwheat field. By this time it was nearly noon.

The British officers at Bloomingdale Heights had meanwhile become very much distressed by the disappearance in the early morning of Leslie and his light infantry, and sent detachments to follow him and discover if he was in any trouble. The firing at Harlem Heights finally reached their

ears. Other reinforcements of Highlanders and Hessians were hurried on the double-quick to his relief. Lieutenant Harris, of the Fifth Regiment of Foot says: "The 16th of September we were ordered to stand to our arms at 11 A.M., and were instantly trotted *about three miles* (without a halt to draw breath) to support a battalion of light infantry, which had imprudently advanced so far without support as to be in great danger of being cut off."

Colonel von Donop, of the Hessian division, in his report to General von Heister, says: "But for my Yagers, two regiments of Highlanders and the British infantry would have all, perhaps, been captured, for they were attacked by a force four times their number: and General Leslie had made a great blunder in sending these brave fellows so far in advance into the woods without support." Major Baurmeister states in his report: "The English light infantry fell into an ambuscade of four thousand men, and if the Grenadiers and especially the Hessian Yagers had not arrived in time to help them no one of these brave light infantry would have escaped. They lost 70 dead and 200 wounded. The enemy must have lost very severely, because no Yager had any ammunition left, and all the Highlanders had fired their last shot." Stedman, the English historian, says: "The action was carried on by reinforcements on both sides, and became very warm. The enemy, however, possessed a great advantage from the circumstance of engaging within half a mile of their intrenched camp, whence they could be supplied with fresh troops as often as occasion required."

It was a party of these reinforcing troops of the British, who climbed the elevation on which stands the Lawrence mansion, and encountered General Greene's forces. Other detachments proceeded further along the low shore before mounting the heights, and joined their comrades in the buckwheat field just as the sun crossed the meridian. The battle was here maintained for nearly two hours with an obstinacy rarely equaled in the history of modern warfare. The combatants were in scouts and squads, in battalions and in brigades. The battle raged between eleven A.M. and half-past two o'clock P.M., from about 155th street nearly to Manhattanville. Washington's army on Harlem Heights then numbered hardly 8,000, and yet 4,900 were engaged—according to a careful estimate from reports of officers in each detachment. The British were superior in numbers, not less than five or six thousand of their choicest troops, with seven field pieces, being in the action. Their reinforcements plunged in wherever there was an opening. Large bodies could move considerable distances without being seen. It was an irregular battle from the very character of the picturesque, undulating, leafy heights, with their rocky and almost



WHERE KNOWLTON FELL : CORNER 153D STREET AND BOULEVARD.

From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes

inaccessible sides—natural buttresses, supporting plains, ridges, shaded ravines, and small hills upon hills. The British finally broke and ran down the steep hill—Breakneck hill as it was called, which made the old Kingsbridge road so formidable for several generations—the Americans chasing them mocking their bugles, “above a mile and a half,” wrote Reed, “nearly two miles” wrote Knox, taking shelter in an orchard, finally, near the eighth mile stone, when Washington prudently sent Tilgman to order the victorious soldiers back to the lines.

Silliman's statement as to distance agrees with those of Reed and Knox. He says “the fire continued very heavy from the musketry and from field-pieces about two hours, in which time our people drove the regulars back from post to post *about a mile and a half*. Had the battle occurred south of Manhattanville, as some writers of eminence have believed, and stated, and the enemy's valiant troops been driven *a mile and a half*, the victorious American soldiers would have found themselves in the immediate vicinity of the Apthorpe house, and could have paid their respects to the British generals !

Rev. Dr. Maunsell Van Rensselaer writes to the author on this point : “Considering the number of the accounts of this affair, the different position of the writers on the ground, the various places in which the different

events occurred, the length of time occupied by them, the interests of the writers, and the character of the ground, the general agreement of the main facts is wonderful. They all group themselves around the terse and clear statement of Washington, describing, as became the commander-in-chief, the beginning and the end, and his own part in it. His report is that of a calm eye-witness, and according to that, the second action began on the wooded knoll which is now Trinity Cemetery. This was on the western part of the farm of my great-grandfather, John Watkins, which reached from the south line of the Morris place—about 159th street—to the north line of the Bradhurst place, about 150th street. The remains of a hill on the east side of the Boulevard, south of 148th street, correspond exactly to the site of the famous 'buckwheat field' in General Clinton's statements."

Dr. Van Rensselaer refers above to a pen and ink sketch of the battle-field in the diary of Rev. Ezra Stiles, D.D., now in the library of Yale College. It accompanies the following entry: "Oct 18. 1776. When I was at Fairfield I saw Sloss Hobart Esqr. a sensible gent. and a member of the New York convention. He gave me the following draught of the action of 16th September, which began near the 10th mile stone and ended at the 8th mile stone." (The 10th mile stone was just above the Morris House, the 8th mile stone at 125th street.) "From the General Clinton who was in the action Mr Hobart received the account. . . . General Clinton said he was ordered next day to bury the dead left on the field and buried 78 of the enemy, the most of which fell in the buckwheat field." Washington also in his dispatches refers to the burial of the enemy's dead, which would have been wholly impossible for the American soldiers to have done had the British troops fallen within their own lines on Bloomingdale Heights. The pen and ink sketch shows very clearly that the site of the battle-field was precisely where the cannon balls have come to light, as if to add their silent testimony to the settlement of an intensely interesting question.

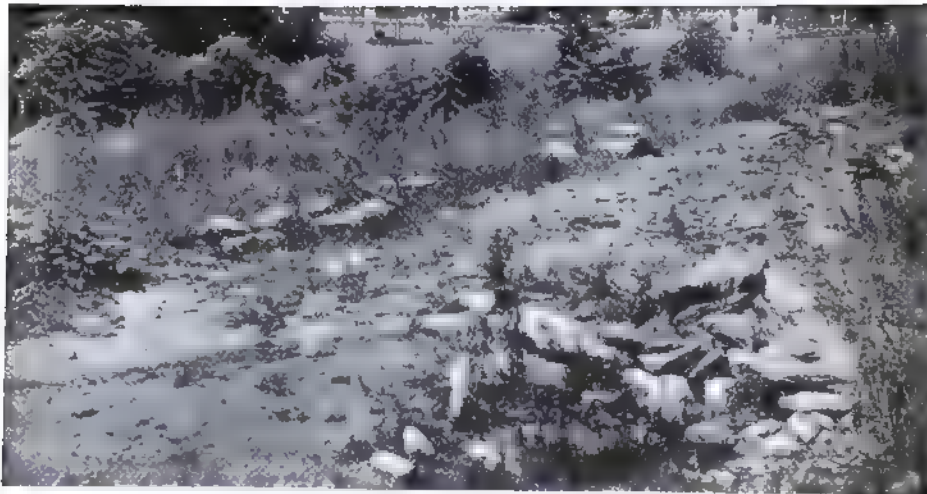
The success of this day turned the current of American affairs. It was, considering all the circumstances, and its chain of results, one of the most brilliant and important battles of any fought during the Revolutionary War. The untrained American troops, with their first opportunity, had fought the enemy in open field, upon equal footing, and virtually defeated the entire plan of the British commanders with regard to northward and eastward conquest. The blunder of Leslie occasioned the succession of British failures, which inspired the Americans with confidence in themselves. General Howe was deeply mortified. His general orders next morning rebuked Leslie for imprudence. He did not care to talk about



PRESENT HOME OF REV. DR. MAUNSELL VAN RENSSELAER ON THE HISTORIC SITE IN ST. NICHOLAS PLACE.

From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Wood Barnes.

the engagement. No detailed account of it was reported, he spoke of it as "an affair of outposts" while others called it a *scrape*. It was nevertheless a battle, and was so esteemed at the time by all parties concerned. And it was not only the first victory of the Americans in a well contested action with the flower of the British soldiery, coloring all the future of America, but it added materially to the caution which clogged Howe's subsequent movements. He regarded Harlem Heights henceforward as invulnerable. He wrote to the ministry, "the enemy is too strongly posted to be attacked in front, and innumerable difficulties are



BREAKNECK HILL.

THE LAST REMAINING SECTION OF THE OLD HISTORIC KINGSBRIDGE ROAD

From a recent photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes

in the way of turning him upon either side." And it is instructive to observe that the two armies remained encamped on the respective heights, their picquets almost within speaking distance ("three hundred yards") of each other across the Manhattanville valley, for upwards of three weeks. Howe took ample time for consideration, and then made elaborate arrangements to throw himself in the rear of Washington by way of Westchester. He in the meanwhile published another declaration to the inhabitants of America on the subject of their grievances, promising in the king's name a revision of his instructions, and pardons and favors to all who would return to their allegiance.

New York really has no more important or noteworthy historic landmark than her battle-field. No city in the land can boast of one more magnificently situated. It is rather late to cherish it, at least in the same way as the eminent figure in the history of Hawthorne's "Old Manse," who is said to have checked the stream of talk while entertaining distinguished guests upon his doorstep, to answer the question of the servant, "Into what pasture shall I turn the cow to-night?" "Into the battle-field, Nicodemus, into the battle-field!" But its associations will survive all changes, and its relics will preach their own sermons.

John, the oldest son of John Watkins the proprietor of the Harlem

Heights battle-field, married Judith Livingston, the youngest daughter of governor William Livingston the famous war governor of New Jersey. The Watkins farm has furnished the basis for a countless number of estates and beautiful homes. One of the great-grandsons of John Watkins, senior, Dr. Van Rensselaer, has erected a modern mansion on the old Watkins property in St. Nicholas Place, in itself a fine example of the domestic architecture of the present decade. It illustrates much better than words the marvelous transformation in this picturesque corner of New York City since Colonel Morris built the stately old landmark at 161st street, and furnishes a glimpse of the present aspect of portions of the battle-field of September 16, 1776. The last remaining section of the old historic Kingsbridge road, down which the British fled on that occasion—without regard to the order of their going—may be seen in a lot on the north side of 145th street, a short distance above the 145th street station of the elevated railway, and will soon have passed away altogether. It was over this road the governors of the province passed in colonial times when on their frequent visiting expeditions to the manors along the Hudson. There is probably no road in all the land around which so much of incident and romantic history clusters—history that is indeed photography applied to human affairs.

Martha J Lamb

WINTERS IN QUEBEC

The very sound of the word "Winter" is fascination to the minds of northern races. The impressions of which this season is the fruitful source, appear in striking proportions and varied hues, with a character unique and charming. Winter in the Northern states, and the British regions still farther toward the icy zone, presents aspects wholly strange to the dwellers in more genial latitudes, its features, now stern, impressive and wild, again calm, tranquil and brilliant, admirably illustrating the splendor and majesty of nature. During the overpowering heats of summer, it is a delight to the imagination to reproduce the vivid pictures of midwinter scenes, with their sapphire skies of clearest hue, keen, bracing air, and sparkling landscapes of glittering sheen; and memory ever surrounds these scenes with cheery features and glowing tints.

The olden time, with its varying peace and plenty, hardship and war, its fields of action by flood and plain, mountain and valley, its wealth of heroic exploits and chequered fortunes, all entwine themselves around this season. The rigors of winter seemed but to draw out the better qualities of our ancestors, including those masculine traits and honorable ambitions by which the wilderness of North America has been transformed into the brightest realm of civilization.

And if the inner eye be turned toward the other, deeper side of the teeming picture, what charming glimpses of colonial times are presented, with their romantic incidents, lofty historic figures and startling episodes. How instructively the past relives in all those phases which kindle our domestic affections and invigorate our languid patriotism! Indeed the old colonial days arouse our deepest interest: the simple manners of our forefathers, their bizarre costumes, grave faces and heroic principles, are all themes for study. But the shadows of the pictures, as witnessed in the contrasts of life and manners, are quite as suggestive and enlightening.

In the greater portion of the province of Quebec, including the districts north and east of Three Rivers, the winters are of great severity, the thermometer often reaching 25° below zero. Usually beginning about the middle of October they last till late in April. Heavy snow storms often come in the latter part of November and frequently afterwards, even as late as March. The people make serious preparations for this tedious and trying season, which subjects the settlers in remote localities to great dis-

tress. The fierce northern and eastern blasts from the arctic regions and the Labrador coast, penetrate every chink and crevice in the dwellings of the peasantry, howling dismally at night, and testing every expedient to keep out the cold. When the wild tempest whirls the heavy snow-flakes, or the cutting, blinding hail, anxiety runs high, for the glittering mounds often block up the doors and lower story windows of the cabins, preventing all egress for the inmates. And not seldom travelers are lost in such storms and their frozen corpses found the next day. Old highways and landmarks are blotted out in a night, and the strength and resources of families put to the severest trial, to tramp down or dig out pathways to the nearest hut or village store. Formerly whole days and nights were often consumed in this task, in many localities; and after each succeeding storm, the labors were to be as faithfully repeated. Those engaged in this work endured as best they could the rigor of benumbed and frost-bitten members. The dull weariness of the peasants' life at this snow-bound stage is also very trying.

Everywhere they adopted the device, which is followed to-day, of marking out the most frequented routes by cedar and spruce bushes (*balises*), and when the road had become sufficiently beaten or the snow rendered solid enough to permit even slow and laborious travel, the hardy ponies of the peasants (*habitans*) with their plain, home-made *carrioles* or *berlines* might be seen moving across the snow-clad plains and choked-up valleys, while the clear air was made merry with the tinkling of the bells. When this mode of travel was impracticable, the *habitant* was obliged to make use of his snow-shoes, which would bear him lightly and safely over roads and gaps otherwise impassable.

The main commercial artery of Canada, the St. Lawrence, offers, perhaps, the more splendid exhibition of winter's power and nature's grandeur. At Quebec the keen arctic blasts and fierce storms which sweep the Laurentian valley, often bind the great river in icy fetters, so as to form a winter bridge (*pont de glace*), which in former years was highly valued for purposes of business and pleasure by the population on both sides of the river. For miles east, west and north, the eye is attracted by a plain of ice, upon which man and beast travel with ease. The glittering snow carpet, evenly disposed, softens every harsh feature and obliterates inequalities, and the clear, gleaming roadway, under the rays of the winter sun, gives an arctic grandeur to the landscape. And when the river has but recently frozen over, its precipitous banks with crowning cities and adjacent villages, are as clearly reflected as on the placid bosom of a lake. The opposite shores and the distant Island of Orleans are

effectively connected by this sea of glass, rendering excursions by *carriole* and ice-boat an invigorating luxury. Especially enlivening is a drive over this surface of ice and snow to the Falls of Montmorency. On the way thither the gigantic features of the scenery, including lofty banks, hills, capes and mountains of the mighty St. Lawrence, with their snowy robes and icy garniture, stand out boldly, and the effect is heightened by numerous humble cottages dotting the banks here and there, almost smothered in the snow, typifying the extreme of human weakness, loneliness and isolation, in presence of scenes and forces wintry and grand.

The display of northern glories, of which the Montmorency Falls and the frosty airs are the cunning architects, affords sparkling, impressive pictures, suggestive of arctic regions and splendors. The bright descending mantle of water is transformed by the icy, magic breath of winter into glacial hillocks and crystalline shapes of fantastic beauty, challenging admiration as masterpieces of nature's cyclopean and decorative workmanship: graceful folds and handsome fringes of clearest crystal, delicate in form, and exquisite in design, sparkling prisms reflecting the rainbow tints, bright icicles of most curious shapes, with the massive, growing cones at the base, and the muffled thunder of the cataract, stunning the ear, all dazzle and enchant the beholder. The *verglas* covering the trees in the spring also offers a brilliant spectacle as it scintillates in the rays of the sun and moon.

From Dufferin Terrace on the north and from the heights of Levis on the south, on clear winter afternoons in the mellow light of the declining sun, the ice-bridge presents an attractive sight. Over its sparkling, glassy surface may be seen crowds of happy skaters, darting hither and thither in merry rivalry, with the speed and grace of swallows, and in other directions sleighs and *carrioles* of every device, fantastic and elegant, glide over the magnificent ice-field, filled with pleasure-seekers clad in the warmest furs, while the drivers urge their horses to utmost pace, as fearless as on *terra firma*. Farther off the gracefully formed ice-boats, with all sail set, skim along at such extraordinary speed that one thinks only of the flight of an eagle. The whole environment is conducive to the utmost exhilaration.

From the same coigne of vantage, Dufferin Terrace, may be seen, dotting the bridge of the St. Charles River, little wooden shanties well-heated, where Isaak Walton might have indulged his piscatorial fancies under a January sky, had he liked, and where anyone who wills may go and fish, and drop his shining prizes straight out of the St. Charles into the frying-pan at his side. A hole is cut through the flooring of the cabin and the

ice, down which are dropped to the sheltered waters beneath, the line and bated hook. Great quantities of tommy-cods reward the patient skill of these anglers. The fish come with the flow and leave with the ebb of the tide, and when the fishing is over, a supper fit for the most exacting of fishermen is set before them, the recent prizes contributing their share to the feast.

But a truly magnificent and often thrilling scene is at the break-up (*débacle*) of the frozen rivers, large and small, under the warm rays of the April sun, when the floods pour down from the upper waters or sources, scores and hundreds of miles, to their outlets. A turbulent splendor prevails; huge blocks of ice, jammed together from bank to bank, yet madly tossing to be free, impelled forward by the deeply-swollen current, dash along in a fury of white rage to the great waters below. The sun's rays play upon them with fantastic brilliance, till the heaving, sparkling and dazzling hummocks suggest the maddest charge of lancers that ever rode to death.

On one occasion, at the village of St. Thomas, a *habitant*, while attempting in the spring time to cross *La Rivière du Sud* in his *carriole*, the ice gave way and horse and vehicle disappeared. The man barely escaped being carried under the ice, but finally, by a superhuman effort, succeeds in climbing upon a block of ice, not, however, without fracturing his leg. Fortunately, at that moment, a neighbor passing by, and witnessing the accident, runs for help. Soon a tremendous crash is heard, and the ice begins to move, carrying along, slowly at first, then faster, the helpless peasant. By this time hundreds of pitying spectators have reached the shore and witness his perilous position; the alarm bell from the church steeple dismally peals forth its sad summons for more help, at the same time calling upon the devout to pray for his rescue. Meanwhile, the poor fellow, thinking he has reached his last hour, waves his adieus. The priest recites the prayers for the dying and grants him absolution. The scene now becomes still more appalling; the rushing ice of *La Rivière du Sud* comes into violent collision with that of *La Rivière du Bras*, a tributary of the former. For some minutes the whole mass remains stationary, but soon again it moves, whirling along its living freight. The victim's wife, who has been notified of the accident, arrives; her frantic appeals to save the father of her children move all to tears, but no one dares to court what seems certain death. This tragedy is visible by the light of scores of flaming torches borne by the horrified spectators on the shore. The moving mass of ice has nearly reached the St. Lawrence when the hummock bearing the peasant strikes against the solitary tree of a submerged island in mid-

stream, which he clutches in his wild despair and swings in mid-air. At this crisis a young Englishman arrives and instantly resolves to save the man. He coils one end of a rope round his body and gives the other to a stalwart looker-on, jumps into the raging torrent, and after daring and repeated efforts, which for a time seem fruitless, he finally succeeds in rescuing from his dangerous position the unfortunate *habitant*, whose strength was fast failing him.*

Another striking scene is that presented by the river in seasons when no ice-bridge is formed. The only means of transit between Quebec and Point Levis, formerly, was by strong, wooden canoes (now replaced by powerful steamers), in the bottom of which the traveler was safely esconced in buffalo robes, while the stout arms of six or eight sturdy paddlers would furnish the motive power to force the little craft through enormous fields of floating ice, overspreading the whole surface of the great river, and, at many points, forming pyramids, requiring consummate skill to evade. For miles up and down, this grand wintry prospect would engross the attention and interest of the traveler, however wearisome the tedious progress might be. Occasionally there would be a little expanse of open water, which only served to emphasize the solid, threatening bulk of ice which shuts one in on every side. Often the hardy canoers would be compelled to disembark upon a great mass of ice and drag their heavy boat with all its freight over long distances, consuming hours in the wide *détours*. In former years fatal accidents have resulted from the attempted passage of the river during storms, the bitter winds dashing the canoe upon the bergs or upon the inhospitable shore. Not seldom canoe-men would come in so badly frozen as to lose their limbs, if not their lives.

One spring a wedding party of ten attempted to cross while a severe storm was raging, when their canoe was cut in two and all perished except the captain of the boat. The next day the bride's head, quite severed from the body, was found below the city upon the floating ice. The young groom, who was an excellent swimmer, was so paralyzed by the suddenness of the shock that he only made the sign of the cross, and without the slightest effort to save himself, disappeared beneath the ice.†

To the young men of the towns and cities no outdoor pastime is more agreeable and invigorating than snow-shoeing. Confined all day with indoor labor, heated and weary, they sustain their spirits with remembering the delight of the evening that awaits them—the exhilaration of the moonlight race over snowy highroads or gleaming fields. In Quebec and

* *Les Anciens Canadiens*, by Philippe Aubert de Gaspé.

† *A la Véille*, Faucher de Saint Maurice.

Montreal snow-shoe races are held annually, when valuable prizes are awarded to the strongest and fleetest. Not infrequently the whites have beaten the Indians in these contests of one, two and four mile races, in which some of the runners make the mile in five minutes, even over a heavy course. People used to laugh at the awkward figures cut by the British soldiers, sent out at the time of the Trent excitement, in their snow-shoe marches and exercises on the St. Lawrence, ordered in view of more serious military operations on the fields, rivers and lakes by the frontier, which, happily for both nations, were not needed. The tripping, stumbling and frequent falls of the warriors, from the bearded veterans, often of colossal proportion, who had served in every quarter of the globe, down to the beardless youths, fresh from parental control in English villages or Irish towns, formed an unfailing source of merriment to the expert natives and acclimated citizens. The troops, however, in addition to the disadvantages of knapsacks and cumbersome winter uniforms, were obliged to use snow-shoes solid and heavy, and of formidable dimensions.

The usual method of indulging in this sport is for a crowd of young men to meet at a prominent place, with feet encased in two pair of thick stockings, buckskin moccasins, tuque bleue or rouge for head-gear, the body enwrapped in a heavy blue, red or white woolen great coat, furnished with a capote for use in case of pelting storms or violent cold, and the snow-shoes strapped across the shoulders. The work of fitting the shoes is performed in a moment, when the party start off in merriest mood for the country, selecting, by preference, the deepest roads and tracts impassable to the ordinary booted wayfarer. Tramping in Indian file, or three or four abreast, the companies, of which young women often form part, rouse the clear, far-reaching echoes with song and jest, beguiling the way till no weariness is thought of. Of course clubs practicing for races exclude the feminine element. Calm, clear, bracing nights, with all the glory of the lustrous northern stars and the white splendor of the "lady-moon," supply all that is required for these simple, natural pleasures which leave no sting, while stimulating the mind and strengthening the body for the serious concerns of life.

The toboggan, which was originally of so much importance to the early settlers of the country—in fact their only means of carrying provisions over the snow-covered wilderness, with the aid of dogs—is now used for one of the most exhilarating as well as health-giving of pastimes. Quebec affords especially natural, enviable facilities for tobogganing.

From the Glacis at the Esplanade, and many heights and lofty points near the citadel, and throughout the Upper Town, crowds of young folks,

on a fine night, may be seen rushing down the lengthy slopes to distant hollows, rending the air with their shouts and laughter, and often increasing the jolly din by upsets and somersaults. Three, four, or more, of both sexes occupy the toboggan, the one at the farthest end guiding it with a pole or his foot. In this way they shoot downhill with arrow-speed, the maximum of swiftness being sometimes at the rate of ninety miles an hour, the excitement being contagious and the enjoyment, for those not timid, complete. High spirits, and moral and social advantage are the natural outcome of such diversions. Still more exciting is a slide, on sleigh or toboggan, from the lofty summit of the ice-mound or cone at Montmorency Falls down to its base, at lightning speed, and thence along, with blinding velocity, for hundreds of yards on the level, glassy roadway which hides the water of the St. Lawrence from view.

Skating and curling are also much resorted to all over the country. Montreal may be called the home of such winter sports. Much time is spent by its inhabitants in skating and curling rinks and on toboggan slides, and the brilliant crowds that gather at such places during the carnival season, in every variety of gala costume, suggest the brightest, most dazzling scenes of fairyland which the imagination can conceive.

BOSTON, *December*, 1888.

Prosper Bender

MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

MAY 20, 1775

A brief reference to the Mecklenburg declaration of independence, which was proclaimed in the town of Charlotte, North Carolina, May 20, 1775, appeared in the *Washington Post* during the month of May, 1887. The writer of that article evidently believed that no such declaration had been made, and he denounced it as a fraud. A week or two subsequently, a more extended communication on the same subject was published in the *New York Sun*, the author of which, W. H. Burr, entertained about the same opinion as the writer of the *Post* article, and referred rather contemptuously to the "so-called Mecklenburg declaration." He informed the public that "in the *New York Sun* of the 4th of July, 1882, he had undertaken to prove, and believed he did prove, the document a canard;" he also stated "that Dr. Welling, of Columbia College in Washington, proved it to be a fabrication in an elaborate article in the *North American Review* for April, 1874."

I am a native of North Carolina, and though reared in Tennessee, had many associates and friends in my schoolboy days and since, who were born in the first mentioned state; and not a few who are at the present time citizens of that state, and in social intercourse when the Revolutionary war has been the subject of conversation, no incident has been more frequently discussed than the Mecklenburg declaration. That there was such a declaration has always been recognized by them as a fact, as little to be questioned as that General Greene relieved General Gates in the command of the "southern army" in the town of Charlotte, on the 3d of December, 1780. Previous to my attention being called to the articles above named, I had without hesitation accepted as true, the opinion prevalent in North Carolina in regard to this subject. Not feeling disposed to give up deep-seated and well-founded convictions without careful investigation, I have examined the accessible historic data in this case, and find my original faith in the "Mecklenburg Declaration" fully confirmed, notwithstanding the recent attempts of Dr. Welling and others to show that it was a "canard," a "fabrication," and a "fraud."

Attention will be first called to William Hooper. He was graduated at the head of his class, at Harvard, in 1760, bred to the profession of law in the office of James Otis, and commenced the practice of his profession

in North Carolina in 1767. He was a member of the North Carolina Assembly in 1773—his first appearance in politics—and was one of the original projectors of the first provincial congress. Being in advance of the general spirit of the times, he early conceived the project of Independence, and in a letter dated April 26, 1774, addressed to James Iredell, subsequently one of the United States Supreme Court judges, he says: "With you I anticipate the important share which the colonies must soon have in regulating the political balance. They are striding fast to independence, and ere long will build an empire upon the ruins of Great Britain; will adopt its Constitution purged of its impurities, and from an experience of its defects, will guard against those evils which have wasted its vigor. Be it our endeavor to guard against every measure that may tend to prevent so desirable an object."

It was an elaborate letter, of which a North Carolina * historian writes: "With a date long before the meeting of the continental congress, it equals in the boldness of its language and the intrepidity of its thoughts the Fourth of July declaration of that body, a crisis which was matured by two years of deep consultation, and which was at last approached by cautious and indeed timid footsteps. The national declaration, the adoption of the federal Constitution, and indeed the whole subsequent history of the country have been but the fulfillment of its splendid prophecy."

The authenticity and character of that letter is nowhere called in question. Its able and learned author was, two years later, an associate of Benjamin Franklin, Robert Morris, and Arthur Lee, on one of the most important committees in the continental congress, and was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Under the guidance of Mr. Hooper, and many other of the ablest men in that province, the people of North Carolina were fully aroused to the alarming relations that had been brought about by the unjust conduct of the mother country. In the spring of 1775, there was developed in Mecklenburg county a feeling of deep anxiety, and an earnest conviction that prompt action was essential to the well-being of the people. This resulted in several meetings of the most influential citizens of the county to take counsel as to the means best suited to meet the danger then threatened. At that time it was known to them that, in Boston, it was feared a collision might occur at any instant between the citizens of that city and the British soldiers. The result of the various meetings of the leading citizens of Mecklenburg county, was an order issued in the name of Colonel Thomas Polk, requiring each militia company to elect two delegates to a convention author-

* J. Seawell Jones.

ized "To devise ways and means to aid and assist their suffering brethren in Boston, and to adopt measures to secure, unimpaired, their inalienable rights, privileges and liberties, from the dominant grasp of British imposition and tyranny." On the 19th of May, 1775, the delegates thus elected met in Charlotte. On that day official news of the battle of Lexington was received by special express. And on the next day, May 20th, 1775, these delegates, vested with unlimited powers by the citizens of the county, after a full and free discussion of the objects for which they had been convened, unanimously ordained:

First. Resolved, that whoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America, and to the inherent and inalienable rights of man.

Second. Resolved, that we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bands which have connected us to the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British crown, and abjure all political connection with that nation who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the innocent blood of American patriots at Lexington.

Third. Resolved, that we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people, and of right ought to be a sovereign and self-sustaining association, under the control of no power other than that of our God and the general government of Congress; and to the maintenance of which independence we solemnly pledge to each other our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

Fourth. Resolved, that as we now acknowledge the existence and control of no law or legal officer, civil or military, within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt as a rule of life all such and every of our former laws, wherein, nevertheless, the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

Fifth. Resolved, that it is further decreed that all, each and every military officer in this county, is hereby reinstated in his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations, and that every one present of this delegation shall hereafter be a civil officer, viz.: a justice of the peace, in the character of a "committee man," to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy according to said adopted laws, and to preserve peace, union and harmony in said county; and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a more general and organized government be established in this province.

These five resolutions constitute the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," which, together with a copy of all the proceedings of the convention that ordained them, were sent, by special messenger, to the three representatives of North Carolina in the general congress, then sitting with closed doors at Philadelphia. These representatives were Richard Caswell, William Hooper, and Joseph Hewes, who were requested to use all possible means to have said proceedings approved by the general congress. In reply a joint letter from Caswell, Hooper and Hewes was received, complimenting the zeal of the citizens of Mecklenburg county, recommending to them perseverance, order, and energy, but informing them that it was deemed premature to lay the proceedings of the Charlotte convention before the general congress. In other words, in the judgment of William Hooper and his associate North Carolina delegates, the general congress of the colonies was not yet prepared to act favorably upon the resolutions unanimously adopted on the 20th of May, 1775, by the convention of delegates representing the citizens of Mecklenburg county. So, when the views of William Hooper and his associate North Carolina delegates in reference to the state of feeling in the general congress were made known to the convention of delegates of Mecklenburg county, the latter, whilst maintaining their principles, as already resolved upon, awaited patiently for a full development of the principle of colonial independence in the general congress at Philadelphia and in the congress of the province of North Carolina. That this development was slow is clearly shown by abundant concurrent evidence.

On the 30th of June, 1775, the royal governor of North Carolina wrote to the British secretary of state for the colonies: "The resolves of the committee of Mecklenburg, which your lordship will find in the inclosed papers—Cape Fear *Mercury*—surpasses all the horrid and treasonable publications that the inflammatory spirits of the continent have yet produced, and your lordship may depend its authors and abettors will not escape due notice when my hands are sufficiently strengthened to attempt the recovery of the lost authority of this government. A copy of these resolutions, I am informed, was sent off immediately by express to the congress at Philadelphia."

While the Mecklenburgers declared their independence of Great Britain, they acknowledged fealty to the general government of the continental congress; but their allegiance to the provincial congress of North Carolina was taken for granted, and, therefore, not mentioned. It has already been shown that whilst the North Carolina delegation in the general congress commended the patriotic zeal of the Mecklenburgers, they did not

believe it was expedient at that time to urge the declaration of independence upon the general congress—the Mecklenburgers were premature—that body was not ready for the question; and were then considering a very different line of action, in which the opinions of individual members were yielded to a majority.

On the 8th of July, 1775, a petition signed *unanimously* by that body was addressed to the king, *praying redress* of grievances in the *humblest terms as British subjects*; and as to the charge that had been urged against them in England, that they desired independence, they declared "We have not raised armies with the ambitious design of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states." There was also an appeal of like sentiment drawn up and addressed to the people of Great Britain; and these two papers—the petition to the king and the appeal to the people—were each signed with unanimity and forwarded to England, borne by Richard Penn; where, upon his arrival, the former document was presented to the parliament, through Lord Dartmouth, the secretary of state for the colonies. Penn, through this secretary, was introduced before the House of Lords November 16, 1775, and being examined, testified positively, that "no designs of independence had been formed by congress." On the 23d of August, 1775, the provincial congress of North Carolina unanimously passed resolutions similar to those passed by the continental congress on the 8th of July preceding. The provincial congress, in the resolutions of August 23, declared unanimously, "We the subscribers, professing our allegiance to the king, and acknowledging the constitutional executive form of government, do solemnly profess . . ." that "The people of this province, singly and collectively, are bound by the acts and resolutions of the continental and provincial congresses, because in both they are freely represented by persons chosen by themselves, and we solemnly and sincerely promise and engage, under the sanction of virtue and honor, and the sacred love of liberty and our country, to maintain and support all and every the acts, resolutions and regulations of the said continental and provincial congresses to the utmost of our power and abilities." These proceedings of the North Carolina congress were signed by all its members. The decision of the majority controlled all; and the congress of North Carolina acted in thorough accord with the previous action of the continental congress. Hooper, Caswell and Hewes, the delegates of North Carolina in the continental congress, were also delegates of the provincial congress of North Carolina, and took an active part in the deliberations of both bodies, which resulted in the adoption and unanimous signature of the resolutions of the 8th of July, and of the 23d of August,

respectively; in which the provincial congress of North Carolina stood squarely by the continental congress in disclaiming "The ambitious design of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states."

The "premature Mecklenburgers"—being true patriots—conformed their action to the will of a majority of the continental and provincial congresses; but this did not "wipe out" the Mecklenburg declaration of independence, or the glowing language of the preamble to that declaration.

On the 30th of April, 1819, the *Raleigh Register* published an account of the proceedings of the Mecklenburg county convention, including the declaration of independence, May 20, 1775. On June 20, 1819, a copy of that publication was inclosed in a letter written by ex-President John Adams to ex-President Thomas Jefferson. In that letter, Mr. Adams says: "The genuine sense of America, at that moment, was never so well expressed before or since." And refers in terms of praise to the three representatives of North Carolina in the continental congress—Richard Caswell, William Hooper, and Joseph Hewes.

Jefferson replied on the 9th of July, 1819, discrediting the Mecklenburg declaration of independence. He says: "You seem to think it genuine, I believe it spurious. . . . Who is the narrator, and is the name subscribed real or is it as fictitious as the paper itself? It appeals, to an original book which is burnt; . . . to a joint letter from Caswell, Hooper, and Hewes, all dead; to a copy sent to the dead Caswell, and another sent to Dr. Williamson, now probably dead, whose memory did not recollect, in the history he has written of North Carolina, this gigantic step of its county of Mecklenburg. . . . Now, you remember, as well as I do, that we had not a greater tory in Congress than Hooper. . . . I do not affirm positively that this paper is a fabrication, . . . but I shall believe it such, until most positive and solemn proof of its authority shall be produced."

Jefferson's letter was published not long after it was written, and the required proof was soon produced. But, before giving a synopsis of that proof, attention will be called to some of the main points upon which Jefferson claims to base his belief that the "paper" was spurious. Dr. Williamson's history of North Carolina, includes the year 1770. It is true that at one time, he intended to bring it down to 1790. But he changed his mind and stopped his narrative at 1770. Therefore, the fact that the "gigantic" step taken by Mecklenburg county in 1775, was not mentioned in Williamson's history of North Carolina, which ends with 1770, cannot be accepted as proof of Jefferson's belief, that the "paper" is spurious.

There is nothing remarkable in the fact that a building, in which an original record was stored, should be burned, or that men in active life in 1775 should have died before 1819. But Jefferson's statement, that there was not a greater tory in Congress than Hooper, calls for more particular notice.

In "Observations on the Writings of Thomas Jefferson" by H. Lee, it is stated that "Mr. Jefferson declared so late as the 29th of November, 1775, that there was not in the British empire a man who more cordially loved a union with Great Britain than he did." The record shows that Mr. Hooper declared, in the provincial congress of North Carolina, in September, 1775, "That he did not desire to shake off all connection with the parent state, but his most earnest wish and prayer was to be restored to the state we were in before 1763." On this subject, Lee, in his "Observations," says: "So we have proof that Jefferson's attachment to the mother country was protracted two months longer than we have of Mr. Hooper's unwillingness to separate from her; therefore, by the combined showing of Mr. Jefferson and his biographer, the former was a greater tory than Hooper by two months, and he should have written to Mr. Adams, "There was not a greater tory than Mr. Hooper, except myself."

Mr. Tucker, in his "Life of Thomas Jefferson," regrets this heartless blow at the memory of a great and true patriot, and endeavors to mitigate Jefferson's conduct by explaining the two senses in which he used the word tory. He says it must not be understood as Mr. Jefferson habitually applied it to the Federalists, but only as expressing too protracted an attachment to Great Britain. On the latter point Lee's comment is conclusive in Hooper's favor—as against Jefferson's—on the question of "protracted attachment to Great Britain." Without farther reference to Jefferson's attempt to tarnish Hooper's reputation as a leading patriot, it is now proposed to give the evidence which conclusively shows that the "paper" published in the *Raleigh Register*, in 1819—so far from being a "canard," a "fabrication," and a "fraud"—is worthy of full credence, and gives the true history of the "gigantic step" taken by Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, on the 20th of May, 1775.

The following certificate was appended to the "paper" which Mr. Jefferson believed to be spurious:

"The foregoing is a true copy of the papers on the above subject left in my hands by John McKnitt Alexander, deceased. I find it mentioned on file that the original book was burned April 1st, 1800; that a copy of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson, in New York, then writing a history of North Carolina, and that a copy was sent to General W. R. Davie." This is signed by "J. McKnitt," who was the son of John

McKnitt Alexander, the latter being one of the secretaries of the Mecklenburg Convention, and the person who had charge of the "book" in which the proceedings of that convention were recorded. The true name of the son, who signed the above certificate, was originally Joseph McKnitt Alexander. He was a physician. Whether Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander changed his name legally, or not, to J. McKnitt, is not material. The name deceived no one. The names of six Alexanders were signed * to the proceedings of the Mecklenburg convention. They belonged to a numerous, well known, and influential family in that county. Mr. Jefferson asks, "Who is the narrator, and is the name subscribed real, or is it as fictitious as the paper itself?" These questions are definitely answered, so far as regards the name subscribed to the "paper." That the document in question was not fictitious as intimated by Mr. Jefferson, is clearly shown by the evidence of many of the best known citizens of North Carolina.

It has been seen, that when Jefferson's disbelief in the authenticity of the "paper" was published, Colonel Thomas Polk, who ordered the election of the delegates to the Mecklenburg county convention, was dead. In this state of affairs the editor of the *Raleigh Register* called on Colonel William Polk, the son of the deceased Colonel Thomas Polk, for an opinion in regard to the "paper" which Jefferson pronounced to be "spurious." Colonel William Polk, who, though but eighteen years of age at the time of the convention, was present and deeply interested, replied to the editor assuring him of the correctness of the facts generally, though he thought there was an error as to the name of the secretary; but he would probably be able to correct this and throw further light on the subject, by inquiries among his old friends in Mecklenburg county. Colonel William Polk had removed from that county and then resided in Raleigh. The following certificates are in substance the result of Colonel William Polk's inquiries:

We were present in the town of Charlotte, in said county of Mecklenburg on the 19th day of May, 1775, when two persons elected from each captain's company appeared as delegates to take into consideration the state of the country. . . . The order for the election of delegates was given by Colonel Thomas Polk, the commanding officer of the militia of the county. The meeting took place in the court house, about 12 o'clock on the 19th of May, 1775, when Abraham Alexander was chosen chairman and Dr. Ephraim Brevard, secretary. The session continued until night of this day; on the 20th they met again, when the committee under the direction of the delegates had formed several resolves, which were read, and which went to declare themselves and the people of Mecklenburg county

* Isack McKnitt Alexander was known as, and called, *Clerk* Alexander.

free and independent of the king and parliament of Great Britain, which declaration was signed by every member of the delegation. We further believe the declaration of independence was drawn up by Dr. Ephraim Brevard, conceived and brought about by Colonel Thomas Polk, Abraham Alexander, Jno. McKnitt Alexander, Adam Alexander, John Phifer, Hezekiah Alexander and others. That a few days after the adjournment of the delegates, Captain James Jack, of Charlotte, was engaged to carry the resolves to the president of congress and to our representatives, one copy to each. And we do know, that Captain Jack executed his trust, and returned with answers, both from the president and our delegates expressive of their entire approbation of the course that had been adopted.

(Signed)

“ GEORGE GRAHAM (age 62)
“ JONAS CLARK (age 61)
“ WILLIAM HUTCHINSON (age 68)
“ ROBERT ROBINSON (age 68) ”

John Simeson wrote to William Polk: “ I have conversed with many old friends and others, and we all agree. . . . Colonel Thomas Polk issued orders for the election of delegates . . . Of those who drew up the declaration thinks that Dr. Ephraim Brevard was principal, from his well known talents in composition. I was under arms near the head of the line, near Colonel Thomas Polk, and heard him distinctly read a long string of grievances, the declaration, and military orders.”

Rev. Francis Cummins, in a letter to the Honorable Nathaniel Macon, says: “ The males generally of the county met on a certain day in Charlotte, and from the head of the court house stairs proclaimed independence of the English government, by their herald, Colonel Thomas Polk. I was present, saw and heard it. . . . Captain James Jack, then of Charlotte, now of Elberton county, Georgia, was sent with an account of the proceedings to congress, then in Philadelphia, and brought back to the county the thanks of the congress for their zeal, and the advice of congress to be a little patient until they would take the measures thought best.”

Captain James Jack corroborates, in the main, what is found in the above joint certificates and letters he writes: “ For some time previous to, and *at the time* those resolutions *were agreed upon*, I resided in the town of Charlotte, . . . was privy to a number of meetings, etc., on the *subject*; before final adoption of the resolutions, and *at the time they were adopted*, . . . *When finally agreed upon*, the resolutions were publicly proclaimed from the court house. . . . I was then solicited to be the bearer of the

proceedings to congress. . . . I then proceeded to Philadelphia and delivered the *Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence* of May, 1775, to Richard Caswell and William Hooper, delegates from North Carolina."

In 1829 the legislature of North Carolina appointed a committee,* which was instructed to collate and arrange all documents accessible to them, touching the declaration of independence by the citizens of Mecklenburg county, made at Charlotte, May 20th, 1775. The report of that committee was submitted and adopted, because the evidence it obtained "could not fail to do away with all incredulity." The governor was authorized to have it published in pamphlet form, with an introductory narrative prepared by himself. Montford Stokes was then the governor. He had served in the war of the Revolution, and had held many public trusts, and was subsequently United States senator. In the preface to the pamphlet he states, that in 1793, Dr. Williamson, then living in New York, showed to him a copy of the Mecklenburg declaration of independence which he (the governor) recognized to be in the handwriting of John McKnitt Alexander.

Among the certificates embodied in the report of the legislative committee, there was one from Dr. Samuel Henderson, in which he says: "The paper annexed—the Mecklenburg declaration—was obtained by me from Major William Davie, in its present state soon after the death of his father, General William Davie, and † given to Dr. Joseph McKnitt by me." In a note the committee remark, "to this certificate is annexed a paper—(A), the Mecklenburg resolves—originally deposited by John McKnitt Alexander in the hands of General Davie, whose name seems to have been mistaken by Mr. Jefferson for that of General Caswell."

Isaac Alexander : "I was present in Charlotte on the 19th and 20th of May, 1775, when a regular deputation from all the Captains companies of militia in the county of Mecklenburg and others [he gives their names] met to consult and take measures for the peace and tranquillity of the citizens of said county, and who appointed Abraham Alexander their chairman, and Ephraim Brevard secretary, after due consideration declared themselves absolved from their allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and drew up a declaration of their independence which was unanimously adopted, and employed Captain James Jack to carry copies thereof to Congress."

Samuel Wilson : "That in May, 1775, a committee or delegation from

* Composed of Thomas G. Polk, John Bragg, Evan Alexander, Louis D. Henry, Alexander McKnitt.

† It had been torn, though it was perfectly legible.

the different militia companies in the county met in Charlotte; and after consulting together, they publicly declared their independence of Great Britain, and of her government." "I was then and there present, and heard it read from the court house."

John Davidson describes how the delegation was chosen, says that many others, not delegates, were present, and, "When the members met and were perfectly organized, a motion was made to *declare* ourselves *independent* of the *crown* of Great Britain, which was carried by a large majority." . . . Captain James Jack was appointed to take it on to the American Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, with particular instructions to deliver it to the North Carolina delegation—Caswell and Hooper. When Jack returned he stated that the Congress highly esteemed the patriotism of the citizens of Mecklenburg, but they thought them too premature. He adds that he thinks he "is the only person living who was a member of the convention."

James Johnson, of Knox county, Tennessee, but formerly of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina: "In the month of May, 1775, there were several meetings in Charlotte concerning the impending war. Being young, I was not called upon to take an active part, . . . but one thing I do positively remember, . . . Mecklenburg county did meet and hold a convention, declared independence, and sent a man to Philadelphia with the proceedings."

The Rev. Humphrey Hunter wrote a memoir of the Revolutionary War, in which he had served as a soldier. From it the following extract is made; he writes of the meeting on the 19th of May, 1775: "Abraham Alexander was chairman, and Ephraim Brevard *and* John McKnitt Alexander were chosen secretaries. A free, full, and dispassionate discussion obtained on the various subjects for which the delegation had been convened, and the following resolutions were unanimously ordained. [The five resolves as published in the *Raleigh Register*, April, 1819 were given.] These having been concurred in, by-laws and regulations for the government of a standing committee of public safety were enacted and acknowledged, a select committee was appointed to report on the ensuing day a full and definite statement of grievances, together with a more correct and formal draft of the declaration of independence. The proceedings having been thus arranged, and somewhat in readiness for promulgation, the delegation then adjourned until to-morrow twelve (M.) o'clock. On the 20th of May, at twelve o'clock, the delegation as above had convened. The select committee was also present, and reported agreeably to instructions, viz., a statement of grievances and formal draft of the declaration of inde-

pendence, written by Dr. Ephraim Brevard, chairman of said committee, and read by him to the delegation; the by-laws and regulations were read by John McKnitt Alexander. It was then announced from the chair, are you all agreed? There was not a dissenting voice. Finally the whole proceedings were read distinctly and audibly at the court house door, by Colonel Thomas Polk, to a large, respectable and approving assembly of citizens, who were present and gave sanction to the business of the day. A copy of these transactions was drawn up, and given in charge of Captain James Jack of Charlotte, that he should present them to Congress, then in session in Philadelphia. On that memorable day, I was twenty years and eleven days of age, a very deeply interested spectator. . . . On the return of Captain Jack, he reported that Congress individually, manifested their entire approbation of the conduct of the Mecklenburg citizens; but deemed it premature to lay them officially before the house."

The evidence above cited is positive and direct, given by respectable parties, all of whom were present, and had personal knowledge of what they certified. Following the promulgation of the report of the proceedings of the legislature, as published in the pamphlet by Governor Stokes, historians referred to the Mecklenburg declaration of independence as an established fact.

Judge Martin, in his history of North Carolina, gives the Mecklenburg declaration, but instead of five gives six resolves, the last or sixth, directs that a copy of the declaration be sent to the continental congress. He refers to Captain Jack being sent to Philadelphia bearing the resolutions, and says: "The subject of the resolutions were deemed to be too premature to be laid before congress," and "Caswell, Hooper and Hewes forwarded a joint letter to the citizens of Mecklenburg."

In Hildreth, we find, "that the citizens of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, carried their zeal so far as to resolve at a public meeting to throw off the British connection, and they framed a formal declaration of independence."

Washington Irving, in his life of Washington, says: "Above all it should never be forgotten, that at Mecklenburg, in the heart of North Carolina, was fulminated the first declaration of independence of the British crown, upwards of a year before a like declaration of congress."

Stephens, Jones, and Wheeler—the last two being North Carolina men—all refer to the declaration of May 20th, 1775, as a fixed fact. We also quote from the "Public Domain," a large volume published by authority of congress (1875) on page 52: "At Charlotte, Mecklenburg county,

May 20th, 1775, a convention of delegates from the county adopted the now famous Mecklenburg declaration of independence."

Other noted histories and many orations delivered by prominent citizens, might be quoted to still farther attest the truth in regard to the Mecklenburg declaration; but it is believed that the testimony already given is sufficient, and ought to be conclusive in regard to the authenticity of the "paper" which was so harshly called in question by ex-President Jefferson. It seems, however, that some minds are incapable of comprehending the possibility that anything similar to the Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, and signed by the members of the Continental Congress, on the fourth of July, 1776, could have emanated from a convention representing the citizens of a county of one of the colonial provinces of Great Britain. The political atmosphere of the times preceding the formal declaration made July 4th, 1776, was saturated with the idea of independence. It is stated on good authority that, "Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina, in a speech delivered in Charleston, in 1766 advocated the independence of the colonies, and he was the first American to proclaim that thought." It is believed that this is not disputed. The letter of William Hooper of North Carolina, in 1774, has already been referred to. The "Bill of Rights," adopted by Virginia and other colonies—previous to the formal declaration on the 4th of July, 1776, breathes the same spirit of independence, and in words strikingly similar to those used by Jefferson in the Declaration that was signed by the members of the Continental Congress. That declaration was the culminating fruition of germs of thought, feeling, and expression that had for years permeated the best minds of the Colonies.

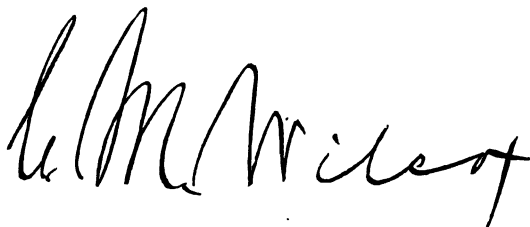
Revolutionary *action* was early developed in North Carolina. In the year 1765, on the arrival of the British sloop-of-war Diligence, in the Cape Fear River, a body of citizens frightened the captain of the sloop so that he did not attempt to land the "stamped paper" he brought out—then proceeded to the governor's house—demanded that he should desist from all attempts to execute the Stamp Act—forced him to deliver up the stamp master—carried the latter to the market house and there made him take an oath never to attempt to execute the duties of his office. On the 16th of May, 1771, in the battle of Alamance, the citizens of North Carolina poured out the first blood of the Revolution in resistance to British tyranny. On the 20th of May, 1775, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, made a declaration of independence, and submitted it for presentation to the continental congress, and on the 12th of April, 1776, the provincial congress of North Carolina took the lead of other states in

instructing their delegates in the continental congress to vote for resolutions of independence.

The Mecklenburg declaration of May 20, 1775, having been deemed "premature" by the continental congress and by the provincial congress of North Carolina, it would probably have received no *special* attention, in the history of those times, but for the fact that the proceedings of the Mecklenburg convention, published by the *Raleigh Register* in 1819, were discredited, in severe terms, by the author of the 4th of July declaration of the independence of United States of America. Jefferson's letter brought out incontestable evidence of the authenticity of the documents which he believed to be "spurious." It will be borne in mind that he did "not affirm positively" that the "paper" in question was "a fabrication," but he did say "I shall believe it such until most positive and solemn proof of its authenticity shall be produced." That proof was produced, and it might reasonably be supposed that this would have ended a discussion which probably never would have had any great prominence but for the letter written by ex-President Thomas Jefferson to ex-President John Adams.

But in the face of the preceding evidence, brought out soon after the publication of that letter in regard to the "paper" published by the *Raleigh Register* in 1819, an elaborate article of thirty-six pages appeared in the April number of the *North American Review* in 1874, in which an attempt was made to demonstrate that no declaration of independence emanated from a convention of citizens of Mecklenburg county, in the town of Charlotte, North Carolina, on the 20th of May, 1775. The position held by Dr. James C. Welling—the author of that article—entitles it to a special notice. He has been professor, and is now president of Columbia College in the city of Washington, has a facile pen, pleasing style, and shows familiarity with the subject in all its phases. He is, in addition, a skilled rhetorician, with a classic vocabulary at easy command, but his logic is faulty, he is inaccurate in his statements; his presentation of the evidence is misleading, and with all his learning and reputed ability, he reaches false conclusions in regard to the authenticity of the "paper" which Jefferson himself could not have doubted after the presentation of the proof demanded. All of that proof was before Dr. Welling when he proposed, in 1874 to show that no declaration of independence was made in Charlotte, on the 20th of May, 1775. In order to make this demonstration possible, he boldly asserts that all the witnesses, who certified such a declaration was made at that time, and place—that they were present during the debate—heard the declaration read—knew that it was transmitted to the North

Carolina delegates in the continental congress—and that these delegates replied that the presentation of the declaration to the general congress at that time would be premature—were all mistaken. Nothing short of the high standing of the person who made that assertion and that of the *Review*, in which the assertion was published makes it worthy of refutation. It is not proposed to follow Dr. Welling through the thirty-six pages of his article, nor to show how he reasoned himself into the real or pretended belief, that the so-called Mecklenburg declaration is a “canard” “a fabrication” and a “fraud.” The erudite scholar is the one who is mistaken. This is proved by the foregoing facts and testimony.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "L. M. Welling". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with large, connected letters.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

A TRIP FROM NEW YORK TO NIAGARA IN 1829

UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF COLONEL WILLIAM STONE

[*Concluded from Page 494.*]

The town of Canandaigua is chiefly built on one street upwards of two miles long. The easternmost half-mile of it is the business part of the place. Then comes the hotels, the public squares, the county-buildings, etc. Above these are the residences of the citizens, nearly all of which are handsome, many spacious and elegant, and some splendid dwellings. These houses are not crowded together in imitation of city blocks, but stand at goodly distance apart, with pleasure grounds, and gardens, delightfully shaded and varied with fruit and ornamental trees and flowering shrubs. I met a number of my friends here, but Mr Granger, who occupies the princely mansion erected by his late eminent father, was absent. For retirement and a life of elegant leisure, Canandaigua presents more attractions than any other place in the circuit of our travels. The principal citizens are wealthy, there is much refined society, and several eminent professional gentlemen are located here.

Wednesday, October 14. After breakfast took a walk through the main street of the village, as far as the Academy, a rude, old-fashioned, large, and tasteful edifice, and visited the church in company with my queer friend, Mr Wood, who has recently caused the windows of this edifice to be painted in imitation of the stained glass of former ages. Mr Wood is a gentleman of leisure, yet always busy. Are charities wanted for public or private objects, he is always the first to know the fact, and solicit the contributions, and in establishing apprentices and mercantile libraries he has done more than any man in the United States. Mrs Gorham, the wife of N. Gorham, Esq, one of the founders of the village, is a sister of this eccentric gentleman, with whom he has passed his summers for more than twenty years, and I am told that it has been chiefly through his influence and good taste that the village has been beautified in many important respects.

At 10 o'clock we left Canandaigua with regret for Geneva. In the coach was a Scotch gentleman by the name of Gibson, whom I had met the evening before as the guest of Mr Gregg. He proved a very intelligent, well-bred traveling companion. We found Geneva much larger and

built more city-like than Canandaigua, and in some things still more beautiful. The Seneca lake at the foot of which it stands, is charming, and the street of private residences upon the elevated bank of the lake, is one of the most lovely places I ever beheld. The Episcopal College stands upon this street, and is a substantial edifice of stone. I had pleasant interview with Bowen Whiting Esq, and called with him on Col Bogart, editor of the *Geneva Gazette*, a former political associate, but now an apostate among the warmest friends of General Jackson. Mr Haskell, with whom I took a drive, is brother of the late president of the Burlington College. He has been deranged some years, and is now here. His delusions are of a very extraordinary character. He believes that the world, and everything around him, is unreal and unsubstantial. He supposes that he has passed into another state of existence, and is not living in the world. And yet, when he speaks of former events, he dates them as having occurred "*When I lived in this World.*" His wife lately made a visit to him here, with his children. But he would not have any intercourse with them, and only believed them to be very excellent representations of those who were his wife and children when he was in the world. He draws maps and applies himself to the mechanic arts, and manufactures many articles—believing that all is delusion, that everything is unreal.

We left Geneva at twilight, and had an evening ride to Auburn. We had a good view of the village of Waterloo, the third town in Seneca county, founded in 1815 by Elisha Williams, Esq, and we had also a tolerable view (in the moonlight) of the thriving manufacturing village at Seneca Falls, and nothing could be more charming than the moonlit waters of Cayuga Lake, which we crossed at a rapid rate upon a bridge of more than a mile in length, the longest in the United States. We arrived at Auburn late and retired to rest—much fatigued.

Thursday, October 15. On coming down to the breakfast table, was greeted by Mr Dwyer, formerly of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, now on a tour giving recitations, and lectures on elocution. Called on several friends, and afterwards occupied the morning by going through the state prison, the admirable arrangement and discipline of which has become so extensively known. Among the convicts I recognized a man, once a gentleman, and an editor, now an inmate for the second time. A lawyer was also pointed out to me, also one who had once been an eminent mathematician.

Friday, October 16. The weather continuing mild and pleasant we planned a morning visit to Lieutenant-governor Throop, now acting governor at his seat on Owasco Lake, a distance of eight miles. The

elder Mr Burnett and lady, Mr B Burnett of London, Mr Pearsons of London, Mr Charles Burnett, Mrs Stone and myself made up the party. We found the governor and his lady at home, engaged in their domestic duties, and enjoyed an agreeable visit of above two hours. Governor Throop lives on the margin of the lake. Returned and dined with the Burnetts, and went to hear Mr Dwyer's recitations in the evenings.

Saturday, October 17. Left at 5 o'clock in the morning for Utica, in the mail-coach. In turning our backs upon Auburn we also turned them upon the level region of the west; the ride was very hilly and tiresome. In passing through the Oneida reservation we found but a few Indians—the greater portion of this tribe having emigrated to the western shores of Lake Michigan. It was late when we arrived at Utica.

Sunday, October 18. I attended church morning and evening and heard two excellent sermons from the Rev Mr Aiken. The last was on "The fervent, effectual prayer of a righteous man availeth much," and it was incomparably the best sermon upon that subject which I have ever heard.

Monday, October 19. Rose early, having a second time travelled myself out of money. Succeeded in obtaining cash for a draft very readily, and felt relieved, for unpleasant as empty pockets are at any time, it is particularly disagreeable to have "pockets to let" when one is on a journey and among strangers, or friends whose friendship you would much rather not bring to the test by a direct appeal upon such a subject. We resumed our homeward journey in a canal packet-boat, which we soon found uncomfortably filled with passengers. On leaving Utica, that most luxuriant and delightful little section of New York, known as the German Flats open upon our view, bounded on all sides by hills and gentle elevations, most of which are well-cultivated, and enriched, like Egypt from the Nile, by the periodical overflowings of the stream which tranquilly courses its way through the fruitful fields. The village of Herkimer is built on a ridge; we passed it upon the opposite side of the river. It was in this romantic spot that I commenced political life as an editor, having taken charge of the *Herkimer American* in February 1811, nearly nineteen years ago. Formerly it was a place of much business, and good society. Now it has become a poor, dull, third-rate village. Dinner over we arrived at the Little Falls of the Mohawk. This is one of the wildest and most romantic places with which I am acquainted. The rapids of the river, the descent of which is probably eighty or one hundred feet in the course of half a mile, furnish water-power for mills and manufactories to any extent. And this is the only reason that could have induced the founding of a

village upon such an inhospitable spot, for the whole area of the town consists of solid rock. The houses, many of which are large and several of which are elegant, are built with the stone excavated in digging the cellars ; and earth is brought from a considerable distance for the gardens. The rocks in the bed of the river are rough and of a very unequal surface, over and among which the water dashes with much violence. From Little Falls to Schenectady the country is pleasing with an agreeable variety of hill and dale upon either side of the canal. Our boat was so much crowded that every berth and settee, and all the space on the floor was occupied before 10 o'clock, with horizontal exhibitions of the human frame divine ; and a squalling child in the ladies' cabin and a snoring man in the stern banished refreshing sleep. It was a sad night for all, especially the ladies. N. B. Little children, and people who snore, have no business on board a canal packet-boat.

Tuesday morning, October 20. Arrived at Schenectady at five o'clock A M. Landed and breakfasted in this Dutchified city at half-past seven. Took a carriage and started for Saratoga springs, calling at the College by the way upon Mrs Professor Jocelyn and Mrs Yates. The weather from the mild and genial temperature of the Indian summer, suddenly changed this morning, and a cutting northwest wind rendered our ride somewhat chilly and unpleasant. We reached our destination just in season for dinner, and received a most cordial welcome.

“REVOLUTIONS” IN SPANISH AMERICA

Not long ago a leading member of our lower house of Congress seriously asked what was the form of government of the independent state through whose territory the projected Franco-Panama canal would pass. Being told that the government of Colombia, to which he referred, was and had always been democratic in theory and republican in form, he expressed a degree of surprise bordering upon incredulity. He could not, for the moment, reconcile such a statement with the fact of ever-recurring revolutions in that country; “for,” said he, “do not revolutions necessarily imply modifications and changes in the form of government?”

Now this man was not more ignorant of foreign affairs than were, perhaps, a majority of his colleagues, and he was, as I have intimated, a politician of local influence. He had simply never paid any attention to Spanish-American politics, and knew almost nothing of the people of those countries. Like hundreds of others, he had somehow learned that revolutions were frequent there, and, like others, understood the term “revolution” in its ordinary sense. He understood it to mean, in South America as elsewhere, a popular uprising against some form of absolutism—some fundamental change in the form of government, suddenly and violently brought about.

In Spanish America, however, the word has a much more comprehensive meaning. It is there employed to indicate any public disorder, and is generally synonymous with sedition. Every tumult is a “revolution;” every political agitator and violent seeker of office is a “revolutionist.” Another distinction is noticeable. In other countries revolutions generally originate with the masses and work upward, but in Spanish America they as generally originate with the office-holding class and proceed downward. In other words, a “revolution” in the trans-Caribbean sense, is rarely anything more than a quarrel between the “outs” and the “ins.” It involves changes of administration, a re-distribution of the offices, but rarely any changes in the fundamental law, and never any fundamental changes in the form of government.

Take Colombia, for example—that most picturesque and beautiful country in whose political history our Congressional friend had become so suddenly interested. Its form of government has never been other than republican since 1822, when its independence was first recognized by the

United States. And yet, during the forty years from 1822 to 1862, it had some sort of a revolution, local or general, on an average of about every two years. Or, in the language of one of its distinguished chief magistrates, "the maintenance of public order was the exception, and revolutions the rule." And during the twenty-two years from 1862 to 1884, these disturbances were even more frequent; for, according to the same high authority, "there was an average of one for every twelve months." And yet, amidst all this confusion and anarchy, there was never evinced the slightest disposition to abandon the experiment of self-government for imperial or monarchical forms.

The principles of the first political constitution, adopted on the 30th August, 1821, were those of a representative republic. It recognized one supreme legislature, but no subordinate ones. There was complete unity of authority. All the civil divisions or departments were subordinate powers of government, under the immediate direction of an Intendent appointed by the president. Each of the provinces or "states" were under a governor appointed by the president. Suffrage was neither universal nor direct. The qualified voters chose electors, who chose the president and vice-president, and likewise the senators and representatives. There was one representative for every 30,000 population. Each province was entitled to four senators, the senatorial term being eight years. The presidential term was four years. The term of representatives was four years, and a member of the lower house was ineligible for a third term in succession. The election for electors by qualified voters was every four years. The electors thus chosen met at the capitals of the provinces once in four years and chose all the important officers of the general government. The president of the Republic was chosen by a majority of electoral votes in all the provinces; the senators and representatives by a majority of electoral votes in their respective provinces.

Very soon, however, the local politicians, whose claims to political preferment had not been recognized, and whose influence seemed likely to be lost in so large an expanse of territory, became dissatisfied. They raised the old cry against "consolidated government," and pretended to believe the liberties of the people in danger. They accused the president, General Bolivar, with monarchic designs, and appealed to the ignorant fears of the masses. The agitation continued until Bolivar was forced to flee the country for personal safety. And thus matters went on from bad to worse until the new Republic fell to pieces, after a fitful existence of less than six years. Venezuela and Ecuador formally seceded from the Union, and each set up a confederate republic of its own. The remaining

state, New Granada—now known as Colombia—subdivided into nine states, and these organized a confederate Republic, under the name of the United States of New Granada.

Under this new organization, each of the provinces was clothed with the dignity of a "sovereign state." The general government had power to recommend almost everything, but power to do nothing. The mystery of the Trinity was outdone in the unsuccessful effort to harmonize plural sovereignties with national unity. Confusion reigned supreme; yet amid it all, no one dared to suggest a return to monarchical forms. And when, after about twenty-two years of "organized anarchy," a new constitution was framed, and a new Republic organized under the name and style of "the United States of Colombia," the same confederate form was retained, and the same latitudinarian principles of "liberty" emphasized.

The truth is, Colombia has always been one of the most democratic countries on the western continent. And perhaps for this very reason its government has generally been less stable than that of Chili, which is confessedly the least democratic of all the South American republics. Be that as it may, in no other country on the globe has "the democratic principle" been so thoroughly carried out to its logical sequence. Thus, for instance, under the constitution of 1863, each of the nine states of the Union was recognized as "sovereign and independent." The federal government was merely the "agent" of the states. It had none but "specially delegated powers." It could lay no just claim to the allegiance of its citizens; for there could be no national citizenship, except such as was incidental by reason of the citizenship of some one of the particular states. In other words, the constitution was the very embodiment of the "Jeffersonian theory" of government, as that theory was elaborated by Mr. Calhoun in his celebrated speech in the United States Senate on the Force Bill of 1833.

In each of the nine "sovereign" states, all offices were elective for short terms by universal suffrage; for "rotation in office" was deemed not only "the very essence of democracy," but the only safeguard to "liberty." The natural result was, that office-seeking became the chief branch of industry. It is said that there was never a day in the year, Sundays not even excepted, when there was not one or more popular elections in some one or more of the states. And it is a curious and instructive coincidence that all "revolutions," with few exceptions, had their geneses in these popular elections.

The reason for this is not far to seek. In a mixed population, where all males of the age of eighteen years and upwards were legal voters, and

perhaps fifty per cent. of the voters illiterate, a perfectly fair election was next to impossible. Frauds became so frequent that, in the course of time, no one expected a free and fair expression of the popular will at the polls. "Nobody," said a distinguished Colombian Senator, "ever thinks of peaceably acquiescing in the result of one of our farces which we dignify with the name of a popular election, because nobody is simple enough to believe they ever express the will of the people. If the defeated candidate happened to be a man of military skill and local influence, he seldom had much difficulty in "organizing a revolution."

He first secretly collected a few stand of arms and a quantity of ammunition. His next care would be to procure soldiers of the line; for his immediate political followers were like himself, "generals" or "colonels." But by persuasion, by promises of reward, by intimidation, or more frequently by impressments, he would soon manage to get together a little army of a few hundred men. For their subsistence he would forage upon the country; and for their promised monthly stipend, he would levy forced loans or *imprestos* upon his wealthy neighbors. Before actual hostilities began, he would usually manage to put himself in communication with the government, against which his operations were to be directed. This generally resulted in a conference between the accredited agents of the two hostile factions. If the negotiations were successful the *revolutionario* and his friends were duly provided for, and the "revolution" declared at an end. If the negotiations failed, then the fighting would begin. But in no case, pending either the "negotiations" or the fighting, could the national government interpose its authority, either for the preservation or the restoration of order. For, by the very terms of the federal compact, the national government was obliged to observe the strictest neutrality. And it was equally bound, by a fundamental law, to recognize the victor not merely as the *de facto*, but as the *de jure* state government. With such a premium upon civil commotions, it is not much wonder that they were of such frequent occurrence.

Such was the local "revolution." It might become general in many ways. It was sure to become general if any attempt was made, however feeble, on the part of the general government, to interfere with the political affairs of the state. None of the states, however insignificant, would tolerate for a moment any real or apparent violation of "neutrality" by the general government. All adjustment of differences between the particular states had to be made "in accordance with the principles of international law" and precedent; and all civil disturbances within the territorial limits of any one state had to be adjusted by the factions themselves,

or else fought out by them to the bitter end. And in every case, whether one revolution remained merely local, or became general, the real issue involved would be merely a few offices, the legal tenure of the very highest being but two years.

Of course there have been notable exceptions. Important principles were sometimes involved, resulting in constitutional changes. The general revolution of 1860, commonly known as "the Mosquera revolution," may be cited as one. The unsuccessful revolt of the ecclesiastical authorities, in 1876, may be cited as a second. And the last general revolution of 1884-5 may be mentioned as a third.

With regard to the first named, it was a successful revolt against the authority of the Church in matters temporal, and resulted in the complete overthrow of the old Conservative party. A new federal constitution was framed and adopted which disfranchised the clergy, but otherwise extended the suffrage to all males over eighteen years of age. It abolished capital punishment. It guaranteed perfect liberty of conscience, and of speech and press. It made provision for a system of Public Instruction. And it abolished the old canonical law of marriage, and made it essential to the validity of every marriage that it be celebrated before some civil magistrate.

All this, however, was in advance of the public sentiment of the country, and therefore could not be permanent. At first, the masses were slow to complain, because slow to comprehend the real scope and meaning of the change; but when they did begin to realize its full significance their secret dissatisfaction was all the greater, for they considered that they had been deceived. Long accustomed to the unquestioned authority of the Church, they could not understand, for instance, how marriage could be regarded as a civil contract merely. They could not be made to believe that any marriage was valid without the sanction of the Church. Hence it always required the performance of two marriage ceremonies to satisfy the contracting parties—one before the civil magistrate (as the law required), to satisfy the groom and his legal adviser, and one by the parish priest to satisfy the bride and her family. But the public school system was the source of greatest discontent. The clergy pronounced them "Godless," and finally threatened the parents of the pupils with excommunication. The schools became very unpopular; and it soon became manifest that unless some compromise could be effected, the entire system of Public Instruction would have to be abandoned. This would involve a restriction of the suffrage, which seemed impracticable without violence. So, a compromise was decided upon by terms of which every public school was to be open one hour daily for religious instruction—the instruction to

be conducted by the parish priest, or other accredited officer of the Church. This worked very well for a while. But the ecclesiastics were not satisfied. They could not brook the idea of entering the schools in the capacity of subordinates, and very soon made the demand that the entire public school system be placed under their exclusive control and direction. The refusal of this demand, and the irritations resulting from it, led to the general revolt of 1876.

In that memorable conflict—memorable for acts of desperate courage and shocking cruelties—the Liberal or anti-Church party was victorious. It was, however, merely a physical triumph of superior military skill, unsupported by latent public sentiment. The priest was still supreme in the domestic circle, and in the hearts of the masses. Factions soon began to arise within the ranks of the dominant political party. In anticipation of this, the Conservative leaders had already abandoned all show of organization, holding themselves in readiness to secretly co-operate with whatever faction might be able to offer them the most favorable terms. Their opportunity soon came. The Congress passed an act of somewhat doubtful constitutionality, authorizing the Executive to interpose his authority, in certain specified cases, for the preservation of public order in the particular states. A disputed election in the State of Santander soon afforded him the opportunity to exercise this authority, and hostilities commenced. The Conservatives sided with the national Executive, and a general civil war ensued, in which the national Administration finally triumphed. A new constitution was framed and adopted. The clergy were enfranchised, and leading Conservative statesmen awarded Cabinet positions. The suffrage was restricted to a literary and property qualification. The troublesome old dogma of "state sovereignty" was formally abandoned. A consolidated Republic was substituted for the old Confederation of states. The judiciary was taken out of politics, and the official term of the judges made for life, or during good behavior. The terms of all other officers were extended. The turbulent little state of Panamá was remanded to a territorial condition, and governed by officers appointed by the Executive. The state of Cundinamarca was converted into a federal District. And the Roman Catholic religion was formally recognized as "the religion of the country." Since then peace has reigned supreme; but it remains to be seen whether it shall be permanent.

I have alluded incidentally to impressments, contributions and forced loans as among the sequences of a Spanish-American "revolution." Perhaps a few words in explanation of these peculiar methods are necessary to a full understanding of their import.

In most of those countries, and particularly in Colombia, there has not been hitherto any militia system worthy of the name, nor yet anything exactly corresponding to the old European system of conscription. The standing army has generally consisted of one or two regiments of ill paid soldiers, and of a horde of commissioned officers without commands. To fill up the rank and file, as emergencies arose, the government relied upon impressments. Recruiting officers would scour the country, lasso in hand, and catch Indians and Zambos very much as Texas herdsmen lasso cattle during the branding season. Revolutionary leaders recruited their forces in the same manner. And thus between the two the simple minded and docile Indian had little hope of escape. If he managed to elude the lasso of the one, he generally fell into the snares of the other; and when once caught his simple and docile spirit knew only obedience. He was easily disciplined, and the very docility of his nature made him a good soldier. His stupid indifference to danger was an excellent substitute for the higher form of courage, and he would stand up and shoot and be shot at as long as physical strength endured until his commanding officer began to show signs of flinching. When taken prisoner, he would fight with equal indifference to danger on the opposite side. If he got killed on the winning side, some show of provision would be made for his family. If he fell on the losing side, his family accepted the result as a dispensation of Providence.

The "contribution" took place whenever horses, mules, saddles, bridles, provisions, clothing, or aught else deemed necessary to an army, fell within the power of the invading forces, the justification being either "military necessity" or the alleged sympathy of the owner with the opposite faction. In the first named case promises to pay, or *pagaras*, as they are called, would be issued by authority of the chief commander. These would be worthless, of course, unless the party issuing them succeeded in gaining or retaining control of the government. In the other case, that is, when the owner was suspected of disloyalty to the despoiler, the only hope of reimbursement lay in the direction of reprisals. As a rule, however, both parties would scrupulously respect the rights of neutral foreign residents; or when this was not done, some means would usually be provided by the government to compensate the owner for his losses.

The *emprestito* or "forced loan" was a more serious matter. If a citizen had the reputation of being wealthy, his first assessment would sometimes be as much as fifteen or twenty thousand dollars; and this was liable to be duplicated, even by the same party, before the close of the war. He would be given a reasonable length of time to raise the money, but if it

were not forthcoming at the expiration of the time, he would be arrested and cast into prison. If in order to avoid arrest he shut himself up in his family residence or fled the country, his house would be placed under military guard and all egress and ingress prohibited until some pledge of payment was given. If he paid the assessment cheerfully and promptly in the first instance, hoping thereby to purchase immunity from further disturbance, he would be accused of disloyalty to the opposing faction, and when their time came they seldom failed to assess him heavily on that score. And thus, between Scylla and Charybdis, he could seldom hope to pass through one of these periodical "revolutions" without heavy losses. He often deemed himself fortunate if not left a bankrupt.

In the midst of such political demoralization as this, extending back through a period of half a century, one hardly expects to see many evidences of material prosperity. Successful business enterprises have been the exception, not the rule, and even native capital has generally sought investment elsewhere. But it is an error to assume, as many of our people do, that there is a corresponding lack of culture and refinement among the better classes. In all the large cities of Spanish America, and often in some of the smaller centres of civilization, there is a small society which for real culture and refinement is equal to our best. Indeed, in genuine courtesy, and in all those little amenities of social life in which we North Americans are so generally deficient, the Spanish Americans of the better class are very far ahead of us.

Nor should we despair of the ultimate success of free government in those countries. The process of evolution from a condition of commercial and political vassalage, such as prevailed there up to 1810, to a condition of perfect autonomy under republican forms, is necessarily slow. The masses are still generally illiterate—often densely ignorant and superstitious. But each succeeding generation is more intelligent and self-reliant than the preceding one; and no one, who has carefully studied the political history of the country, can fail to discern a slow but gradual improvement in their methods. In the course of time these people will emerge from what Herbert Spencer calls "the fighting age" into the industrial era of civilization; and the great national resources of Colombia particularly will, with stable government, give that country a most prominent place in the industrial and commercial world before many decades more.

William L. Scruggs.

THE FIRST THEATRE IN AMERICA

The following interesting communication in regard to the first theatre in America appeared in the *New York Times* of November 4, 1888. It is from the pen of Dr. George H. Moore, superintendent of Lenox Library, which is in itself a guarantee that the data therein contained are not only genuine but worthy of permanent preservation.

"There has been much discussion from time to time among those who are interested in 'first things' of American history as to where and when play-acting began in the region now known as the United States. Various claims have been set up for various places, with various success. As long ago as 1865, the late Dr. O'Callaghan, an Irishman, who did more for the history of New York than any other man has ever done to this day, pointed out the fact that one Richard Hunter, 'having been at great charge and expense in providing persons and necessaries in order to the acting of *Plays* in this city,' procured a 'license for soe doing' from the governor of New York somewhere between 1699 and 1703. The enterprise of this early 'manager' has no other record yet discovered, and it is not known what or how many plays were acted in New York City under the authority of the government of that day, nor yet how the ancient inhabitants regarded such doings among them. There were no newspapers anywhere in America then, and it was not until many years after the beginning of the eighteenth century that advertisements in the papers preserved the scanty history of the American theatre, such as it was, and furnished the source of the opinions which have generally prevailed on that subject.

I have no idea of undertaking to correct any errors, but have repeated the story of what seems to have been the earliest attempt of the kind by way of introduction to a notice of the second, undertaken in the Puritan capital in the year 1714, which has also escaped the research of the theatrical historians, so far as I know. The following letter, which has recently appeared under the auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society, tells the whole story undoubtedly, for Boston was repeatedly convulsed by subsequent efforts to introduce the theatre into the Commonwealth before the end of that century, which failed to see its real establishment in the three-hilled city. Not until the years of the nineteenth century began to roll over the ancient home of the fathers of the New England Israel did

any theatre really 'come to stay' therein; and it is measurably certain that the ancient Prytaneum Bostoniense, whose walls are still extant in the Old State House in Boston, was not desecrated by 'play-acting' within its sacred precincts, just after its completion in 1713-14. Chief-Justice Sewell was one of the last of the genuine Puritans of the old leaven, and his letter is a gem—indeed, a masterpiece in its way. I do not know how many theatres there have been or are now in Boston; but they have certainly made the bones of the fathers of New England rattle to very strange tunes in these latter days."

SAMUEL SEWELL TO ISAAC ADDINGTON,

" Boston of the Massachusetts :

March 2. 1713-14.

There is a Rumor, as if some design'd to have a Play acted in the Council Chamber, next Monday ; which much surprises me : And as much as in me lyes, I do forbid it. The Romans were very fond of their Plays : but I never heard they were so far set upon them, as to turn their Senat-House into a Play-House. Our Town-House was built at great Cost and Charge, for the sake of very serious and important Business ; the Three Chambers above, and the Exchange below ; Business of the Province, County, and Town. Let it not be abused with Dances, or other Scenical divertisements. It cañot be an Honor to the Queen, to have the Laws of Honesty and Sobriety broken in upon. Ovid himself offers invincible Arguments against publick Plays.

Ut tamen hoc fateor: Ludi quoque semina praebeant Nequitia.

Let not Christian Boston goe beyond Heathen Rome in the practice of shameful Vanities.

This is the voice of your most obedient servant,

SAMUEL SEWELL,

To the Hon'ble Isaac Addington, Esq., Secretary. To be communicated to his Excellency the Governour, and to the honorable Council."

NEW YORK, *Thursday, Nov. 1, 1888.*

THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE

All Hail to the Chief, whatsoever his name,
If the Will of the People has raised him to fame,
If the unquestioned power of the popular voice
Has named and proclaimed him the man of its choice.
Whatsoever his politics, party or creed ;
Whatsoever his record, by word or by deed ;
Though humble his station, in penury trained ;
Or princely in wealth, by sagacity gained ;
All Hail to the Chief : greet his advent with song ;
For the Will of the People rarely goes wrong.

The voice of Minorities sometimes is just,
But Majority's dictum is safest to trust ;
And when a vexed question is brought to the poll,
Which affects not a part, but the good of the whole,
He is wrong who condemns, and his cause is the worse,
If the stronger voice utters a verdict adverse ;
For though it may err—as all history relates—
Allegiance to power is the safety of States.
Then Hail to the Chief : greet his advent with song ;
For the Will of the People can rarely go wrong.

Be he President, Emperor, Sultan or King—
When abusing his station, he sinks to a thing
In the hands of the populace, if they unite
To hurl him from power in the strength of their might ;
For Democracy, now-a-days, underlies all,
And its fiat can keep him or help to his fall ;
He only is safe whom the public voice sways ;
And he only great who his people obeys.
Then Hail to the Chief : greet his advent with song ;
For the Will of the People rarely goes wrong.

And Hail to the Land, from the west to the east ;
From the north to the south ; from the greatest to least ;

Where each citizen, whate'er his colour or cause,
If sworn to the charter and true to the laws—
Holds the right—first of rights which to freemen belong—
To say Who shall rule over him—when—and how long;
Where ruler and ruled in allegiance are bound
By the laws which self-government proves to be sound.
Then Hail to the Chief: greet his advent with song;
For the Will of the People can rarely go wrong.

We sing not of partisan triumph or plot,
Republican, Democrat, Neutral or what;
For parties change front, and the foe of to-day,
To-morrow, in friendly ranks may array;
But we sing of One party, solid in strength;
Which covers the land in its breadth and its length;
The great Union party—without clique or clan—
Whose President, whoe'er he be, is *our* man.
Then Hail to the Chief: greet his advent with song:
For the Will of the People rarely goes wrong.

Fear not: there's a principle vital as light,
Whose influence leadeth the masses aright;
And in spite of the demagogue's specious appeals,
Awakens the conscience, and duty reveals;
That instinct of Justice, in minds the most dense,
Which conquers self-interest through common sense,
Till the voter inquires—"What is best for us *all*?"
Ere he lets his vote into the ballot-box fall.
Then Hail to the Chief: greet his advent with song;
For the Will of the People can rarely go wrong.

Charles H. Tuckerman.

FLORENCE, ITALY.

SLAVERY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

Editor Magazine of American History :

I notice in your September issue for 1888 [xx. 249, 335] a question asked by Mr. Laidlaw, concerning the abolition of slavery in New Hampshire. I had occasion some years ago to look the matter up, and from the notes I then made, I have information which may be of interest to your readers.

Negro slavery was never established in New Hampshire by any law of the province, or state; nor was it ever abolished by any legislative enactment. A province law enacted in 1714 forbade the importation, or bringing into the province by sea or land any male or female Indian of any age to be used as a servant or slave. The caption of said act alleges that "Notorious crimes and enormities have of late been perpetrated and committed by Indians, and other slaves within several of Her Majesty's Plantations in America," and that it "is a discouragement to the Importation of White Christian servants." The word servants here undoubtedly means paid laborers, some of whom had their transportation expenses paid on their arrival here by residents of the province who desired their services; in consideration whereof they agreed to serve for a specified time for no further pay except a proper amount of food and clothing. Negro slavery existed in New Hampshire to a limited extent during the last century; during the closing decade thereof probably none were forcibly detained, and only those remained in enforced service who were advanced in years, and who by reason of kind and humane treatment, and the assurance of being cared for in their old age, preferred so to do. By the census of 1767 the number of "negros and slaves for life" was 633; in 1773, 681; in 1775, 479. and in 1790, the number of slaves was 158. It is uncertain whether the enumeration given under the heading as quoted, included free negroes, but I am strongly of opinion that it did, and that the number held in actual slavery was much less than those figures represent. The fact that there is no comma after the word negros in the original heading, is no proof of the unity of the heading, as it is well known that the people of that time were no more proficient in punctuation than those of to-day.

The census of 1790 was more explicit, having one column for "Other free persons" (meaning undoubtedly free colored persons) and another for

"slaves." In 1779 an attempt was made to secure the passage of an act granting freedom to the slaves. The matter was presented to the legislature in the form of an ably drawn petition, dated November 12, 1779, to which the names of nineteen negro slaves were signed.

The date of that document is several years earlier than that of the convention which produced the Federal Constitution, and I have copied it entire, from the original preserved in the state archives. It is as follows.

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

To the Honorable, the Council and House of Representatives of said state, now sitting at Exeter in and for said state :

The petition of the subscribers, natives of Africa, now forcibly detained in slavery in said state most humbly *sheweth*, That the *God* of nature gave them life and freedom, upon the terms of the most perfect equality with other men ; That freedom is an inherent right of the human species, not to be surrendered, but by consent, for the sake of social life ; That private or public tyranny and slavery are alike detestable to minds conscious of the equal dignity of human nature ; That in power and authority of individuals, derived solely from a principle of coercion, against the will of individuals, and to dispose of their persons and properties, consists the completest idea of private and political slavery ; That all men being amenable to the Deity for the ill-improvement of the blessings of His Providence, they hold themselves in duty bound strenuously to exert every faculty of their minds to obtain that blessing of freedom, which they are justly entitled to from that donation of the beneficent Creator ; That through ignorance and brutish violence of their native countrymen, and by the sinister designs of others (who ought to have taught them better), and by the avarice of both, they, while but children, and incapable of self-defence, whose infancy might have prompted protection, were seized, imprisoned, and transported from their native country, where (though ignorance and unchristianity prevailed) they were born free, to a country, where (though knowledge, Christianity and freedom are their boast) they are compelled and their posterity to drag on their lives in miserable servitude : Thus, often is the parent's cheek wet for the loss of a child, torn by the cruel hand of violence from her aching bosom ; Thus, often and in vain is the infant's sigh for the nurturing care of its bereaved parent, and thus do the ties of nature and blood become victims to cherish the vanity and luxury of a fellow mortal. Can this be right ? Forbid it gracious Heaven.

Permit again your humble slaves to lay before this honorable assembly some of those grievances which they daily experience and feel. Though fortune hath dealt out our portion with rugged hand, yet hath she smiled in the disposal of our persons to those who claim us as their property ; of them we do not complain, but from what authority they assume the power to dispose of our lives, freedom and property, we would wish to know. Is it from the sacred volume of Christianity ? There we believe it is not to be found ; but here hath the cruel hand of slavery made us incompetent judges, hence knowledge is hid from our minds. Is it from the volumes of the laws ? Of these also slaves cannot be judges, but those we are told are founded on reason and justice ; it cannot be found there. Is it from the volumes of nature ? No, here we can read with others, of this knowledge, slavery cannot wholly deprive us ; here we know that we ought to be free agents ; here we feel the dignity of human nature ; here we feel the passions and desires of men, though

checked by the rod of slavery; here we feel a just equality; here we know that the God of nature made us free. Is their authority assumed from custom? If so let that custom be abolished, which is not founded in nature, reason nor religion. Should the humanity and benevolence of this honorable assembly restore us that state of liberty of which we have been so long deprived, we conceive that those who are our present masters will not be sufferers by our liberation, as we have most of us spent our whole strength and the prime of our lives in their service; and as freedom inspires a noble confidence and gives the mind an emulation to vie in the noblest efforts of enterprise, and as justice and humanity are the result of your deliberations, we fondly hope that the eye of pity and the heart of justice may commiserate our situation, and put us upon the equality of freemen, and give us an opportunity of evincing to the world our love of freedom by exerting ourselves in her cause, in opposing the efforts of tyranny and oppression over the country in which we ourselves have been so long injuriously enslaved.

Therefore, Your humble slaves most devoutly pray for the sake of injured liberty, for the sake of justice, humanity and the rights of mankind, for the honor of religion and by all that is dear, that your honors would graciously interpose in our behalf, and enact such laws and regulations, as you in your wisdom think proper, whereby we may regain our liberty and be ranked in the class of free agents, and that the name of slave may not more be heard in a land gloriously contending for the sweets of freedom. And your humble slaves as in duty bound will ever pray.

Portsmouth Nov. 12, 1779.

NERO BREWSTER,
SENECA HALL,
CESAR GERRISH,
WINSOR MOFFATT,
SAMUEL WENTWORTH,
PETER FROST,
CIPIO HUBBARD,

PHARAOH ROGERS,
CATE NEWMARCH,
PHARAOH SHORES,
QUAM SHERBURNE,
KITTRIDGE TUCKERMAN,
JACK ODIORNE,

ROMEO RINDGE,
PETER WARNER,
ZEBULON GARDNER,
GARRETT COTTON,
WILL CLARKSON,
PRINCE WHIPPLE.

The foregoing petition was read in the house of representatives, April 25, 1780, and a hearing appointed for the next session, of which the petitioners were to give public notice by publication in the *New Hampshire Gazette*.

In this action the council concurred.

The matter was again before the house on Friday, June 9, 1780, and was disposed of in the manner shown by the following extract from their daily journal.

"Agreeable to the order of the day the petition of Nero Brewster and others, negro slaves, praying to be set free from slavery, being read, considered and argued by counsel for petitioners before this House, it appears to this House that at this time the House is not ripe for a determination in this matter: Therefore, ordered that the further consideration and determination of the matter be post poned to a more convenient oppor-

tunity." I find no further mention of the matter in the journals of the legislature, and it was probably not again considered by that body.

The constitution of this state, as adopted in 1784, declares, that "All men are born equally free and independent," and that declaration has been construed by some to have prohibited the holding in slavery any person born subsequent to that date. The sentiment contained in this extract was obviously borrowed from the Declaration of Independence of 1776, and I question its having been used with any reference to negro slavery, in either case. There were less than 150 slaves in New Hampshire in 1792, and there is a strong probability that most if not all of them were in that position voluntarily, for reasons before stated. Had any persons been held in slavery against their own wills at that time, it is reasonably certain that the matter would have been considered by the constitutional convention held in that year. Public opinion in the state demanded its extinction, and in obedience thereto it gradually died out; those who were aged and preferred to remain in the families they had served for years, were permitted to do so, and were cared for until they died.

The subject was before the legislature of this state on one subsequent occasion, and an act approved June 26, 1857, provided that no person should be deprived of the right of citizenship in this state on account of color, or because such person had been a slave. The act also provided, that any slave who shall come into this state with the consent of his master or mistress, or who shall come or be brought into or be in this state involuntarily, shall be free. Any person who held or attempted to hold a person in slavery, to be deemed guilty of felony, and on conviction to be confined to hard labor not less than one, nor more than five years. Provided, that the law should not apply to any act lawfully done by a United States' officer, or other person in the execution of any legal process.

Isaac W. Hammond

CONCORD, NEW HAMPSHIRE.

VOL. XXI.—No. 1.—5

MINOR TOPICS

GENERAL SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS

[The following letter from Hon. Charles J. McCurdy is published by request as a complement to the very able and satisfactory vindication of General Parsons by Dr. Loring. The substance of it was written before Judge McCurdy had seen the article, and would have appeared with it had it been received in time.]

LYME, CONN., *October 15, 1888.*

HON. GEORGE B. LORING.

DEAR SIR :—Your letter of the 10th inst. was duly received. Your vindication of General Parsons is exhaustive and conclusive, and I am glad that it is to be published in a pamphlet form ; not only his family and friends, but our states must feel under obligation to you for it.

As you were aware that I had taken much interest in the matter and had once begun a similar article, you ask if I would like to add a supplementary letter. It would be close gleaning where you had reaped. But one or two points I would respectfully make, arising chiefly from the internal evidence of the Heron letters alone. It is known that General Washington kept direction of the "Spy bureau" exclusively in his own hands. On the twenty-second of February, 1781, he wrote to General Parsons a confidential letter requesting him to employ a spy and promise him a generous compensation. On the fourteenth of March following, General Parsons answered that the spy employed had an assurance of generous pay. When General Washington wrote, Heron was undoubtedly in the British service, and was at the same time on intimate terms with General Parsons, for he says in his letter of February 4, 1781, "I spent a part of the night with Gen. Parsons and another with Gen. Stark," and am "intimate with both."

This letter is long and minute, and there is no hint of any defection of General Parsons, and there is no intimation of the kind until his letter of the twenty-fourth of April following ; so that the evidence from the sequence of the dates is that on the twenty-second of February, General Washington requested General Parsons to employ a spy. On the fourteenth of March, General Parsons answered that he had employed one, and on the twenty-fourth of April, Heron writes for the first time in his letter giving an account of his first proposing the treason to General Parsons.

The manifest conclusion from these facts, taken in connection with his proverbial sagacity and his selection and control of instruments, that General Parsons knew his man all the time and had turned him from his former employers and probably with the full knowledge of Washington. It is well known that along the line between the two armies this double espionage was a common occurrence.

To one other point I will call your attention. The inducements purporting in the correspondence to have been held out to General Parsons as a reward for his treachery, are offered by a subordinate individual without apparent authority, and all are vague, indefinite and ridiculous. In exchange for his command-in-chief of the Connecticut line of the continental army he is offered a position in the British army but the grade is not intimated. He is to have money, of course, "pieces of silver," but the amount is uncertain. He is to have a cask of wine, but whether a ten gallon or sixty gallon cask, and whether old Maderia or of the Jersey vintage are also left uncertain. It is suggested that he might share in the glory of Benedict Arnold, the miscreant whom he would have hung, if as was proposed, he could have been kidnapped in the manner of General Prescott. Last, but not least, of the conditions of the infamous (pretended) bargain was the promotion of General Parsons' son, Enoch. This is twice mentioned in the correspondence, and was made a *sine qua non*. He was to "be taken into the British service and sent out of the country." It was perhaps thought by British officers that the doting father secretly hoped his son might in time rival the Clives and Hastings and other great commanders, "conquerors on foreign shores and the far wave." In this proposition also the rank was left indefinite. But certainly no less an office than the command of a regiment, perhaps a brigade, would be likely to satisfy the aspirations of such a father, and pay for the risk of his life and the sacrifice of his soul.

Now who and what was this Enoch, and what had been the history of his exploits and his previous career?

By a reference to Chancellor Walworth's genealogy of the Hyde Family it will be seen that this son of General Parsons was born on the fifth of November, 1769, and so was at this time eleven years and four months old. It would seem that the sham was too transparent to deceive even "the most credulous or obtuse of the enemy." I will only add that General Parsons was the last person who would trust himself within their lines, for he was the one who sent his brother-in-law, Captain Ezra Lee, of Lyme, in Bushnell's torpedo under their ship of war in the harbor of New York for which both of them, if taken, would have been hung, the act being then denounced as outside the pale of civilized warfare.

Yours, etc.,

CHAS. J. MCCURDY.

Hon. Charles S. Hall, a descendant of General Parsons, also wrote as follows :

BINGHAMTON, N. Y., October 16, 1888.

HON. GEORGE B. LORING.

MY DEAR SIR :—Your *Vindication of General Samuel Holden Parsons* I have read with the greatest interest. It seems to me complete, and to remove every shadow of suspicion which may have been thrown by the unexplained correspond-

ence in *Clinton's Secret Service Record* over the reputation of an ancestor whom I have always been taught to regard as one of the most devoted and trusted leaders in the war for American independence.

A man worthy to be described as "one of the bravest and most accomplished officers of the revolutionary era;" as the "sagacious companion of Washington;" as "one of the strongest arms on which Washington leaned; who first suggested the Continental Congress; from the story of whose life could almost be written the history of the Northern war;" should not have been denounced as a traitor on such insufficient evidence as the letters of William Heron.

A Puritan of Puritans in his descent; possessed of high moral and intellectual qualities; a graduate of Harvard and a member of the Connecticut bar: an intimate associate of the leading spirits, and himself a positive force in the revolt against Great Britain; a member of the General Assembly for eighteen years; intrusted frequently by his native state with important business; a colonel in the army at the breaking out of the war, and then successively brigadier and major-general in the regular army by appointment of Congress; who planned and carried through the capture of Ticonderoga; who, through his whole career, both civil and military, was distinguished for his zeal, his bold, daring and fervent patriotism, his vigilance, activity, foresight and sagacity, his determined hostility to British rule and his bitter hatred and contempt for a tory—such a man is not the material out of which traitors are made.

His correspondence shows the lofty tone and determined, uncompromising spirit of the man.

In his letter to Samuel Adams in 1773, suggesting a Continental Congress, he writes: "The idea of inalienable allegiance to any prince or state, is an idea to me inadmissible; and I cannot see but that our ancestors, when they first landed in America, were as independent of the Crown or King of Great Britain, as if they had never been his subjects."

To the Boston committee of defense he writes in 1774, "we consider the cause the common cause of all the colonies, and doubt not the concurrence of all to defend and support you. Let us play the man for the cause of our country, and trust the event to Him who orders all events for the best good of His people."

Governor Tryon, in 1778, had burned several houses near the American lines and turned women and children half clad into the streets in a severe night. Parsons reproached him for his savage barbarity and threatened to retaliate by burning the houses of Colonel Phillips and the DeLancey family. Tryon in his answer addressed Parsons as "a revolted subject of Great Britain." Parsons, with great spirit replied, "a justifiable resistance against unwarrantable invasions of the natural and social rights of mankind, if unsuccessful, according to the fashion of the world, will be termed rebellion; but if successful, will be deemed a noble struggle for the defence of everything valuable in life. Whether I am considered as a revolted subject of the King of Great Britain, or in any other light

by his subjects, is very immaterial, and gives me little concern. Future ages, I hope, will do justice to my intentions, and the present to the humanity of my conduct."

Just before he invaded Connecticut and burned Norwalk in 1779, Tryon addressed a letter to Putnam and Parsons in which in closing he exclaims, "Surely it is time for rational Americans to wish for a reunion with the parent state and to adopt such measures as will most speedily effect it." Parsons, replying, retorts, "Surely it is time for Britons to rouse from their delusive dreams of conquest, and pursue such systems of future conduct as will save their tottering empire from total destruction."

In a letter to Washington reporting the battle he had fought with Tryon and the burning of Norwalk, Parsons writes: "A few Tory houses are left which I hope our people will burn. I imagine Stamford will be the next object to wreak their hellish malice upon."

A man with treason in his heart does not breathe this spirit. Such a man, of necessity, stands far above suspicion. The tongue of slander may revile him, but none but the clearest and most incontrovertible evidence can weigh much against him in any candid and unprejudiced mind.

It is against a man of this character that the charge of treason is brought on the strength of Heron's letters found in "Clinton's Secret Service Record." To any one knowing Parsons, this charge is absurdity itself. His unhesitating reply would be, "these letters are not what they seem; there is unquestionably an explanation behind, which will dispel every suspicion."

The explanation comes with your recent discovery among the Washington papers of a letter written by Parsons to General Washington in April, 1782, in which he recommends William Heron as a suitable person to be employed as a spy, giving his reasons therefor and stating how useful and trustworthy he had found him in that capacity for several years.

If this letter was written in good faith by Parsons, and, in view of the character of the man and his confidential relations with Washington, it would not be just or reasonable to infer anything to the contrary, then we must conclude that William Heron, during the period covered by his correspondence with Clinton, was a spy in the American service. This view of the case is fully supported by the circumstances you narrate in your "Vindication;" and from all we can learn it is certain that Heron did furnish information of great value to the patriot cause, while it nowhere appears that he was of any special service to Clinton.

If Heron was an American spy, then the negotiations with Parsons which he professes to detail in his letters to Clinton are purely imaginary. They are the cunning inventions of the shrewd and sagacious man Parsons describes Heron to be, and were intended as a means to gain the confidence of Clinton and create in him the belief that his informant was most zealous in the British cause and able to render efficient and valuable service.

After the defection of Arnold, Clinton seemed possessed with the idea that it would be easy to corrupt any American officer, and lost no opportunity of attempting it. Heron exhibited his shrewdness and perception of character when he held out to Clinton this bait. So credulous was Clinton, that even the absurd suggestion that Parsons could be won over by a little money, a cask of wine and a commission in the navy for his son, did not seem to strike him as suspicious.

Parsons' letter to Heron of July 8, 1781, was the final and conclusive proof which Heron presented to Clinton to convince him that he was able to fulfill his promise to enlist Parsons in the British service.

And now, as to the true character of this letter which the *Cyclopædia* publishes as proof of Parsons' disloyalty and on which those who have doubted Parsons have laid great stress.

It is now certain that this letter was not written to give information to Clinton, as was assumed before the discovery of Parsons' letter to Washington of April 6, 1782.

It may have been written to Heron as a known friend of the cause, and been used by him to effect his purposes without the knowledge of Parsons. It may have been concerted between Parsons and Heron to help out the deception Heron was practicing on Clinton ; or it may have been forged by Heron.

It does not seem probable that Parsons wrote this letter to Heron in order that he might use it to mislead Clinton. There was a risk and impropriety in such a step, which must have suggested itself to a man of Parsons' experience, which forbids the supposition. Besides, we have no evidence that Parsons had the least suspicion of the use Heron was making of his name with Clinton, nor is it likely that this would have been permitted had it come to his knowledge.

On its face the letter is a friendly one and nothing more. And certainly, there is an entire absence of anything to indicate a consciousness of wrong doing, and a man of his character and previous associations could not have been guilty of so base an act without leaving some ear-mark to betray his purpose. The clause in the letter, "As the object of the campaign is the reduction of New York, we shall now effectually try the patriotism of our countrymen who have always given us assurances of assistance when this should become the object ; of this I have had my doubts for several years, and wished it put to the test," sounds like Parsons and is perfectly characteristic of him, and reads just as he would have written to Washington or Trumbull. But these ideas, while entirely natural and in place in a letter to a friend, would hardly have come to mind, much less have found expression, had he been writing a letter which he intended Heron to give to Clinton, whether to inform or mislead him.

It is worthy of note that while this letter gives no information of value to Clinton, it is careful to mention in the most incidental way that "the reduction of New York is the object of the campaign," and to get in the fact that "the minister of France is in camp," and that "the French troops encamped on our left near the Tuckahoe road."

Lafayette at this time had succeeded in forcing Cornwallis down the Peninsula, and everything else had been postponed to give him aid. Clinton was firm in his belief that New York and not Yorktown was the object of the preparations in the Highlands, and it was of the highest importance at this juncture that he should not be undeceived. What so well calculated to confirm him in his opinion, as the concentration of the French troops opposite his lines, and to lead him to think the danger imminent, as that the French minister deemed the occasion important enough to warrant his presence in camp. The result was, as probably intended, that Clinton not only refused to reinforce Cornwallis, but ordered to New York three thousand of his troops.

The artful way these facts are brought into the letter furnishes the strongest evidence of a careful preparation with intent to mislead. It may be merely a coincidence, but such pains are taken to state these facts, and they were so likely to have impressed Clinton, that it is not improbable that this letter was the handiwork of Heron and part of his elaborate scheme of deception.

Heron in his letter enclosing Parsons' letter to Clinton, in a postscript, very significantly says, "I thought it advisable to cut the name off the enclosed." Clinton was probably acquainted with the signature of Parsons, although he may not have known his handwriting, and if this letter was a forgery, it was prudent of Heron to remove the signature to prevent detection.

It seems certain that this letter was either written to Heron as a friend and used by him without authority, or else was forged by Heron; and one supposition is perhaps as likely to be true as the other; but it is immaterial which, so far as Parsons' fame is concerned.

It is unfortunate that Heron's real character was not known at the time his letters were discovered, and the charge which they seemingly implied thus prevented from going into the histories. These letters were of course a surprise even to Parsons' friends, and an explanation would naturally be sought for; but, as against the character and whole life of the man, they were not even *prima facie* evidence, and no one should have doubted for a moment that an explanation would in time be forthcoming. Thanks to your researches, the mystery is cleared up and the question I trust put to rest.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES S. HALL.

COLONEL JAMES LIVINGSTON

A note of much interest appears in Mr. John Schuyler's history of "The Society of the Cincinnati," in relation to Colonel James Livingston, who appears to have been unaccountably neglected in history. "He was born in Canada in 1747, and died in Saratoga, New York, November 20, 1832. His father, John Livingston of Stillwater, New York, was the youngest son of Robert Livingston, nephew and

namesake of the first proprietor of the Livingston manor. His mother was Catharine, the daughter of General Abraham Ten Broeck, who had settled in Canada. He and his two brothers joined General Montgomery—their kinsman by marriage—on his arrival there, and all became officers: he a colonel, Richard a lieutenant-colonel, and Abraham a captain. When the expedition failed the troops returned home, and he, cut off from further recruiting in Canada, appears by a letter dated from New York, and now among the state archives, addressed to John Jay, then in the Provincial Congress, as occupied in filling up his command in that city:

“Dear Sir: I am just now informed by *Captain* Wright that he can raise a company of men in this town and suburbs. Should take it a particular favor if you'd mention the matter to the gentlemen of the provincial congress, and if approved beg you'll furnish him the money for that purpose. He is a good recruiting officer, and I believe he will soon raise a company.

I shall settle the matter respecting the rank of the officers with General Schuyler, agreeable to the order from Congress, as soon as these two companies—Wright's and Stewarts—are filled. General Washington will order them to the northward, where I propose going to-morrow or next day, at furtherest, if not wanted here.

The enemy are at Flatbush, their numbers not known, though we every moment expect an attack. I shall wait your answer this evening, and am with respect, yours, &c.

JAMES LIVINGSTON.

NEW YORK, 24th August, 1776.”

When Colonel James Livingston's regiment, with the main army, was stationed on the Hudson, a letter from Washington to Arnold, dated Peekskill, 3d of August, 1780, attests the great attention he was devoting to the security of the passes of that river, protecting King's Ferry and strengthening West Point. After minute details, in which all his orders abound, he directs ‘Colonel James Livingston's regiment to garrison the redoubts at Stony and Ver Planck's Points.’ This fixes that officer's presence there. Arnold's object in assuming command of West Point (the key to the concocted disruption of the Colonies), the value of which was appreciated by the enemy, and which he intended finally to turn over to them, is thus given by Sparks in his ‘Washington's Writings’:

Although there had been various intimations to the commander-in-chief that Arnold wished the command at West Point, yet he had delayed conferring it, probably because he considered the service of so efficient an officer much more important in the main army. In the arrangements of the army, therefore, published in General Orders, on the 1st of August (two days before), the command of the left wing was assigned to Arnold. When it was found that he was disappointed

and dissatisfied, and complained 'that his wound would not allow him to act in the field,' Washington complied with his request to be stationed at West Point.

Arnold's attractive wife, the daughter of Chief-Justice Shippen, was socially cultivated by British officers, and had, it is recorded, Major André as a correspondent and commissaire in New York. When the general order, that her husband was not to control West Point, was announced at the dinner table of Colonel Robert Morris, at Springatesbury, near Philadelphia (although it was for a position as honorable), she swooned. After the *denouement* and Arnold's escape, she repeatedly *apparently fainted*, and was frantic until she had obtained a passport from Washington to follow her husband to within the British lines. It is also recorded that she told an English lady '*she was heartily sick of the theatrics she was exhibiting.*'

When the sloop of war *Vulture*, protected by a flag of truce, on the 18th of September, 1780, anchored off Teller's Point, a few miles below King's Ferry (a position singularly inconvenient both to land and cover Major André during his meeting with Arnold at Smith's house at the Clove), where they were consummating their treason, the frustration of which has been attributed to Colonel Henry Beekman Livingston, which is not correct, as he then for nearly eighteen months had been out of the service, investigation clearly shows that the credit was due to the vigilance and prompt and independent action of Colonel James Livingston, commanding at Verplanck's Point, he had watched passing events with suspicion, and questioned the propriety and motive of this flag of truce with his general's headquarters. With a seemingly providential instinct he applied directly to Major John Lamb for some ammunition for the only gun—a four-pounder—which Arnold had forgotten and left him. Lamb's answer to his request is interesting, and is as follows :

' West Point, 20th September, 1780.

Sir : I have sent you the ammunition you requested, but at the same time I wish there may not be a wanton waste of it, as we have very little to spare.

' Firing at a ship with a four pounder is in my opinion a waste of powder, as the damage she will sustain is not equal to the expense. Whenever applications are made for ammunition they must be made through the commanding officer of the artillery at the post where it is wanted.

I am, Sir, yours, &c., &c.,

COLONEL LIVINGSTON.

JOHN LAMB.'

A strong tide and the distance at which the *Vulture* lay prevented André's return to her on the 21st, after the plot was consummated, and on the next day Colonel James Livingston, with remarkable self-reliance, verging on insubordination to his adjacent superiors, and indifferent to Lamb's economical caution, tested the capacity of his little gun, and at the first shot, so skilfully as to strike the *Vulture* between wind and water, causing her to slip her anchor and drop down to

Tarrytown. The reverberation of its report amongst the surrounding Highlands sounded an era in American history. Deserted by its effect, Major André traveled by land to his unhappy destiny, while the traitor Arnold escaped in the *Vulture* as a fugitive to New York in his place.

Washington, returning from his visit to Count Rochambeau at Hartford, reaching Arnold's headquarters at the Robinson house on the 25th, and being informed of Arnold's flight, desirous of detail and consultation, and doubtful who then to trust, wrote to Colonel Lamb, as follows :

'Sir : It is my wish to see *Colonel James Livingston* to-night, and I write him by you on this occasion. In his absence you will take command of the posts of Stony and Ver Planck's points till further orders. I am, sir, with great respect and esteem

Your most obedt servt

GO WASHINGTON.

Headquarters, Robinson House in the Highlands,
25th September, 1780.'

Livingston was a member of the New York legislature from 1784 to 1791, and married Elizabeth Simpson of Montreal. His name appears on the half-pay roll."

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

AN INTERESTING LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

[*Editor of Magazine of American History.*—I find in my collection of autographs the following letter from Sir William Johnson, the famous Indian agent of central New York during the last century.

THEODORE STANTON.

PARIS, *November, 1888.*]

Sir William Johnson to Major Jiles Fonda

Johnson Hall, May 10th. 1772.

Sir :

The Cayuga Indian this moment delivered me your letter with the enclosure. You may be assured of my good offices in ye affair, as far as in my power, whenever it comes to be agitated.

The Bell w^h you mention was intended to have been sent in Mr. Campbells Boat for the Huron Indians, and I wrote by him to Capt. Stevenson that I had sent the Bell, also a speech to be made by Capt. Stevenson on the Delivery of it, all which will now prove a disappointment, and appear odd, wherefore must request the Favour of you to send it by some carefull person to Capt. Stevenson at Detroit, together with the clapper of it. And you will much oblige,

Sir, Your Real Welwisher

& Humble Servant,

W. Johnson.

As I sent my Last down this Morning, have no Commands, I thank you, for Albany,—only this letter.

Major Jiles Fonda.

NOTES

A VALUABLE REVOLUTIONARY SCRAP-BOOK—Writing from Philadelphia, August 14, 1776, to his wife, John Adams says: "M. du Simitiere is a very curious man. He has begun a collection of materials for a history of this Revolution. He begins with the first advices of the tea ships. He cuts out of the newspapers every scrap of intelligence and every piece of speculation, and pastes it upon clear paper, arranging them under the head of that state to which they belong, and intends to bind them up in volumes. He has a list of every speculation and pamphlet concerning independence, and another of those concerning forms of government." Does anybody know what became of this collection? If kept up till the close of the Revolution it would be an invaluable contribution to the history of that period.

WM. NELSON

PATERSON, N. J.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS IN LONDON IN 1789—He says in his diary: "August 8. To-day I call on Mr. Trumbull, the painter. He shows me a small piece he has copied from his original *Sortie of Gibraltar*, which I think very fine. Return home and dine on a composition called turtle-soup, with which I drink a composition called claret. The latter is preferable to the former." The editor of the new work, "Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris," says: "To the refugees who were always to be found in considerable numbers in the drawing-rooms of the Marquis de la Luzerne, Morris tried to administer a little comfort. He says of them: 'The refugees

talk a little refugee, which is natural. I tell them that all the little commotions—burning castles, etc.—though painful and distressing, are but specks in the great business, and will, if they get a good constitution, be soon forgotten. M. de Fitzjames inquires of me the news from Paris, but I find that we left it about the same time, and did not recollect him, but it seems that we had met at club. The Marquis de la Luzerne takes me aside, and we converse a little on their politics. I think his object is merely to show an attention before his company which may be useful to me. In going in to dinner M. Cote, the lieutenant de police, takes hold of me, and says he will not be parted. Seats himself next me, and at dinner tells me his story. All this requires polite attention on my part, which is paid. Dine on a very fine trout, or rather a part of one, which I think must have weighed about eight pounds. Observe that I am somewhat a favorite with Madame la Vicomtesse. This must be kept up, *et pour cause*. Inquiries are made, I find, by Lady Dunmore and her daughter, about *jambe de bois*. Lady Dunmore makes acquaintance after dinner, asks the opinion of my countrymen about his lordship; I tell her candidly. We have a conversation which she is pleased with, and to my surprise, and I dare say her own, we are on terms of great familiarity. La Luzerne, and Capellis, I find, remark on it, so that I am obliged to join them and stop the laugh. The French tell him a world of wonders and confusions, upon which I take him aside and tell him to believe nothing of what they say;

Henry Harford, proprietor of Maryland. This was granted by Charles Howard, Earl of Surrey, deputy-marshal for his father, Charles, Duke of Norfolk and earl-marshal, who was a Catholic, and could not act for himself. It bears the royal arms, the Howard crest and the ducal coronet, in brilliant colors.

A patent for the barony of Baltimore in the kingdom of Ireland, by which he got the name of Baltimore, is a striking document. It is in Latin, with the great seal of Ireland of dark green wax fully six inches across. In the upper right-hand corner is a picture of King James on the throne in his royal robes. It is

beautifully illuminated on parchment, and by virtue of this paper Sir George Calvert became lord proprietor. On a piece of twelve-foot heavy parchment is the original report of the commission who established the Mason and Dixon line in 1768. The signers for Maryland are Horatio Sharp, J. Ridout, John Leeds, John Barkley, George Steuart, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, and J. Beale Bordley. For Pennsylvania, Wm. Allen, Benjamin Chew, John Ewing, Edward Shippen, Jr., and Thomas Willing. All these papers bear directly upon Maryland's history, and fill the gaps that exist in the early records of the state.

QUERIES

GOVERNOR DONGAN—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Will you kindly inform me through the pages of your Magazine whether there is any written or published life of Thomas Dongan, one of the early governors of New York, or of his family? I am anxious to learn his history and relations prior to his appointment to the governorship by the Duke of York. D. T. DAVIES
HAMMONTON, NEW JERSEY.

used for it. I find no such name in the books of early travel and exploration of this region. Who could he have been?
ST. PAUL, MINN. T. H. LEWIS

WHO WAS J. NILSSON—In examining a rock shelter on the east side of Trempealeau Mountain—on the upper Mississippi—last week, I discovered on the farther end some marks cut into the stone. After cleaning out the moss and lichens from the grooves the following name and date appeared:

J NILSSON 1813
writing and printing hands having been

JOHN LORD, the son of Thomas Lord, one of the original proprietors of Hartford, married, 1st, Rebecca Bushnell, of Guilford; 2d, Adrean Basey, of Hartford, and left her, and went to Virginia. An excellent letter from him to his nephew, Richard Lord, of Hartford, is dated "Apomatixe [Appomattox] the 20th of Feb., 1663." He appears to have been engaged in raising tobacco, but speaks also of barley. Is there any further knowledge of him? Did he leave descendants? If so, are any of them now living?

This information is desired by Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury, New Haven, Connecticut.

REPLIES

THIRTEEN NOT AN UNLUCKY NUMBER [xx. 424, 510]—*Editor of Magazine*: Your correspondent asks, "Can we not dispense altogether with this disturbing element in our social affairs?" I should say, probably not, until the whole range of silly superstitions, such as spilling salt, walking under a ladder, crossing a funeral procession, finding a four-leaved clover 'or a crooked six pence, seeing a new moon over the left shoulder, *et sic de similibus*, is rooted out of weak minds by advancing common sense. As to thirteen people inadvertently seated at table, I have endeavored to dispel the absurd superstition by recording the fact of my having on five distinct occasions found myself one of thirteen at table, every one of whom is now living today, although it is fourteen years since we dined together on one occasion referred to. Few people are aware that *Friday* is the superstitious day in certain countries only, and that each day of the week is a day of bad omen in some country or other. To me it is a favorite day for commencing a journey, simply because less travelers are met with on that day, and the chances are in favor of finding more room and comfort in the railway carriages. Civilization, which includes mental advancement, is supposed to be progressing, but, in these matters, Carlyle's calculation that "two-thirds of the human family are fools," has not yet been disproved. O. P. Q.

THIRTEEN NOT AN UNLUCKY NUMBER [xx. 424, 510]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Replying to Mr. Haywood's query concerning the un-

lucky thirteen, I would say: "The superstition may very likely have arisen from the last supper of Christ and his twelve. But it may have maintained its hold on the popular mind by the fact that in the majority of cases one of the thirteen dies within a year. This has been shown in the case of thirteen persons taken at random, by M. Quetelet in his *Calculation of Probabilities*. It is a problem of life-insurance treated by the doctrine of probabilities.

Somewhat connected with this superstition is the legal fiction still preserved in certain cases, that a man is presumed dead if absent and unheard from for fourteen years. This may have arisen from the same idea that as from thirteen persons taken at random one will die within a year, so any one person taken at random will not live beyond about thirteen years. That fourteen should have been fixed upon in this case instead of thirteen is explained by the fact that it is a multiple of the mysterious number seven which enters so extensively into superstitions and customs. Thus, seven years constitute the term of apprenticeship, twice seven our judicial terms, thrice seven our period of majority, etc., etc.

Aside from the above considerations thirteen would be considered a lucky number, according to our aphorism "There is luck in odd numbers," which dates perhaps as far back as Pythagoras in the form of "*Deus imparibus numeris gaudet*," and which Virgil paraphrases as "*Numero deus impare gaudet*." (*Eclogue VIII.*, 77.)

DAVID EUGENE SMITH
State Normal School, CORTLAND, NEW YORK.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The 84th anniversary meeting of the society was held at the library on the evening of the 20th instant, the Hon. John A. King presiding. An address, entitled "Some Recollections of Edouard Laboulaye," was read by the Hon. John Bigelow, whose attention while consul-general of the United States in France was first attracted to Laboulaye by articles in defense of the Federal government, published in the *Journal des Débats*, under his signature.

This intimacy continued during Mr. Bigelow's residence in Paris, as minister of the United States to France, and terminated only with Laboulaye's death. The latter was throughout an ardent friend of the United States, and wrote incessantly with the view of informing his countrymen of the real issues which had precipitated a war between the states. These sentiments were not popular with the men of the Second Empire, and they prevented Laboulaye's political advancement—much to his chagrin. He favored the Plébiscite on the ground that it would prove the nearest approach attainable in France to free American principles—but although duped by Napoleon III. circumstances indicate that he never was bribed. Laboulaye regarded Sadowa as a French defeat, and confessed that a war between his country and Prussia was inevitable. He devoted himself to the care of the wounded when war was declared, and bitterly felt the humiliation of France. Mistrusting the leaders of the republican movement and unjust to Gambetta, it was under

the Republic that he attained political distinction, becoming a member of the Assembly—chairman of the committee on Public Instruction and a senator for life. He lived to see the Republic attain to a larger influence than had within the century been accorded to any preceding government.

The thanks of the society were voted Mr. Bigelow, and a copy of the address was requested for publication.

The president announced that by the completion among the members of a subscription amounting to \$150,000, the society would secure the gift of \$100,000 from an unknown donor, toward the erection of a new building on a new site.

The society then adjourned.

NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The meeting of this society on Tuesday, November 27, at Chapel Hill, was of special interest. Rev. Dr. Mangum gave the first part of his "Reminiscences of the Salisbury, North Carolina, Confederate Prison." His thrilling narrative was listened to with intense attention by a large company of villagers and students. He showed that the sufferings in the prison were the consequence of the scarcity of provisions and clothing. Dr. Mangum had peculiar opportunities for gathering the facts on the subject, as he was the minister in charge of the Methodist church at Salisbury during a great part of the war. His comparison of the rations, etc., of the prisoners there and at Point Lookout was favorable to the Confederate authorities.

Dr. Venable followed with a paper showing the relative advantages of education between the white and colored races in North Carolina. He thinks that in many respects the colored race have advantages over the whites, and that they are availing themselves of these advantages. A poor white youth, for example, must seek his medical education outside the limits of our state; a poor colored youth can get the best of instruction in North Carolina. That their instruction is good, is proved by the fact that the graduates of their medical colleges pass the state examining board with *éclat*. Mr. W. J. Andrews, of Raleigh, North Carolina, a student, then read a very clear and interesting history of his notable portrait of George III. of Great Britain, on the back of which General Greene wrote these words with a piece of chalk: "O George, Hide thy face and mourn." This legend is still legible. Mr. Andrews did full justice to the noble generosity of Mrs. Steele, who comforted the desponding General Greene not only with cheering words but with the gift of all the silver money she had saved from her hard earnings.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting November 20, 1888, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The reports of the secretary and treasurer for the year were most interesting. Many gifts and accessions to the library were reported. Four biographical notices of deceased members were read—of General John Leverett Thompson, Albert David Hager, Henry Corwith, and Hon. John Wentworth. The latter was born in Sandwich, New

Hampshire, in 1815, died October 16, 1888. He graduated from Dartmouth College in 1836, and arrived in Chicago in October of the same year. For half a century he was one of the most striking figures in that city or in the state of Illinois. As editor, mayor of the city, and member of Congress, he occupied a wide and varied field of public service.

The Executive Committee of the society also presented their annual report, which shows a marked degree of progress for the society. On motion, General Aug. L. Chetlain and Charles H. Mulliken, Esq., were appointed a committee on the nomination of officers for the ensuing year, who reported the following: For president, Edward G. Mason; vice-presidents, Alexander C. McClurg, George W. Smith; secretary and librarian, John Moses; treasurer, Henry H. Nash; two members of the executive committee for four years, Edwin H. Sheldon, Edward E. Ayer; who were all unanimously elected.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The regular meeting of this society was held on Monday evening, the 3d instant, at its rooms in the city library building at Utica, President Hon. Ellis H. Roberts in the chair. A large list of donations was read by General Charles W. Darling, corresponding secretary, and the thanks of the society were voted for the same. The following-named gentlemen were elected corresponding members: Rowland S. Lacey, Hon. Alfred R. Conkling, Rev. Henry R. Wait, H. C. Rowley, Hon. Chauncey B. Ripley. The paper of the evening was read by Rev. E. W. Jones, on "Early

Welsh Settlers in Oneida County." On motion of Rev. Dr. Isaac S. Hartley, a vote of thanks was tendered to Rev. Mr. Jones for his interesting paper.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting on the evening of November 27. President Gammell in the chair. The paper of the evening was read by Professor J. Franklin Jameson, of the chair of history in Brown's University, the subject being "The Records of the Virginia Company."

After touching at length upon the Virginia or London Company, and their affairs, Professor Jameson said: "Record books were taken to Virginia by the first William Byrd, and when he acquired Westover, they became a part of his extensive library. In 1744 Colonel Byrd died and was succeeded in his estate by Colonel William Byrd, who died in 1777. There is in existence a manuscript catalogue of the library at Westover, apparently belonging to the third William Byrd, from which it appears that the collection numbered 3,625 volumes. These two volumes of records are noted in that list. But when after Colonel Byrd's death, his widow sent the library, it is said, or at any rate the bulk of it, to Philadelphia to be sold, these two volumes were not a part of it. They had previously been borrowed by Col. Richard Bland, a famous Virginia antiquary, who died a year before Colonel Byrd, in 1776. This we learn from a letter written by Mr. Jefferson in his old age, October 4, 1822, to Mr. Hugh P. Taylor, who had made inquiries of the venerable ex-president concerning historical manuscripts still in

the latter's possession. Mr. Jefferson, the mass of whose books had been disposed of to the library of Congress in 1815, enumerates among the few such materials remaining to him in 1823 the two volumes of the proceedings of the Virginia Company in England, which had belonged to the Byrd library at Westover. Between 1825 and 1830, probably after his death, they passed into the possession of the library of Congress, in the custody of whose accomplished librarian they remain, and will find, in the new National Library Building, a permanent abode after so varied and remarkable a history.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY, New York, held its regular monthly meeting Friday evening, November 30, at the house of Gilman H. Perkins. Hon. Henry E. Rochester, son of the founder of the city, spoke at length upon the early lawsuits of the city growing out of disputes concerning river boundaries. Incidentally he alluded to the changes that had been made in the names of the streets—the dropping of historical names and the adopting of new ones at the caprice of the common council, showing the practical danger attending such innovations. A list of the old houses still remaining that belonged to the pioneer days was given, showing several that were nearly one hundred years old. "Mary Jemison, the first white woman in the Genesee Country," was the subject of a paper read by Jane Marsh Parker. The membership of the Rochester Society is rapidly increasing, and a variety of interesting papers may be expected during the winter.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

The belief in witches, which existed in the olden time among the Iroquois Indians, has by no means disappeared, according to De Cost Smith in the last issue of the *Journal of Folk-Lore*. The most extraordinary stories are told by the modern Indians. Witches are supposed to meet at night in the woods and bushes, taking temporarily the form of dogs, or other animals to better conceal themselves. For this reason the howling of dogs at night, and lights moving in the woods, are looked upon with suspicion and dread. Says the writer: "A young man, twenty-three years old, told me last year that he 'had seen witches in Canada;' that is, he had seen lights moving in the woods, and supposed them to be flames blown from the witches' mouths. They would shine for a few seconds in one spot, then disappear to be seen again after a short interval, farther on."

The author goes on to say "that not only is the existence of witches not doubted by most Iroquois, but individuals may still be found who consider, or pretend to consider, that they themselves are, or have been, guilty of witchcraft. In fact, during a general council of the Six Nations, held in August, 1888, of which the open confession of sins was one of the striking features, a chief of the Onondagas confessed that he had practiced witchcraft, but, becoming penitent, had reformed." It seems that on the Canadian reservations an old man was put to death for witchcraft but a few years since. The writer says: "I was told that he was killed by men who lay in wait for him and shot him from an ambush. 'What was done by the dead man's friends?' I asked. 'Nothing; they thought he had been at the business long enough.' 'And the white people?' 'They didn't know it.'"

How far the early settlers of New England were influenced in their alarms about witchcraft, by the traditions and beliefs of the Indians is an interesting study. The old colonial laws were severe in innumerable respects. Witchcraft was a capital offense, the same as treason or murder. In Massachusetts they hung witches, whether they professed Christianity or not; but in New Hampshire they made a distinction, limiting the punishment to "any Christian, soe called," not wishing to put sinners and saints on the same basis.

In the "History of French Painting," a recently issued work of surpassing interest, Mrs. Stranahan says: "Melancholy was a trait of Géricault's character, a supposed impression of the gloomy years following his birth, during which an historian has written, he 'did not remember having seen the sun shine.' He was, however, of great geniality of presence, of distinguished appearance, and a favorite, a light irradiating his brow, and 'the tone of his *Ah! bonjour!* when drawn from his habitual reverie by a greeting, was so cordial, that one retained in his heart a warm impression of it for the entire day.' Yet he never painted woman, child, or sunlight. 'If I begin a woman,' he once said, 'she becomes a lion under my pencil.' No one dared to buy the Medusa."

Delacroix was an interesting personage from many points of view. "He was the representative of an age replete with ideas, but for its burning enthusiasms and activities he found other expression than the only previous one, the painting of battles." Mrs. Stranahan says, very truly, that among the romanticists Delacroix stands easily first. He had the sensibilities of the true poet, and an extremely emotional temperament, and, becoming learned in the literature of many times and lands, he interpreted its fullest meanings, not simply illustrated. He was a lover of music to such a degree that he derived some of his finest conceptions from its inspiration. His first great work, whose conception and execution had been much discussed with Géricault—"The Barque of Dante"—appeared in the salon of 1822, when he was only twenty-three years old. In 1824 Delacroix was awarded a second-class medal upon exhibiting "Tasso in a Mad-House," and also produced "The Massacre of Scio" (Louvre), both pictures intensely strong in expression and dramatic action, which was the aim in all Delacroix's art."

Mrs. Stranahan gives some delightful glimpses of the early life of Rosa Bonheur, the greatest woman-painter of animals of France and of all lands. "Her father, Raymond Bonheur, lived at Bordeaux, where he painted portraits, landscapes, furnished illustrations to publishers, and gave lessons. In 1829 he removed to Paris and confided his children to the care of a worthy woman living near the Champs Elysées, whom they fondly called "Mother Catharine." Rosa, who was the eldest, passed whole days of absorbed life in the Bois de Boulogne, playing truant from the school of the sisters of Chaillot. It is said she spent hours on the grass studying the clouds. Then she would form a background by smoothing the dust, and, regardless of the wondering spectators, draw on it, with a stick what was before her, the silhouettes of the horizon, the passing people, but, above all, the animals. Before leaving Bordeaux her parents would often miss her, and had come to know that they would find her under the spell of the coarsely carved and rudely painted wild boar's head which served as a sign at the neighboring pork butcher's."

Gustave Doré's childhood was even more remarkable than that of Rosa Bonheur. Our historian of French art says: "The traits of the man can be traced in the child from his earliest years, and are so integral and of such spontaneity that it seems difficult to see that Gustave Doré could be other than he was, or do other than he did. On one occasion, being only eight years of age, he planned a procession of four chariots drawn by some of the school-boys, while others filled them representing the trade guilds. He dressed himself in a Rubens hat and characteristic costume, and stood as the chief of the glass stainers' guild, in miniature, as it were, tossing off among the spectators drawings on the spot. These, they were astonished to find, were likenesses of themselves in groups or singly. This, in mature life, he playfully claimed was his introduction in his profession to the world. Indeed it was then first conjectured that he might become an artist."

BOOK NOTICES

GIBRALTAR. By the Rev. HENRY M. FIELD, D.D. Illustrated. Small 4to, pp. 138. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1888.

This is one of the most readable books that has reached our table this season. Gibraltar is as well known by name to the world as Rome or San Francisco; "it is one of the pillars of Hercules, that once marked the very end of the world, and around its base ancient and modern history flow together as the waters of the Atlantic mingle with those of the Mediterranean. Like Constantinople, it is throned on two seas and two continents."

But travelers have been content in obtaining glimpses of this wonderful rock "standing out of the water and in the water," without stopping to see its curious formation, its unique settlements, and its extraordinary features. It is not touched by any railroad, and by steamers only at intervals of days, so that it is regarded as difficult to reach, and still more difficult to depart from. Dr. Field says: "There is not a more picturesque spot in Europe. The Rock is fourteen hundred feet high—more than three times as high as Edinburgh Castle, and not, like that, firm set upon the solid ground, but rising out of the seas—and girded with the strongest fortifications in the world. Such greatness has nature thrust upon Gibraltar. And few places have seen more history, as few have been fought over more times than this in the long wars of the Spaniard and the Moor; for here the Moor first set foot in Europe, and gave name to the place, and here departed from it after a conflict of nearly eight hundred years."

There is novelty and freshness in all Dr. Field's graphic descriptions. He takes the reader literally about with him. He says: "The best thing that I find in any place is the men that are in it. Strong walls and high towers are grand, but after a while they oppress me by their very massiveness unless animated by a living presence. Even the great guns, those huge monsters that frown over the ramparts, would lose their majesty and terror if there were not brave men behind them." In a similar spirit we can say that books may be very fine, and periods well rounded by the genius of an author, but the presence of a strong and agreeable personality is necessary to their effectiveness and perfect success. In this delightful work on Gibraltar one is impressed with the idea of being led by a writer of wide and sound learning, of a buoyant, hopeful temperament, and of a keen sense for what is salient, picturesque and oddly humorous. The book gives, in a lively, entertaining narrative, just what should be known about the mighty fortress of Gibralt-

tar. Its appearance, history, construction, military and social life, etc. The reader climbs the rock with the author as a guide and commentator, goes through the fortifications, strolls around the town, is present at a parade, gets a glimpse of the society of the place, reviews the great siege more than a hundred years ago, with all of its details of heroism on the part of the besieged English and their French and Spanish assailants, and finally sails away to Africa. The illustrations aid the reader materially in getting a correct notion of the famous fortress and town, and their surroundings. We can think of no more acceptable holiday present than "Gibraltar."

THE ADVANCE GUARD OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. By JAMES R. GILMORE (Edmund Kirke). 16mo, pp. 343. New York. D. Appleton & Co.. 1888.

Mr. Gilmore's discovery and exploration of practically new fields in historic research has produced a third volume. Its two predecessors, "The Rear Guard of the Revolution," and "John Sevier as a Commonwealth Builder," covered in general terms the early history of eastern Tennessee; the present volume shifts the scene to the middle and western portions of the state, the period being that troubled decade that succeeded the declaration of independence and saw the first pioneers of civilization begin to hew their way westward through the dense forests that then covered the continent.

It is well within the bounds of probability that not one college graduate out of ten ever heard of James Robertson, the central figure of the present narrative. Under his leadership, a company of nearly four hundred souls, including many families with their *impediments*—if we may use the word in its original meaning—of women and children, made their way from the frontier part of Watauga into the heart of the Cumberland region. The men for the most part marched through the forest by a shorter but more difficult route, while the women and children, under suitable escort, were sent by water down the Tennessee and by the tortuous Cumberland River, "nearly two thousand miles" according to Mr. Gilmore's estimate, to the present site of Nashville. Both routes lay through an almost unknown and unexplored wilderness, and the voyagers by land and water were exposed to perils from stress of weather and from the powerful and warlike tribes that were then at peace among themselves and in alliance with Great Britain, while they were hostile to the young republic.

James Robertson was one of those rare characters who combine sterling moral worth with

the executive power and personal daring of a great leader.

The men whom he led were the ancestors of those who made such a noble stand for the Union during the civil war. France contributed her Huguenots; Scotland, Ireland and England sent of their boldest and bravest to the mountains of North Carolina and Tennessee in the early days, and their descendants have always ranged themselves on the side of personal freedom for all men of whatever color.

Travelers unite in their testimony to the fine native qualities of these mountaineers, and recent fiction has lent its aid to surround them and their mountain ranges with an air of romance.

Probably opinions would differ as to what ought to be done for them, or whether anything ought to be done, but it would seem that when so many millions are bequeathed to educate the southern negro, some portion of the surplus might well go to the benefit of a race that more than once beat back the British during the war for independence, and served as a continual check to the combination of savage tribes against the scattered settlements.

Mr. Gilmore's literary style is too well known to call for comment at this date. Suffice it that his narrative is always instinct with vivacity, and his power of keeping his characters and events moving with a certain picturesque effect is unquestionable. He has made a long study of the localities described with all available records, and has become fully imbued with the spirit of his subject.

A portrait of James Robertson accompanies the volume, which in typography and general appearance is creditable alike to author and publisher.

LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS (Series), ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND ANDREW JOHNSON. By WILLIAM O. STODDARD. 16mo, pp. 357. 1888. New York: Frederick A. Stokes.

For many reasons it is fitting that Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson should be included in the same volume. The life of the former affords such almost unlimited field to the biographer that it calls for a high degree of editorial ability to treat it successfully in a single volume, while the latter though inseparably connected with his great predecessor, can be comprehensively and adequately dealt with in far narrower limits. Mr. Stoddard has apparently aimed to do impartial justice to both his subjects, but he unavoidably verges upon ground that is bitterly disputed even to this day, and there may be found those who think that he has left unsaid things that he ought to have said, and said things that he ought not to have said.

BIDING HIS TIME; or, Andrew Hapnell's Fortune. By J. T. TROWBRIDGE. 16mo, pp. 190. 1889. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

The young people never tire of Mr. Trowbridge's stories, with their sprightly situations and touches of human nature. This last is no exception to the rule in its qualifications for establishing a claim on popular favor.

IRELAND AND THE POPE. By JAMES G. MAGUIRE. 8vo, pp. 113. San Francisco, 1888: James H. Barry.

This distinctly controversy-provoking volume is destined to be as acceptable to Protestants, and to the more liberal-minded of the Irish-American faction, as it is obnoxious to the straightest Roman-Catholic sect. In the light of the authorities cited, it is difficult to see how an answer can be found to many of the author's conclusions. Yet we doubt not that many devout Catholics will denounce as worthless many of the authorities quoted. The whole book bears the stamp of intelligent intolerance of Papal interference in Irish affairs, and it undoubtedly assembles in a compact form many facts not previously associated in a volume of this size. The exact truth is hard to come at where religious bitterness and fanaticism exist on both sides, but every attempt to shed light on controverted points is to be welcomed when the effort is made in a truth seeker's spirit, as we believe is the case in the present instance.

FIGHTING PHIL. The Life and Military Career of Philip Henry Sheridan, General of the Army of the United States. By the Rev. P. C. HEADLEY. 16mo, pp. 380. 1889. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

This volume of the series entitled "Young Folk Heroes of the Rebellion," appears almost simultaneously with "General Sheridan's Personal Memoirs of the War," and supplies a fitting conclusion to the series, in view of the recent death of the brilliant soldier whose fame it perpetuates. Sheridan is, at the North, one of the most popular of the leaders of the Union Army for the same reason that at the South his name is regarded with aversion. It is hardly to be expected that the most dashing cavalryman in the service of the United States should be regarded with favor by those whom he did so much to defeat. Some account of the Military Academy at West Point is embodied in the book, with a history of the cavalry arm of the service. Perhaps in view of the fact that the question has been in dispute, Mr. Headley may be excused for having been misled in regard to his hero's birthplace, but the publishers would

have done well to note the error on an insert slip as soon as the truth was announced on General Sheridan's own authority.

THE TARIFF AND ITS EVILS; OR, PROTECTION WHICH DOES NOT PROTECT. By JOHN H. ALLEN. 8vo, pp. 122. 1888. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Among the vexed questions of the day none is more hopelessly incapable of positive and final adjustment than the one indicated in the above title. The result of the last presidential election shows that the country is not yet ready for free trade, and yet almost every one who looks into the common sense of the thing is forced to admit that the free-traders have the strongest arguments on their side. The plain fact is that our commercial prosperity has been so marvelous under protection that we are not disposed rashly to surrender blessing whereof we are certain in the hope of greater blessings, whereof we have only the promise. Mr. Allen, during a life of experience as a ship-owner and merchant, has made a practical study of the workings of the protective system. His conclusions are shrewdly put, and he makes out a very strong case against the protectionists. Such books are important teachers, and we welcome all of them as harbingers of that millennium which should make possible the banishment of all restrictions, and freedom and harmony, religious, intellectual and commercial. But with them give us a moderate degree of protection for home industries.

A BLOCKADED FAMILY. Life in Southern Alabama during the Civil War. By PARENTHIA ANTOINETTE. Hague. 16mo, pp. 176. 1888. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This narrative, like all of its class, possesses an intrinsic interest for all who participated in the long period of suspense, privation and hardship that fell to the lot of women and children during the existence of the Confederacy. The volume is very attractive from its dainty appearance, and the style at once interests the reader in the experiences of a young lady in the heart of Alabama, amid surroundings that have long since become part of a remote past. The dictionary makers will do well to look over these pages, for they contain a number of words and phrases that have not yet found their way into the list of recognized words.

That the author's sympathy was with her Southern brothers is a matter of course, and the Northern reader will learn how the questions of the day looked through Southern spectacles. However, there is none of the old time bitter-

ness, and in the concluding paragraph the author declares that the Southern people are now loyal to the Union.

TRAVELLERS AND OUTLAWS. EPIISODES IN AMERICAN HISTORY. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. 16mo, pp. 340. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

Few writers of the present time possess a more entertaining style than the author of the present volume. The detached essays of which it is composed have some of them appeared in the pages of contemporary magazines, but we recognize new material in many of the chapters. "The Old Salem Sea Captains" is the opening title. It is followed by "A Revolutionary Congressman on Horseback," "A New England Vagabond," and others of a like entertaining character, while the early history of the nation is recalled by "Gabriel's Defeat," and "Nat Turner's Insurrection." An appendix gives the original authorities for many of the references in the body of the work, and lends an acceptable personal interest to the context that would otherwise be largely lacking.

A HISTORY OF FRENCH PAINTING from ITS EARLIEST TO ITS LATEST PRACTICE, including An Account of the French Academy of Painting, its Salons, Schools of Instruction and Regulations. By C. H. STRANAHAN. With reproductions of sixteen representative paintings. 8vo, pp. 496. New York, 1888: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This unique work is one of the most useful and comprehensive on the subject of French Art that has ever been issued by an American publisher. It was designed to meet the pressing need of something more than a line and less extended than a volume for each artist, and especially to aid students beginning their art course. But it has developed with the author's studies and been written with such refined skill and good taste, and with such critical and just perception of the relative importance of its different parts, that it has a peculiar charm for the cultivated public at large. Beginning with the close of the fifteenth century, and dwelling briefly on the national artistic sense, as revealed even at that early period, Mrs. Stranahan leads the reader through the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries with a firm and always helpful hand. Every phase of the subject is treated with remarkable fullness, and yet nothing seems crowded, no one feature is minimized at the expense of another, and the language is clear, flowing, graceful, and spark-

ling with information. The eighteenth century, says the author, "opened with Rigaud, Largillière, Francois de Troy, Jouvenet, and the Coypels, Noel, and Antoine, at the height of their power, and through them glided into its own special characteristics. Even in the portraits of Rigaud and Largillière the change can be traced from the grandiose of the Louis XIV. period to the pretty of this, the smile of pompous ceremony of their earlier becoming that of light complacency in their later works. The pompous works of Lebrun were now replaced by the pastoral graces of Watteau, who in the early art of the eighteenth century obtained a conspicuousness that has given his name an enduring association with the fashions then prevailing, for by copying these he perpetuated, if he did not originate them, though it is but fair to assume that their charming grace, as seen in his pictures, led to their adoption. Watteau was the leading painter of the holiday merriment and full-dress flirtation of the age; the caprices and costumes of its society-scenes were his subjects, love his theme, and he the lover's poet." As one turns these beautiful and charming pages, the temptation to quote from each is almost irresistible. The influence of Louis XV. is shown, the management of the Academy is discussed, the development of genre, the art of the revolution, landscape painting, and the character of the artists and their master-pieces, until we reach the opening of the nineteenth century, when we find France with a contempt for all things of the eighteenth century antecedent to the Revolution. Mrs. Stranahan says: "Under the vigorous conduct of affairs by Napoleon as First Consul and Emperor (1799-1814), the progress of national art, like that of the government, became almost his personal history. He extended a liberal patronage to art, and, creating conditions favorable to its development, enabled it rapidly to free itself from the characteristics of the eighteenth century. Art treasures from Italy, from the entire European world, in fact, continued for the first six years of this century to flow into Paris." The volume contains sixteen full-page reproductions of the master-pieces of the French painters of all times, of which are Millet's "Setting out for Work," Rigaud's "Louis XV.," Poussin's "Et Ego in Arcadia," and Gerome's "A Collaboration." The work, as a whole, is admirable in conception, and excellent in execution.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. 1872-1888. 8vo, pp. 477. Pamphlet. Printed for the Society. Concord, New Hampshire.

This work, aside from the proceedings of the Society at its various meetings, contains several papers of more than ordinary historic interest.

In the "Dedicatory address," by Joseph B. Walker, of Concord, delivered in 1873, at the semi-centennial anniversary of its foundation, the history of the society is given with much fullness, and its achievements are recited. This is followed by a brilliant address from Hon. Charles H. Bell. At the Annual Meeting in 1875, a committee which had been appointed to inquire into the justice of certain allegations contained in the tenth volume of Bancroft's History of the United States, concerning Major-General John Sullivan, submitted an elaborate report, which is here printed in full. The Annual Address by John T. Perry, on "The Credibility of History," in 1878, that of John M. Shirley, on "The Early Jurisprudence of New Hampshire," in 1883, of Charles W. Tuttle, Ph.D., at the 200th Anniversary of the establishment of the Government of New Hampshire, and of several others, renders the publication one of permanent value.

THE APOSTLE OF BURMA. A Missionary Epic. In Commemoration of the Birth of ADONIRAM JUDSON. By WILLIAM C. RICHARDS. 12mo, pp. 146. Boston: Lee & Shepard, 1889.

This book is a fitting and forcible commemoration of the Judson era of Evangelical labor in the heart of heathendom. Burma seems to have been providentially assigned to the denomination to which Dr. Judson allied himself for missionary culture. Baptist missions now exist in all the provinces of the once great Burman Empire, and the converts to Christianity over the units of which the Judsons rejoiced with tears, are counted to-day by many living thousands. The life and labors of the heroic Judsons in Burma constitute a part and parcel of American annals, a part which is not only of national, but of international and world-wide celebrity. The great missionary, Adoniram Judson, was of New England birth, as was also the noble and devoted woman who for fourteen years labored and suffered at his side and gave lustre to all his after fame. Immortal names are theirs for the great scroll of American and Christian philanthropists. The poet has found in the records of their toils a marvelously interesting theme, and his success in the treatment of it fully justifies what a distinguished Boston divine, himself a poet, has written of his work: "It might well be regarded as in itself a great Christian Epic. . . . The subject and the poet were never better matched." It is happily entitled, and we do not wonder that a great Unitarian preacher said of Judson recently in a public address, that since the Apostle Paul there had not been given to the Church a "greater man." He was verily the "Apostle of Burma."

MISCELLANEOUS

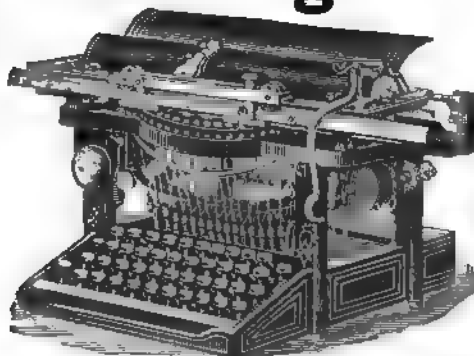
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 purchase instead of kicking himself for a fool all the time he has it, be
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 is needed most. And the concern dealing in such goods HAS to charge
 more for them, because it costs more to make them. That is exactly why
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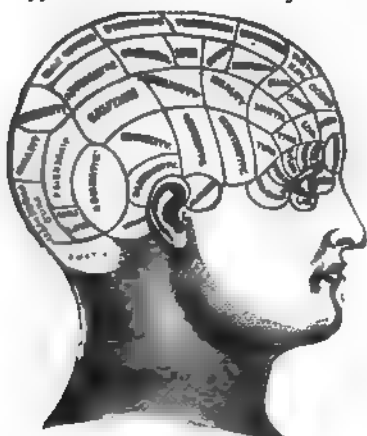
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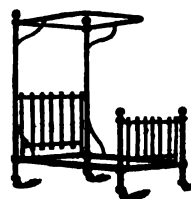
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ASSETS \$118,806,851 88.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	129,927	\$392,809,303 88	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888....	140,943	\$427,023,293 53
Risks Assumed.....	22,805	69,457,468 87	Risks Terminated.....	11,389	35,627,738 74
	152,732	\$462,266,771 85		129,554	\$462,266,771 85

Dr.

Revenue Account.

Cr.

To Balance from last account ...	\$104,712,734 31
" Premiums.....	17,110,901 68
" Interest, Bonds and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,009,080 84
	\$127,832,656 77

By Endowments, Purchased Insurance, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims.....	14,122,422 60
" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses.....	3,643,514 49
" Balance to new account.	110,061,718 68
	\$127,832,656 77

Dr.

Balance Sheet.

Cr.

To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated... ..	\$112,420,086 00
" Premiums received in advance	82,314 36
" Surplus at four per cent.....	6,394,441 88
	\$118,806,851 88

By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	\$42,615,268 06
" United States and other Bonds.....	43,489,877 81
" Real Estate and Loans on Collaterals.....	20,122,173 87
" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest	2,612,322 68
" Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit and Sundries.....	2,973,169 36
	\$118,806,851 88

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$24,681,420.....	\$351,789,285.....	\$4,742,771
1885	48,507,139	368,681,441	5,012,624
1886	56,892,719	398,809,303	5,643,568
1887	69,457,468.....	427,623,933.....	6,394,448

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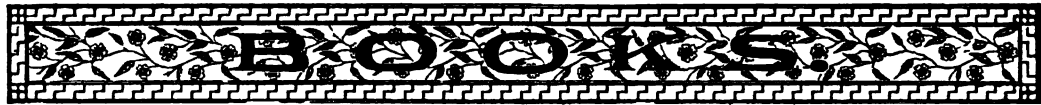
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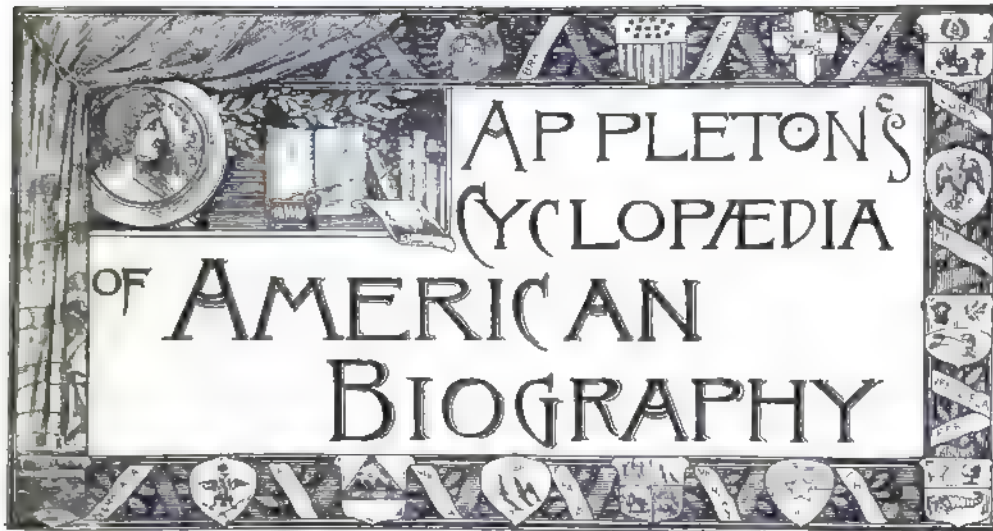
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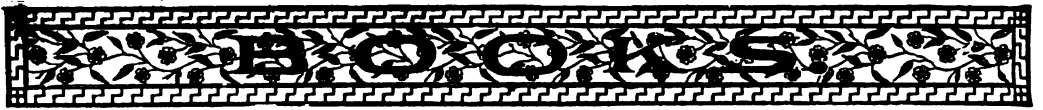
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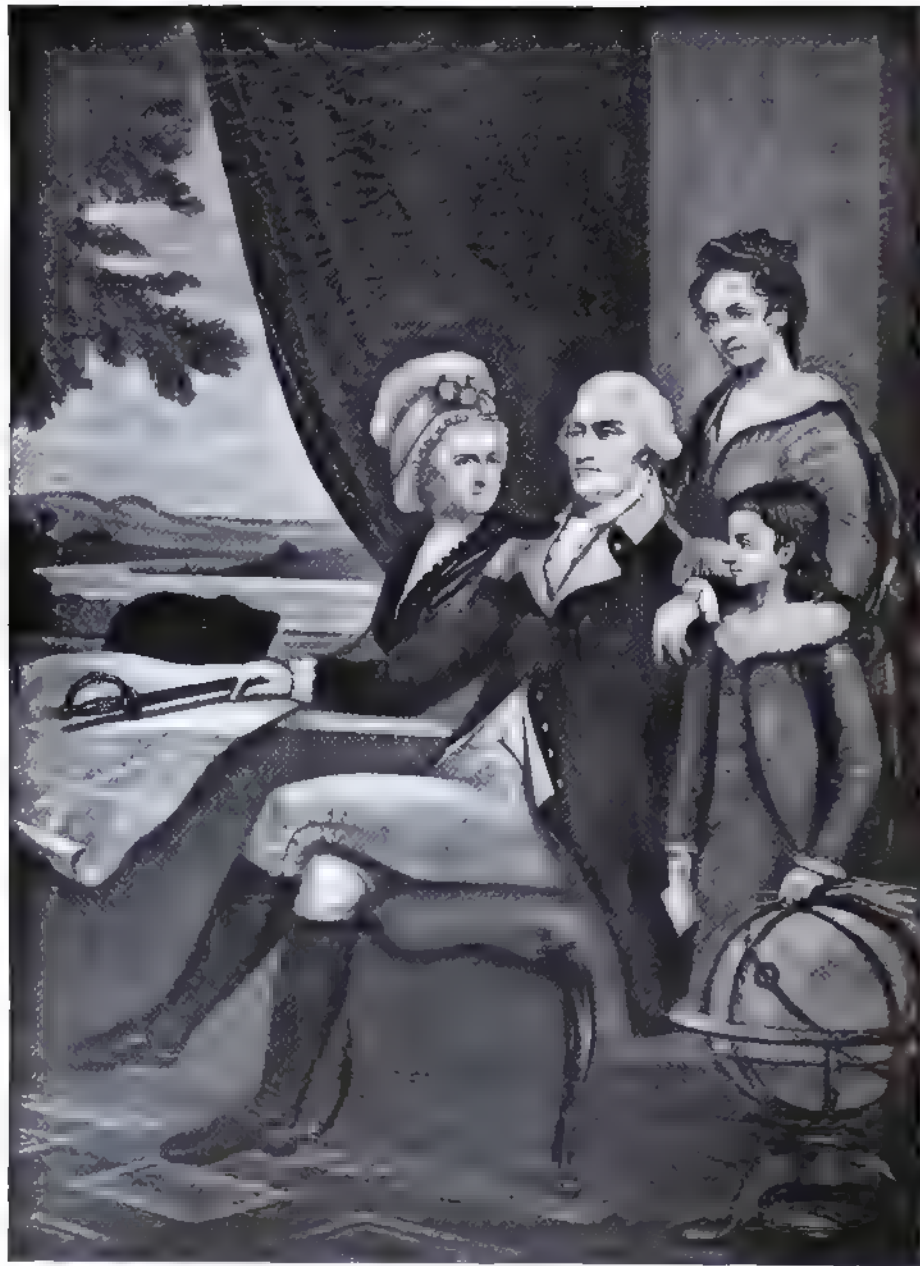
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NEW YORK CITY THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

FROM the beginning of his Presidential career in New York city Washington exercised each day in the open air, sometimes on horse-back, then in his chariot or post-chaise, and often walked for an hour or two. The little city that posed before the world as the capital of the new nation, rejoiced in his stately presence—was literally enraptured with undisguised admiration.

The New York of 1789 was but a mere speck on the map in comparison with the New York of 1889. The Brick Church, with its little grave-yard in front, then standing on the site of the old building of the *New York Times*, was at the upper limits of the city proper; a smooth, clear, beautiful, miniature inland sea, sixty feet deep, known as Fresh Water Pond, spread over nearly four blocks of territory in the vicinity of the Tombs in Centre Street; while a series of swampy fields to the northwest, in the region of what is now Canal Street to the Hudson River, gave little promise of future value. At a club dinner in the winter of that year, some imaginative individual incurred overwhelming ridicule by suggesting the propriety of purchasing the pond for a prospective park! Capitalists had no faith in any wild visionary scheme of that character; New York city, in their judgment, would never have occasion to extend itself thus far into the country. Water was supplied to the citizens from the old Tea Water Pump, near the head of Pearl Street, in water-carts which paraded the streets daily, selling "good fresh drinking water" at so much per cask or gallon. Milkmen, with yokes on their shoulders from which tin cans were suspended, traversed the town in the early morning shouting, "milk, ho!" Negro boys went their rounds about the same hour seeking chimneys to sweep. Hickory wood was the principal article of fuel, and wood-sawing paraphernalia ornamented the street corners and other convenient places at all hours of the day. Every citizen attended to the sweeping of the street in front of his house twice a week; and in the evening the

principal thoroughfares were lighted with oil lamps. The city itself had a unique appearance. Antique churches with moss-covered roofs and grassy church-yards, dwelling-houses of all sizes and varieties, small hotels, stores, gardens, blacksmiths' shops, great ware-houses, trees, trailing vines, rose-bushes, and markets, flourished in neighborly juxtaposition. Every New York family of any pretension to affluence owned slaves—in all the newspapers of the day advertisements may be noticed of negroes for sale, and of runaways. The community embraced many excellent, well-educated, and highly cultivated people, as well as the most diverse elements from other places and countries. The first congress added to the population its group of heroic statesmen who were to make the age illustrious.

The infant republic was marvelously interesting even while it was learning to walk, and the city in which it was cradled, petted and nourished it with intense pride. Republicanism was a novelty, and some very extraordinary expectations prevailed. There never had been a President before, on this continent, nor any chief magistrate of the people. It was popularly supposed that he would be accessible at all times to all citizens. The throngs were self-respectful, as if under the spell of some powerful fascination, whenever Washington rode or walked in the streets. He was not followed nor his movements obstructed, as far as can be learned, by rude sight-seeing mobs. But the public knew exactly when he left his house each day, which direction he took for his outing, and when he returned home—and the rush to gain admittance to an interview, the besieging of his door, was the first serious difficulty he encountered. He believed it his duty to see every caller on proper occasions and for reasonable purposes. But he had work before him, and must secure time to accomplish it. To establish a system of special days for receptions was a delicate undertaking. John Adams, who had seen much of foreign courts, was inclined to chamberlains and masters of ceremony; John Jay was anxious to do away with the flavor of courts, and favored "republican simplicity;" Alexander Hamilton was for maintaining the dignity of the presidential office, but recommended the utmost caution lest too high a tone shock the popular notions of equality. All felt that confused theories must not be roughly jarred. Washington finally appointed Tuesday afternoons from three o'clock until four for the reception of visits of courtesy. No invitations were extended, guests came and retired at their pleasure. A servant conducted them to the drawing-room, where Washington stood. He writes of this ceremony: "At their first entrance they salute me and I them, and as many as I can I talk to. Gentlemen often in great numbers come and go; chat with each other, and act as

they please." Persons who wished to see him on business were admitted on any day of the week; and foreign ambassadors and official characters could see him at any time by appointment.

Meanwhile he applied himself to the study of the actual condition of foreign and domestic affairs. He industriously read all the correspondence that had accumulated since the close of the war, and one notable feature of his lessons was to produce with his own hand abstracts of the reports of the secretaries, and of the treasury commissions, in order to impress facts more accurately upon his memory, and thereby enable him to master all the subjects in detail.

He also looked after his household concerns—the arrangement of furniture, the hanging of pictures, and the locating of vases, bric-à-brac, china, cut glass, silverware, and linen, which Mrs. Washington had sent by sea from Mount Vernon—with as much precision as he ever directed his farmer or steward how to plough, plant seed, buy nails, scissors, grains, gloves, buttons, shingles, hats, dishes, soap, hoes, rakes, horses, and other necessities, all of which appears in his well-known hand-writing among the 117 folio volumes of "Washington Papers," in the State Department at Washington.

While he was thus variously employed Mrs. Washington was setting her house in order at Mount Vernon for a protracted absence, and in the course of four weeks had made the journey to New York in her own carriage, accompanied by her two grand-children, Nelly and George Washington Parke Custis, the latter then eight years of age. These children appear in our beautiful frontispiece, a picture for which the reader is indebted to the collection and the never-failing courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet. Mrs. Washington missed the great ball on the 7th of May, but on the 29th of that month she held her first reception, or levee, as it was styled, which was attended by all that was distinguished in official and fashionable society. She had approached New York with a retinue of attendants, and been greeted continuously on the way by the old and the young, the rich and the poor, the wise and the simple, receiving scarcely less homage than that accorded to Washington himself. From Philadelphia she was accompanied by Mrs. Robert Morris, and at "Liberty Hall," the home of ex-Governor William Livingston, in Elizabeth, she was met by Mrs. John Jay. She spent the night there, and in the morning early President Washington, John Jay, and Robert Morris, and other prominent characters, arrived to breakfast with her and her host and hostess, in the old historic dwelling, and then the whole party set out for New York. New York Bay presented a similar scene to that witnessed on the day of

Washington's memorable reception. No foreign queen was ever welcomed by a loving people with more genuine delight. Unconsciously as it were polite intercourse with the President and Mrs. Washington assumed a high tone. The intellectual and the cultivated, as well as the diplomatic, political and the fashionable visited them familiarly. On the evening prior to Mrs. Washington's first reception the following gentlemen dined informally at the President's table: Vice-President John Adams, Governor George Clinton, Secretary John Jay, the French minister De Moustier, the Spanish minister Gardoqui, Governor Arthur St. Clair of the Northwest territory, Speaker Muhlenberg, and Senators John Langdon, Ralph Izard, William Few, and Paine Wingate. The latter has left a description of this dinner. He says, no clergyman being present, Washington himself said grace, on taking his seat. He dined on a boiled leg of mutton, as it was his custom to eat of only one dish. After the dessert a single glass of wine was offered to each of the guests, when the President rose, the guests following his example, and repaired to the drawing-room, each departing at his option without ceremony.

Among the prominent ladies who grouped themselves about Mrs. Washington were Mrs. Jay, Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Robert Morris, Mrs. Ralph Izard, Mrs. Knox, Lady Mary Watts, Lady Kitty Duer, Mrs. Beekman, Mrs. Provost, Mrs. Livingston, Mrs. Elbridge Gerry, and Mrs. Rufus King. Mrs. Washington, after her first grand entertainment, received every Friday evening from eight until ten o'clock. These levees were arranged on the plan of the English and French drawing-rooms, those entitled to the privilege by official station, social position, or established merit and character, coming without special invitation. But full dress was required of all.

Such of our readers as have never had the pleasure or opportunity of examining the great historic painting of Daniel Huntington, will welcome the fac-simile of it presented on another page accompanied by a key to the portraiture. It is an elaborate work of art, representing intense and careful study, and it is eminently a national picture. It may best be described and criticised perhaps in the language of Henry T. Tuckerman :

"The painting represents a reception given by Mrs. Washington during the Presidency of our peerless chief. No specific date is chosen, and some liberties are taken with the chronological facts—as, for instance, the introduction of General Greene, who died shortly previous to this time, but whose prominence in the Revolution makes it desirable to include him in the 'Republican Court.' Sixty 'fair women and brave men' occupy the eight feet of canvas. Not one is a lifeless figure; all are disposed easily, all are naturally occupied. The grouping is admirable. As a composition the

painting is, therefore, a genuine success. Mrs. Washington stands, dignified, but not constrained, upon a raised platform; behind her is Alexander Hamilton, talking to a lady; near by is John Jay; Washington is approaching the ladies with a foreign guest. We recognize forms and faces at a glance—Mrs. Jay, Mrs. Adams, Mrs. Rufus King, Mrs. Theodore Sedgwick, Mrs. Robert Morris, General Greene, Jonathan Trumbull, Oliver Ellsworth, Mrs. Duer, Clinton's venerable mother, Jefferson, the Duke of Cambridge (on a visit to America), Mrs. Bingham, pretty Nelly Custis, *naïvely* standing beside her (grand) mother, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Rutledge, Mrs. Phillipe, Mrs. Schuyler—all the heroic and lovely faces, the statesmen and the belles, familiar to us through the portraits and miniatures. Huntington has painted the costumes with rare taste and skill; they are elegant, and as authentic as they are picturesque. The drawing is for the most part masterly; the color full of the richest contrast, yet harmoniously toned. All of the portraits are copied from Copley, Stuart, Malbone, and from family likenesses in the possession of the living descendants of many of the persons represented."

At the extreme left in the picture, Mrs. Adams, the wife of the Vice-President, and Mrs. Hamilton, will be recognized; Mrs. Robert Morris stands beside Mrs. Washington on the raised platform. Jonathan Trumbull is seated at her left in an arm-chair; Mrs. Bingham and Mrs. Jay are conspicuously in the foreground, and little George Washington Parke Custis is attracting the attention of Mrs. Winthrop and Mrs. Randolph, at the extreme right. In all its parts the picture is a pleasant study, and doubly dear at the present moment when thousands are groping in the dark for bits of the glorious past in our history—particularly that which relates to its social manifestation.

The most important business of the first Congress was to create the department of State, and the Treasury and War departments, the Constitution having left the details of administration to this august body. Troublesome questions arose on the start. The President for instance had been empowered to appoint the heads of departments, but the Constitution was silent as to where the powers of removal should be lodged. Equally acute thinkers and interpreters of the law stood opposed in the discussion, which was finally decided in favor of the President. That this should not be regarded as a grant of actual power by Congress, the bill was carefully worded so as to imply a constitutional power already existing in the President, thus, "Whenever the secretary shall be removed by the President of the United States," etc. It is to this day a question whether our first legislators acted wisely in the matter.

It was not until September that the permanent secretaries were appointed by Washington, after which the intricate machinery of each department was to be devised, set in motion, and with much experimenting adjusted to its purposes. Thomas Jefferson was made Secretary of State;



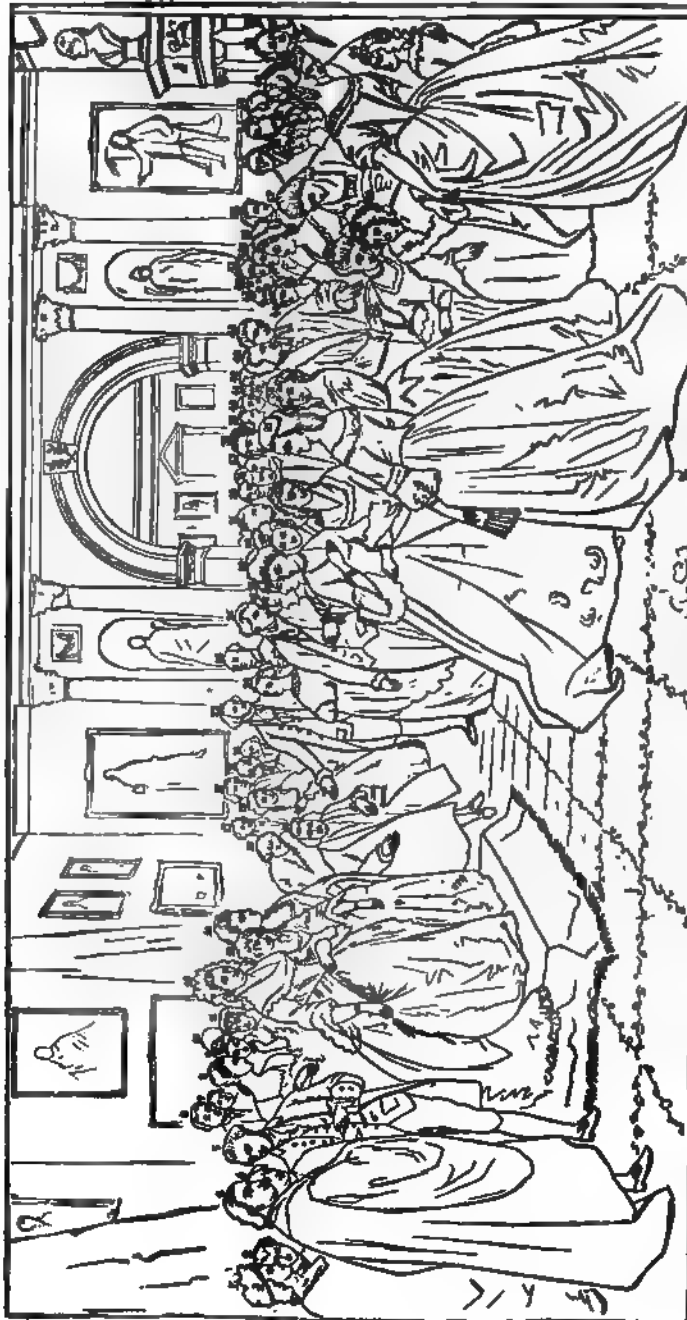
LADY WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION DAY.

[From Huntington's celebrated painting.]



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[From Huntington's celebrated painting.]



KEY TO "LADY WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION-DAY."—[See Double-page Explanation.]

1. Mrs. John Adams.
2. Mrs. Alexander Hamilton.
3. Mrs. John Jay.
4. Mrs. Alexander Hamilton.
5. Mrs. Lafayette.
6. Mrs. French.
7. Mrs. Jay.
8. Mrs. Jay.
9. Mrs. Jay.
10. Mrs. Jay.

11. Mr. Robert Morris.
12. Mr. Robert Morris.
13. Mr. Robert Morris.
14. Mr. Robert Morris.
15. Mr. Robert Morris.
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17. Mr. Robert Morris.
18. Mr. Robert Morris.
19. Mr. Robert Morris.
20. Mr. Robert Morris.

21. Mrs. Washington.
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59. Mr. Hamilton.
60. Mr. Hamilton.

Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; Knox, Secretary of War; Ex-Governor Edmund Randolph of Virginia, Attorney-General; and Samuel Osgood of New York, Postmaster-General.

These officers were Washington's auxiliaries rather than his counselors, for the Cabinet as an advisory body was unknown to the Constitution and to the laws of Congress. The President called them together at intervals, but it was chiefly to give them instructions, as he was held responsible for the good conduct of the departments. He could take advice of them if he chose, but at his own option. While the house was vigorously debating several knotty questions in connection with the establishment of the departments—chiefly the contemplated revenue system, and the matter of the salaries to be paid the President, Vice-President, and other officials of the government—the senate took up the subject of the national judiciary, and established the supreme court and circuit and district courts, an organization which has remained substantially the same to the present time. It seemed eminently fitting that John Jay, who had been the first chief-justice of the state of New York in the most critical of all periods, should become the first chief-justice of the United States, and he received the appointment, although the court was not fully organized until the following April. Oliver Ellsworth was chairman of the committee that prepared the bill creating this tribunal, which was to hold two sessions annually at the seat of government. Six associate-justices were appointed—William Cushing, James Wilson, Robert H. Harrison, John Blair, John Rutledge, and Patrick Henry. Harrison declined, and James Iredell of North Carolina was appointed in his stead. These gentlemen procured homes and brought their families to reside in New York city.

There were not many good houses then to rent, and the varied experiences of the new-comers would form an amusing chapter. The salary fixed for the attorney-general was only \$1,500 a year; and Mr. Conway, in his recent work on Randolph, says that "Madison was unable to find a house in New York fit for his friend to live in for less than \$250, though Randolph had begged him to get one for less. 'Frugality is my object, and therefore a house near the town which is cheap in point of rent would suit me. An hundred and sixty-six and two-thirds dollars, £50 Virginia currency, is what I think I may allow per annum.'" Randolph wrote soon after to his wife: "I have a house at a mile and a half or thereabouts from Federal Hall—that is from the most public part of the city. It is, in fact, in the country, is airy, has seven rooms, is well finished and gentlemanlike. The rent, £75 our money. Good water is difficult to be found

in this place, and the inhabitants are obliged to receive water for tea, and other purposes which do not admit brackish water, from hogsheads brought every day in drays. At our house there is an excellent pump of fresh water, I am told. . . . I am resolved against any company of form, and to live merely a private life."

Oliver Wolcott, then a brilliant young man of thirty, was appointed auditor of the treasury, and his salary was, like that of Randolph, \$1,500 a year. Oliver Ellsworth furnished him with an estimate of the cost of living in New York, and remarked that he could keep his expenses within \$1,000 per annum, unless he should change his style, which was wholly unnecessary. Wolcott, on reaching New York, wrote to his wife: "The example of the President and his family will render parade and expense improper and disreputable. We can live as retired or as much in the world as we choose." In December following he wrote to his mother: "We have not been able to hire a house, and shall continue in lodgings until spring."

Washington's immense activity, which in effect had condensed a score of life-times into his fifty-seven well-rounded years, showed that his original endowment of nerve and brain power was magnificent. Claude Victor, Prince de Broglie, who was arrested by the revolutionary tribunal in Paris, tried, condemned, and guillotined June 27, 1794, left among the records of his visit to America the following pen-portrait of Washington: "He is tall, nobly built, and very well proportioned. His face is much more agreeable than represented in his portrait. His accost is cold though polite. His pensive eyes seem more attentive than sparkling; but their expression is benevolent, noble, and self-possessed. In his private conduct he preserves that polite and attentive good-breeding which satisfies everybody, and that dignified reserve that offends no one. He is a foe to ostentation and to vain-glory. He receives with perfect grace all the homages which are paid him, but he evades them rather than seeks them. His company is agreeable and winning. Always serious, never abstracted, always simple, always easy and affable without being familiar, the respect which he inspires is never oppressive. He speaks but little in general, and that in a subdued tone, but he is so attentive to what is said to him that, being satisfied he understands you perfectly, one is disposed to dispense with an answer. This behavior has been very useful to him on numerous occasions. . . . At dessert he eats enormously of nuts, and when the conversation is entertaining he keeps eating through a couple of hours, from time to time giving sundry healths, according to the English and American custom. It is what they

call toasting. I toasted very often with him, and among others on one occasion I proposed to drink to the Marquis de Lafayette, whom he regards as his own child. He accepted with a benevolent smile, and had the politeness to respond by proposing the health of my father and my wife."

During the greater part of the months of June and July of that first year of his presidency, Washington was suffering from a violent illness and confined to the house. But August found him convalescent, and ere long he was taking his accustomed drives over the roads on the upper part of Manhattan Island, and walking from his house in Franklin Square to the Battery with the same light, firm, elastic step as formerly. The summer of 1789 was fortunately very cool and comfortable, and the busy legislators toiled on, taking no vacation until the adjournment of Congress on the 26th of September. The city was then quiet, comparatively, for a few weeks. Washington had for some time been contemplating a tour through the New England States, and as the autumn advanced he prepared for the journey, setting the example which has been variously followed by his successors even to the present administration. He left New York when the autumn foliage was gorgeous in all the colors of the rainbow, about the middle of October, and was absent a month, less one day. He traveled in his own chariot drawn by four handsome horses, attended by his two personal secretaries, Tobias Lear and Major Jackson, on horseback. Washington's own account of this tour is more terse and to the point than any other, hence we quote a few passages from his diary :

"Thursday, October 15. Commenced my journey about 9 o'clock for Boston. . . . The Chief Justice, Mr. Jay, and the Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments accompanied me some distance out of the city. About 10 o'clock it began to rain, and continued to do so until 11, when we arrived at the house of one Hoyatt, who keeps a tavern at Kingsbridge, where we, that is, Major Jackson, Mr. Lear, and myself, with six servants, which composed my retinue, dined. After dinner, through frequent light showers, we proceeded to the tavern of a Mrs. Haviland at Rye ; who keeps a very neat and decent Inn.

The road for the greater part was stony but the land strong, well covered with grass and a luxuriant crop of Indian corn intermixed with pompions (which were yet ungathered) in the fields. We met four droves of beef cattle for the New York market (about 30 in a drove), some of which were very fine—also a flock of sheep for the same place. We scarcely passed a farm-house that did not abound in geese. . . .

The distance of this day's travel was 31 miles, in which we passed through (after leaving the Bridge) East Chester, New Rochelle, and Mamaroneck ; but, as these places (though they have houses of worship in them) are not regularly laid out, they are scarcely to be distinguished from the intermediate farms, which are very close together—and separated, as one inclosure from another also is, by fences of stone, which are indeed easily

made, as the country is immensely stony. Upon enquiry we find their crops of wheat and rye have been abundant—though of the first they had sown rather sparingly, on account of the destruction which had of late years been made of that grain by what is called the Hessian fly.

Friday, October 16. About 7 o'clock we left the Widow Haviland's, and after passing Horse Neck, six miles distant from Rye, the road through which is hilly and immensely stony, and trying to wheels and carriages, we breakfasted at Stamford, which is six miles further (at one Webb's), a tolerably good house, but not equal in appearance or reality to Mrs. Haviland's. In this town are an Episcopal church and a meeting house. At Norwalk, which is ten miles further, we made a halt to feed our horses. To the lower end of this town sea vessels come, and at the other end are mills, stores, and an Episcopal and Presbyterian church. From hence to Fairfield, where we dined and lodged, is 12 miles; and part of it a very rough road, but not equal to that thro' Horse Neck. . . . We found all the farmers busily employed in gathering, grinding, and pressing the juice of their apples; the crop of which they say is rather above mediocrity. . . . The destructive evidences of British cruelty are yet visible both in Norwalk and Fairfield; as there are the chimneys of many burnt houses standing in them yet. The principal export from Norwalk and Fairfield is horses and cattle—salted beef and pork—lumber and Indian corn, to the West Indies, and in a small degree wheat and flour.

Saturday, October 17. A little after sunrise we left Fairfield, and passing through East Fairfield breakfasted at Stratford, which is ten miles from Fairfield, and is a pretty village on or near Stratford river. The road between these two places is not on the whole bad (for this country), in some places very good, especially through East Fairfield, which is in a plain and free from stone.

There are two decent looking churches in this place, though small, viz. : an Episcopal, and Presbyterian or Congregationalist (as they call themselves). At Stratford there is the same. At this place I was received with an effort of military parade; and was attended to the ferry, which is near a mile from the centre of the town, by several gentlemen on horseback. Doctor Johnson of the Senate [William Samuel Johnson, LL.D., president of Columbia College] visited me here, being with Mrs. Johnson in this town, where he formerly resided. . . . From the ferry it is almost 3 miles to Milford, which is situated in more uneven and stony ground than the last three villages through which we passed. In this place there is but one church, or in other words but one steeple—but there are grist and saw mills, and a handsome cascade over the tumbling dam. . . . From Milford we took the lower road through West Haven, part of which was good and part rough, and arrived at New Haven before two o'clock; we had time to walk through several parts of the city before dinner.

"By taking the lower road we missed a committee of the Assembly, who had been appointed to wait upon and escort me into the town, to prepare an address, and to conduct me when I should leave the city as far as they should judge proper. The address was presented at 7 o'clock, and at nine I received another address from the Congregational clergy of the place. Between the receipt of the two addresses I received the compliment of a visit of the governor, Mr. Huntington, the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Wolcott, and the mayor, Mr. Roger Sherman."

The newspapers of the day give a glowing account of Washington's entertainment in New Haven, where he spent the Sabbath. In the fore-

noon of Sunday he attended divine service at Trinity Church, escorted by Mr. Edwards, speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Ingersoll, and other gentlemen of prominence; and in the afternoon went to one of the Congregational churches, escorted by the governor, lieutenant-governor, the mayor, and the speaker of the Assembly, all of whom dined with Washington at his invitation, who notes the fact in his diary, and also that he took tea at the house of the mayor, Roger Sherman.

New Haven was awake early in the morning on Monday, the 19th of October, as Washington left that city at 6 o'clock, accompanied for a considerable distance by a troop of cavalry and many of the most prominent citizens on horseback. He further says in his diary:

"We arrived at Wallingford (13 miles) by half after 8 o'clock, where we breakfasted, and took a walk through the town. . . At this place we see the white mulberry growing, raised from the seed, to feed the silkworm. We also saw samples of lustring (exceedingly good) which had been manufactured from the cocoon raised in this town, and silk-thread very fine. This, except the weaving, is the work of private families."

At 1 o'clock in the afternoon the Presidential chariot rolled into Middletown on the Connecticut River, attended by a large party of mounted citizens who had gone out two or three miles to meet and do honor to the nation's ruler. He dined there while his horses rested, and as at many other points walked about the place "while dinner was getting ready," to observe its industrial features. At 3 o'clock he started for Hartford, passing through Wethersfield, where he was met by an escorting party from Hartford with Colonel Wadsworth at its head, which city he reached just as the sun was setting. Turning to his diary we read:

"Tuesday, October 20. After breakfast, accompanied by Colonel Wadsworth, Mr. Ellsworth, and Colonel Jesse Root, I viewed the woolen manufacturing at this place, which seems to be going on with spirit. Their broadcloths are not of the first quality as yet, but they are good; as are their coatings, cassimeres, serges and everlastings. Of the first, that is, broadcloth, I ordered a suit to be sent to me at New York; and of the latter a whole piece, to make breeches for my servants. . . Dined and drank tea at Colonel Wadsworth's, and about 7 o'clock received from, and answered the address of, the town of Hartford.

"Wednesday, October 21. By promise I was to have breakfasted at Mr. Ellsworth's at Windsor,* on my way to Springfield; but the morning proving very wet, and the rain not ceasing till past 10 o'clock, I did not set out until half after that hour. I called, however, on Mr. Ellsworth and stayed there near an hour. Reached Springfield by 4 o'clock, and while dinner was getting ready, examined the Continental stores at this place, which I found in very good order at the buildings (on the hill above the town) which belong to

* Oliver Ellsworth, Senator [*Magazine of American History*, xx. 440], whose home was at Windsor, about seven miles above Hartford.

the United States. . . There is great equality in the people of this state. Few or no opulent men—and no poor—great similitude in their buildings, the general fashion of which is a chimney (always of stone or brick) and door in the middle, with a staircase fronting the latter, . . . two flush stories with a very good show of sash and glass windows; the size generally is from 30 to 50 feet in length, and from 20 to 30 feet in width, exclusive of a back shed, which seems to be added as the family increases."

Washington's critical observations on this first Presidential tour through the country are of surpassing interest. He seems to have known how to use his eyes to the best advantage, and to have lost nothing worthy of note. He describes the average farm, how it was worked "chiefly by oxen, (which have no other feed than hay), with a horse and sometimes two before them, both in plow and cart," and states the condition of the roads he passed over on each day, the style of the fences, the quality of the soil, and the exact number of the churches in the principal towns. He produces a picture of New England a hundred years ago, the colors of which will brighten and deepen as the years roll on.

An amusing incident occurred between Springfield and Worcester. A messenger was sent forward to inform the keeper of a little wayside inn that "the President was near by and wished to be accommodated with a little necessary refreshment, and lodging." The proprietor was absent, and his wife, supposing it was the president of Rhode Island College, who frequently stopped with them, accompanied by his wife, and not feeling well enough to entertain them, sent word back "that the President must go on to the next tavern." The disappointment of the landlady may well be imagined when she found after it was too late that it was the great Washington who intended to honor her house. "Bless me!" she cried, "the sight of him would have cured my illness!"

At Worcester he was received with great ceremony, and with the booming of guns. To gratify the inhabitants he rode through the town on horseback, his chariot following in the rear. He spent the night of the 23d at Weston. Saturday, the 24th, he writes: "Dressed by seven o'clock, and set out at eight—at ten we arrived in Cambridge, according to appointment." He called, and tarried for about an hour, at the residence of Mr. Longfellow, which was his headquarters in 1775, and then in his Continental uniform and mounted on a white horse, he was conducted into Boston by a military escort of one thousand or more men, led by General Brooks. Lieutenant-Governor Samuel Adams, with the executive council of Massachusetts, and the officers of the city government, met, welcomed, and preceded him into Boston, while he was followed by his secretaries, Vice-President John Adams, ex-Governor James Bowdoin, Senator Tristram

Dalton, distinguished citizens, committees, civil and military officers, between forty and fifty societies, and bodies of mechanics and tradesmen, carrying banners of great beauty, with appropriate devices. Washington in reference to this parade says: "It was in every degree flattering and honorable." A triumphal arch was thrown across Main Street, bearing in front the inscription "To the man who unites all hearts," for him to pass through into the State House, and thence he proceeded to an outside gallery supported by thirteen columns, over the west door, where his appearance was greeted with prolonged shouts from the enthusiastic throng. He himself remarks incidentally: "The streets, the doors, windows and tops of the houses were crowded with well-dressed ladies and gentlemen."

Washington remained in Boston four days, until the 29th, and during this memorable Presidential visit the ladies of Boston wore a sash of broad white ribbon, with G. W. in golden letters, encircled with a laurel wreath. At a brilliant assemblage which he attended at Concert Hall on the 28th, graced by all that was distinguished in affairs and society, the Marchioness Traversay wore in addition to the sash above described, on the bandeau of her hat, the initials G. W., and an eagle set in brilliants on a ground of black velvet. The illustrious guest of the evening observes: "There were upwards of one hundred ladies. Their appearance was elegant, and many of them very handsome."

Every moment of Washington's time was agreeably and usefully occupied during his stay in Boston, and would in itself form a chapter of marvelous interest. A "large and elegant" dinner was given him at Faneuil Hall on the 27th, by the governor and council, prior to which he had that morning been to an oratorio, and between noon and three o'clock, P.M., had received the addresses of the government of the state, of the town of Boston, of the president and professors of Harvard College, and of the state branch of the order of the Cincinnati. He attended church on the Sabbath, both morning and afternoon; he visited the French squadron in the harbor, and was received with the homage offered to kings; he visited the institutions of learning, and he made special note of every manufacturing establishment of public utility.

He went through Lynn on leaving Boston, and out of his way to Marblehead, because he wanted to see the place. He describes it as having "the appearance of antiquity: the houses are old; the streets dirty; and the common people not very clean." His special desire was to learn about the fishing business of its people. Of Lynn, he writes: "It is said 175,000 pair of shoes (women's chiefly) have been made in a year by about

400 workmen. This is only a row of houses, and not very thick, on each side of the road." He was met by a committee and a handsomely uniformed military escort, who conducted him into the flourishing town of Salem, where an ode in his honor was sung, addresses presented, respect paid to him by all classes of people, and after dining he attended an assembly in the evening, where he says: "There were at least an hundred handsome and well-dressed ladies."

On Friday, the 30th, he was received in Newburyport with military honors, where he spent the night. On Saturday, the 31st, after breakfasting with Senator Tristram Dalton, he proceeded toward Portsmouth. A cavalcade came out to meet him at the state line, in which the figures of the President of New Hampshire, John Sullivan, and Senators John Langdon and Paine Wingate were conspicuous, and Washington, who had thus far been riding on horseback to gratify the people who lined the road the whole distance, dismounted, and took leave of the escort which had attended him to this point. Before reaching Portsmouth, however, the clamor of the spectators along the road was such that Washington mounted his horse and rode through the ranks of men, women, and children, to their never-ending delight. He says: "With this cavalcade, we proceeded, and arrived before three o'clock at Portsmouth, where we were received with every token of respect and appearance of cordiality, under a discharge of artillery. The streets, doors, and windows were crowded here as in all other places; and alighting at the town-house odes were sung and played in honor of the President. . . . From the town-house I went to Colonel Brewster's tavern, the place provided for my residence; and asked the president, vice-president, the two senators, the marshal and Major Gilman to dine with me, which they did; after which I drank tea at Mr. Langdon's."

On Sunday Washington attended religious services in two of the churches, attended by Governor Sullivan, Senator Langdon, and others; in the forenoon at the Episcopal, and in the afternoon at the Congregational, Rev. Joseph Buckminster, pastor. In both cases he was conducted to his pew by the marshal of the district and two church wardens, with their staves. He remained in Portsmouth until Wednesday, the 4th, during which time he went in a barge to view the harbor, and landed for a few moments at Kittery, in Maine. He writes: "Having lines we proceeded to the fishing banks a little without the harbour and fished for Cod; but it not being a proper time of tide, we caught only two, with which about one o'clock we returned to town. Dined at Mr. Langdon's, and drank tea there, with a large circle of ladies, and retired a little after seven

o'clock." He says that Portsmouth contained at that time about five thousand inhabitants. "There are some good houses (among which Colonel Langdon's may be esteemed the first), but in general they are indifferent, and almost entirely of wood. On wondering at this, as the country is full of stone and good clay for bricks, I was told that on account of the fogs and damp they deemed them wholesomer, and for that reason preferred wood buildings."

On Tuesday a public dinner was given in honor of the President, attended by the principal officers of the state government, the clergy, the members of the bar, and eminent private citizens; and after the first toast, Washington himself arose and offered, "The State of New Hampshire," which created the utmost enthusiasm. The same evening, he writes: "At half after seven I went to the assembly, where there were about seventy-five well-dressed and many of them very handsome ladies—among whom (as was also the case at Salem and Boston assemblies) were a greater proportion with much blacker hair than are usually seen in the southern states. About nine I returned to my quarters."

Washington was anxious that his journey homeward to New York should be without any public receptions whatever. He had been exceedingly gratified with the evidences of respect and affection which had made this first Presidential tour, thus far, a continuous triumphal march, unparalleled in history, but he feared such ceaseless demonstrations on the part of the people would react to the disadvantage of their private occupations and business interests. He writes in his note-book:

"Wednesday, November 4. About half after seven I left Portsmouth, quietly, and without any attendance, having earnestly entreated that all parade and ceremony might be avoided on my return. Before ten I reached Exeter, 14 miles distance. This is considered the second town in New Hampshire, and stands at the head of the tide-water of Piscataqua river. . . . It is a place of some consequence, but does not contain more than 1,000 inhabitants. A jealousy subsists between this town (where the legislature alternately sits) and Portsmouth; which, had I known it in time, would have made it necessary to have accepted an invitation to a public dinner, but my arrangements having been otherwise made, I could not. From hence, passing through Kingstown (6 miles from Exeter), I arrived at Haverhill about half-past two, and stayed all night. . . . The inhabitants of this small village were well disposed to welcome me to it by every demonstration which could evince their joy."

He returned by a different route from that taken in going to Boston and Portsmouth, and interested himself with every little detail of country life which he encountered, often halting to converse with the farmers along the road, questioning them about their crops. At Uxbridge he lodged at a small inn kept by Mr. Taft, and the letter he wrote back to the landlord

after reaching Hartford, accompanying a gift to each of his young daughters, was the basis of the romantic story, "How Washington made the Fortunes of two Apple Pickers," published, as will be remembered, some dozen years ago. He stopped over the Sabbath on the 8th, giving his reasons as follows :

"It being contrary to law and disagreeable to the people of this State (Connecticut) to travel on the Sabbath day—and my horses after passing through such intolerable roads wanting rest, I stayed at Perkins' tavern (which, by the way, is not a good one) all day—and a meeting-house being within a few rods of the door, I attended morning and evening service, and heard very lame discourses from a Mr. Pond."

Washington passed through Mansfield, which was even then making a larger quantity of silk than any other town in the state. He spent the night of November 9 in Hartford, and at seven the next morning took the middle road to New Haven, which city he reached just before sundown. Here he met Mr. Elbridge Gerry, just in from New York, who gave him the first certain account of the health of Mrs. Washington since he parted from her. He reached his own house in Franklin Square between two and three o'clock on Friday, November 13, his horses looking as fresh and gay as if they had not been traveling continuously for a month; and he was just in time to be present at Mrs. Washington's reception, of which he says: "A pretty large company of ladies and gentlemen were present."

The winter of 1790 was superlatively mild and pleasant until February, and New York was indeed the gayest and most charming city on the continent. The presence of so much dignity of character, statesmanship, legal lore, culture, and social elegance inspired all manner of ambitions. John Trumbull wrote to Oliver Wolcott early in December :

"I see the President has returned all fragrant with the odour of insence. It must have given him satisfaction to find that the hearts of the people are united in his favor; but the blunt and acknowledged adulation of our addresses must often have wounded his feelings. We have gone through all the popish grades of worship, at least up to the *Hyperdoulia*. This tour has answered a good political purpose, and in a great measure stilled those who were clamoring about the wages of Congress and the salaries of officers."

The President was each day in consultation with the new secretaries in shaping the conduct of their departments, and the most complex and important subjects that came before the legislators in Wall Street were constantly being brought to his notice. But, notwithstanding the weighty affairs of state, he found time for loyalty to every social duty. The extracts from his diary published in the February magazine of 1888, the last entry then quoted being that of "February 18, 1789," furnish bewitching glimpses

of his movements. The city was astir with all manner of festivities, public and private—the balls and dinners were far more numerous than the evenings—and statesmen were constantly meeting in polite circles and everywhere discussing the great topics of the hour, such as the trouble the Indians were giving on the Ohio river, and in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama, the disturbed condition of foreign affairs, Hamilton's bill for funding the public debt, and the location of the permanent seat of government. The President continued his Thursday dinner parties, inviting members of Congress, foreign ministers, and other eminent persons. On the 18th of February the guests were Mr. and Mrs. Elbridge Gerry, Elias Boudinot, the New Jersey philanthropist, and Mrs. Boudinot, Isaac Coles and Mrs. Coles from Virginia, the brilliant Alexander White and Mrs. White, Samuel Griffin and Mrs. Griffin, Judge Cushing and his lady, and Postmaster-General Osgood and Mrs. Osgood.

On Tuesday afternoons Washington was ready to receive visitors at three o'clock, usually dressed in coat and breeches of rich black velvet, with a white or pearl-colored satin vest, his hair powdered and gathered into a silk bag, silver knee-buckles and shoe-buckles, a cocked hat in his hand, and an elegant sword in its scabbard of polished white leather at his side. At Mrs. Washington's Friday levees he appeared as a private gentleman, without hat or sword. Mrs. Jay, Mrs. Hamilton, and Mrs. Knox each had a special evening aside from giving dinners every week. Chancellor Livingston's home in Broadway below Trinity Church was open to all that was notable in the world of politics and letters. Livingston was a great lover of art treasures, and the walls of his mansion were adorned with beautiful paintings and Gobelin tapestry of unique design, while costly ornaments greeted the eye in every apartment. His table service was of solid silver, valued, it is said, at upwards of thirty thousand dollars; four side-dishes each weighed twelve and one-half pounds.

On the anniversary of his fifty-eighth birthday, February 22, 1790, Washington was in the turmoil of removal from the Franklin house, which had been found exceedingly inconvenient on account of its great distance out of town, to the McComb mansion in lower Broadway, previously occupied by the French minister. So much of the Presidential furniture was carried during the day to the new house, that two of the gentlemen of the President's household slept there that night. At the same time most of the large towns in the United States were celebrating with enthusiasm his birthday. The Tammany Society or Columbian Order, then recently instituted in New York, held a meeting at their wigwam, and resolved that forever after it would "commemorate the birthday of the illustrious

George Washington." Some extracts from Washington's diary are of special interest in this connection.

"Tuesday, February 23. Few or no visitors at the Levee to-day, from the idea of my being on the move. After dinner, Mrs Washington and myself and children removed, and lodged at our new habitation.

Wednesday 24 Employed in arranging matters about the house and fixing matters.

Thursday 25 Engaged as yesterday. In the afternoon a committee of Congress presented an Act for enumerating the inhabitants of the United States.

Friday 26 A numerous company of ladies and gentlemen here this afternoon. Exercised on horseback this forenoon.

Saturday 27 Sat for Mr Trumbull this forenoon; after which exercised in the coach with Mrs Washington and the children.

Sunday 28 Went to St Paul's Chapel in the forenoon. Wrote letters on private business afterwards.

Monday, March 1. Exercised on horseback this forenoon, attended by Mr John Trumbull, who wanted to see me mounted. Informed the House of Representatives (where the bill originated) that I had given my assent to the act for taking a census of the people. . . .

Tuesday 2 Much and respectable company at the Levee to-day. Caused a letter to be written to the Gov'r of St Iago respecting the imprisonment of a Captain Hammond.

Wednesday 3 Exercised on horseback between 9 and 11 o'clock.

Thursday 4 Sat from 9 until half after 10 o'clock for Mr Trumbull. The following gentlemen dined here to-day, viz; the vice President (John Adams) Messers (John) Langdon, (Paine) Wingate, (Tristram) Dalton, (Caleb) Strong, (Oliver) Ellsworth, (Philip) Schuyler, (Rufus) King, (William) Patterson, (Robert) Morris, (William) Maclay, (Richard) Bassett, (John) Henry, (William Samuel) Johnson, (Benjamin) Hawkins, (Ralph) Izard, (Pierce) Butler, and (William) Few, all of the Senate.

Friday 5 A very numerous company of ladies and gentlemen here this evening.

Saturday 6 Exercised in the coach with Mrs Washington and the children, and in the afternoon walked round the Battery."

The general upheaval of society in France at this juncture, as described from time to time by Gouverneur Morris, caused much uneasiness. After spending an evening with De Moustier, the French minister who had returned to Paris, Morris writes: "I find that, notwithstanding public professions as to the public proceedings of America, both De Moustier and Madame de Brehan have a thorough dislike to the country and its inhabitants. The society of New York is not sociable, the provisions of America are not good, the climate is very damp, the wines are abominable, the people are excessively indolent." Thomas Jefferson, coming home from his mission to France, was overflowing with sympathy for the French revolutionists. He spent a few weeks at his beautiful Virginia country seat, and then traveled to New York to assume the duties of Secretary of State. He

arrived on Sunday. Washington had just returned from church when Jefferson was announced. "Show him in," was the quick and pleased response, and then the President, without waiting, stepped forward and greeted his guest with special warmth and cordiality in the entrance hall. Jefferson's coming on that day was particularly opportune. Washington and Jay were earnestly considering the course to be pursued in relation to some captives in Algiers—and also about the sending of *chargés d'affaires* to the courts of Europe. Jefferson was fresh from the old world, and brought the latest exact intelligence touching upon its affairs. But he did not find things in America as he expected. He was disappointed with the Constitution; and he thought the leaning was toward a kingly instead of a republican government. Hamilton's project of a national bank shocked him—he regarded it as a fountain of demoralization.

It was at Hamilton's dinner-table that he first advocated aiding France to throw off her monarchical yoke. Hamilton shook his head and declared himself in favor of maintaining a strict neutrality. This question presently assumed vital importance. Jefferson opposed Hamilton's funding system and seemed to distrust all his measures. Stormy discussions were of daily occurrence, trifles were magnified, and political excitement spread through the country. Thus developed that division in politics, which, gradually rising to the dignity of party organization, was known as Federalism and Republicanism. The Assumption Bill brought to the front all the local prejudices of a century, and created such feuds that when it was lost in the house by a vote taken one hot July afternoon, the whole business of the nation was in a deadlock. The northern members threatened secession and dissolution of the union. Congress actually adjourned from day to day because opposing parties were too much out of temper to do business together. Washington was seriously alarmed.

For some weeks the controversy over the location of the permanent seat of government had been almost as heated as that concerning the Assumption Bill. "The question of residence is constantly entangling every measure proposed," wrote Wolcott. New York city was preferred by the majority; the gentlemen from the New England states could reach it with ease, and it was accessible by sea from the south. A house, intended for a Presidential residence, was already in process of erection near the Battery, on the site of the old fort, overlooking the Bowling Green. But neither the state nor the city authorities were ready to cede the territory and the jurisdiction of the ten miles square which it must include, even if such a tract could be found appropriately situated. Harlem Heights was suggested as suitable for the proposed district, as was also West-



THE GOVERNMENT HOUSE ON THE SITE OF THE OLD FORT, FRONTING THE BOWLING GREEN, BUILT FOR THE PRESIDENT'S HOME IN 1790.

This edifice, originally designed for the residence of President Washington, was unfinished when the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia. It was afterwards the residence of New York's governors, George Clinton and John Jay. From 1799 to 1815 it was used for a Custom House, after which it was taken down.

[From a rare print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addeis Emmet.]

chester and the heights of Brooklyn. Washington was incessantly active and observant. His morning exercise on horseback was frequently extended to the site of the Harlem Heights battle-field, where he won his first absolute victory in an open field encounter with the British; and this picturesque elevation between Manhattanville and Kingsbridge would have been unquestionably his choice for the site of a capitol and public buildings, if the question had been decided in favor of New York.

One charming summer day a party was formed for a drive over Harlem Heights, and a visit to the remains of Fort Washington. The party consisted of the President and Mrs. Washington, the two children, Mrs. Lear, the gentlemen of the President's household, Vice-President John Adams and Mrs. Adams, their son and Miss Smith, Secretary and Mrs. Hamilton, Secretary Thomas Jefferson, and Secretary and Mrs. Knox. Returning, they alighted at the old Roger Morris mansion, with which Washington, as we all know, was thoroughly familiar, where a dinner had been provided for the entire party by Mr. Mariner, the farmer who occupied the premises, and an animated and delightful dinner-party it proved. This fine house with its extensive grounds had been confiscated, and was at the time in the care of a man employed by the government. Towards evening the party descended Breakneck Hill and drove rapidly back to the city. The "fourteen mile round," Washington's favorite drive, was over the old Bloomingdale road to the high bluff where Grant now sleeps, thence across to the Kingsbridge and old Boston roads in returning.

Washington also visited Long Island not far from this time, driving through many of the towns, and carefully jotting observations into his note-book. Mrs. Jay wrote to her husband, who was in Boston, of the President's absence on this trip, and remarks: "On Wednesday Mrs. Washington called upon me to go with her to wait upon Miss Van Berckel, and on Thursday morning, agreeable to invitation, myself and the little girls took an early breakfast with her, and then went with her and her little grandchildren to breakfast at General Morris's, at Morrisania. We passed together a very agreeable day, and on our return dined with her, as she would not take a refusal. After which I came home to dress, and she was so polite as to take coffee with me in the evening." In another letter Mrs. Jay mentions, "Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton dined with me on Sunday and on Tuesday." She also refers to having entertained informally Mrs. Iredell and her daughter, and Mr. and Mrs. Munro. Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, known as the patroon, was the newly elected senator, and, although scarcely twenty-six, was a model of masculine beauty and courtly manners; his bride was Mrs. Hamilton's sister Margaret.

Pennsylvania made great efforts to secure the establishment of the future capital on the banks of the Delaware; and Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia were anxious that it should be located on the Potomac. The South Carolinians objected decidedly to Philadelphia because her Quakers "were eternally dogging southern members with their schemes of emancipation." The subject of slavery had indeed been introduced into congress by a petition from the Quakers that the negroes should receive their freedom. The Philadelphians resented any mention of New York as the ultimate choice. Dr. Rush wrote to Muhlenberg: "Do as you please, but tear congress away from New York in any way; do not rise until you have effected this business."

Jefferson was on his way to see the President one morning when he met Hamilton on the street, and the two walked arm in arm backward and forward in front of the President's house in Broadway for half an hour, Hamilton explaining with the utmost earnestness the anger and disgust of the creditor states, and the immediate danger of disunion, unless the excitement was calmed through the sacrifice of some subordinate principle. Hamilton appealed with such persuasive eloquence and so directly to Jefferson for aid in silencing the clamor which menaced the very existence of government that the latter yielded, and afterwards said he "was most innocently made to hold the candle" to Hamilton's "fiscal manœuvre" for assuming the state debts. He proposed that Hamilton should dine with him the next day, inviting two or three other gentlemen; and at the dinner-table the situation was discussed in all its bearings. It was finally agreed that two of the Virginia members should support the Assumption Bill, and that Hamilton and Robert Morris should command the northern influence sufficient to locate the seat of government on the Potomac. The result was the adoption of Hamilton's funding system by a small majority in both houses, and the final decision which founded the city of Washington on its present site.

Congress adjourned August 12, to meet in Philadelphia in December, returning thanks to the corporation of the city of New York "for the elegant and convenient accommodations furnished the Congress of the United States." On the 14th of August Washington sailed for Newport, returning on the 21st. On the 30th he left for a brief autumnal visit to Mount Vernon, bidding a final farewell to the metropolis to which he had become deeply attached.

Martha J Lamb

THE DE VRIES PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

A RECENT DISCOVERY IN HOLLAND

The visit of the Holland Society of New York to the Netherlands in August, 1888, will ever be a memorable event both to the hosts and to their favored guests. The official and civic receptions, the excursions and banquets, the enthusiastic welcome of the multitude which crowded the thoroughfares and the house-tops, the music, addresses, and original songs, the lavish display of flags and bunting, the cathedral bells ringing out the national airs of America—all made an impression which seems like a dream. It was a continuous ovation of ten days, and more befitting royalty than a company of simple citizens of a republic. It was the home sentiment greeting the members of the family after an absence of two hundred and fifty years.

The company then disbanded. Some returned by the same steamer which carried them over, while others departed for London, Paris, and the Rhine. Their visit was limited to the provinces of North and South Holland.

A few members of the society determined to devote two weeks more in travel through the other provinces. They were everywhere received with the same hearty demonstrations. It continued to be a royal progress to Leeuwarden, Sneek, Groningen, Utrecht, and Middelburg. But nowhere was the hospitality more pronounced than at Arnhem on the Rhine, in the province of Gueilderland.

The company of gentlemen who here received them bore the peculiar title of "The Society wishing to attract Visitors to Arnhem." The mid-day breakfast at Hotel Bellevue, arranged according to the characteristic taste of the cultured Hollander, appealed to the poetic sentiment. The table on the veranda commanded a view down the lawn sloping to the Rhine, across which, and beyond the intervening meadow, were visible the spires of the churches in the villages lying among the German hills. Afterward, in response to an invitation, they were driven to the residence of Mr. Peter de Vries, Sr.

It was what Americans would call an old-fashioned house. It bore the appearance of wealth indicative of comfort rather than of ostentation. The interior arrangements, the furniture and decorations, were similar to



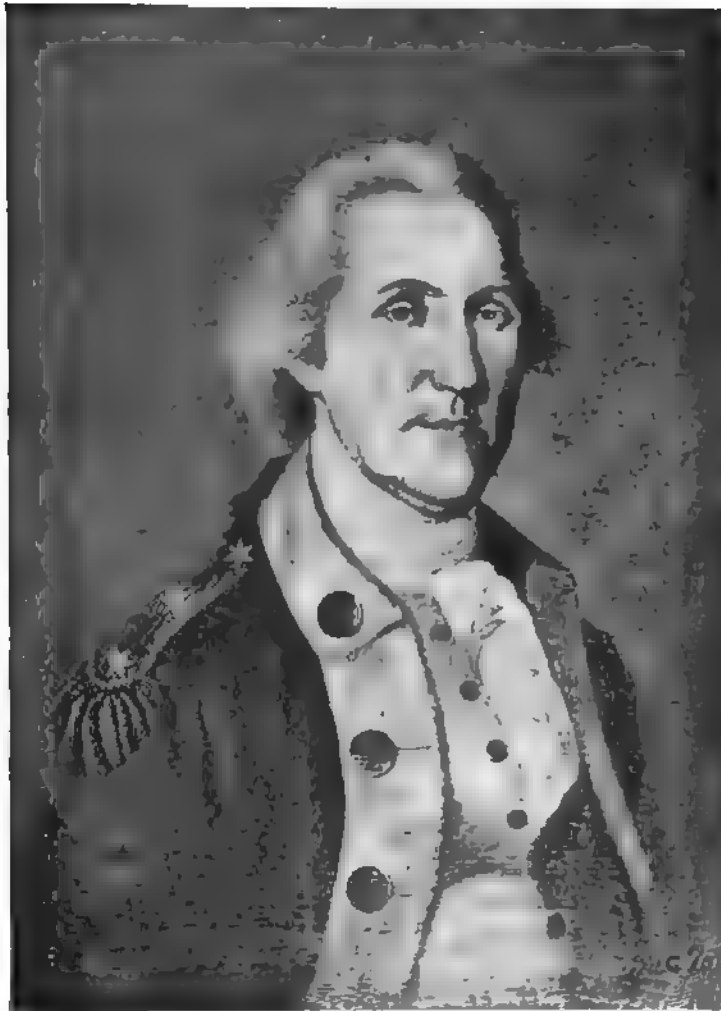
OWNER OF THE WASHINGTON PORTRAIT.

those of the old Knickerbocker homes of New York. This, together with the manner of the reception accorded by the family and invited friends, immediately placed the visitors at their ease.

Their attention was at once arrested by a portrait of our Washington standing upon an easel, and decorated with Dutch and American flags. Their surprise was greatly increased when Mr. de Vries read from a carefully prepared manuscript a history of the portrait, a part of which I have the privilege to present:

He said: "Under every government which our fatherland has had, the love of liberty has manifested itself, it was only modified in its expression in accordance with the circumstances under which the people lived. The proper and natural consequences were, that the principles proclaimed more

than 100 years ago in America, in the founding of an independent nationality, met with sympathy and support in the Netherlands, not only from their political leaders, but also from men who were not invested with public office. Hence they did not hesitate to extend their commercial enterprises to those countries which were in need of help and capital. This was the principal cause why my great-grandfather, over one hundred years ago, dared to take the initiative, according to his ability and influence, to support the Americans in their struggle for liberty against the odds of England. Actuated by such a spirit, Claas Taan, living at Zaandam, and carrying on business under the firm name of 'Claas Taan and Sons,' sent a portion of his commercial fleet, at that time consisting of eighteen vessels of the largest tonnage, to America. He was successful in running the English blockade and carrying provisions into Baltimore. This deed was afterward remembered by the Americans, and my great-grandfather, Mr. Claas Taan, received, in 1793, a present from America in commemoration of this service (pointing to the portrait of Washington), and his descendants cherish it as an evidence how an independent nation values the voluntary services of a foreign friend in adversity.



THE DE VRIES PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

Facsimile of original.

This, gentlemen, is a contribution to the history of America's war for independence."

Mr. de Vries then stated that the portrait was presented by Washington himself to Claas Taan, accompanied with an autograph letter.

Here was discovered an original portrait of Washington, and connected

with an event in our war of Revolution of which the Americans were totally ignorant.

The writer of this article made reply to Mr. de Vries' address, in which he expressed the delight of the visitors, and promised, upon his return to America, to investigate the genuineness of the portrait, and to verify, if possible, the historical incident. He began his researches as soon as possible, which were attended with no little difficulty. He received the names *Pav* and *Pavk*, as transcribed from the canvas; but, as these could not be found in the catalogue of artists, he requested a photographic copy of the portrait. Mr. de Vries replied that he had never permitted a reproduction of the portrait in any form; still he complied with the request, and, after ten copies were taken (two of which were sent to the writer) the plate was purposely broken. The photograph very distinctly presented the artist's name—*C. Polk, 1793*.

It now became interesting to identify the painter. The writer at first proceeded to compare the photograph with the reproductions of known original portraits of Washington, but could not find its counterpart; nor could he find the name *Polk* in any one of the conventional lists of contemporary portrait painters. After long research, the following brief sentence was discovered in Tuckerman's *Book of Artists*: "More than one portrait of Washington bears the name of *Polke*, who passed a year or two in America. One of these belonged to the estate of Arthur Lee, and was sent to Washington during the civil war, but was returned by the government at its close."

A letter was addressed to Governor Lee, of Virginia, describing Mr. de Vries's picture, and inquiring if it corresponded with the one in the possession of his family. The governor referred it to Mr. Poindexter, state librarian, who directed to a description of the Lee portrait in *Johnston's Original Portraits of Washington*, of which the following is a summarized extract:

It is proper to record here three portraits which legitimately come in a list of Peale's works. They are attributed to Charles Peale Polk, a young Virginian, who was a relative, namesake, and pupil of Peale's; and it was said that Polk painted only the figures, while his master painted the heads. The likeness obtained in the portraits is a close rendering of the Washington head, according to the Houdon standard. One of these portraits was painted for Arthur Lee, Commissioner to France, being sent to him while abroad. It is a three-quarter picture of Washington in Continental uniform, with three stars in the epaulets. His hand, holding a *chapeau*, rests on the hilt of his sword. Princeton, with the college buildings, furnishes the background. A remark in the letter accompanying the transmission indicates that there were two pictures of this kind. The second picture identified is called a kit-cat, and is marked C. Polk, and is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The third is in the Corcoran gallery at Washington.

The extract from Tuckerman implies that the artist was a foreigner, or that he resided abroad, and it gives his name as *Polke*. There can be no doubt but that he is the same person alluded to in Johnston, since both speak of a portrait for Arthur Lee, although the latter says that this picture bears the name of *Ch: Peale Polk*, while the one in Philadelphia has it *C: Polk*, but does not state in what form it stands on the picture in the Corcoran gallery.

Mr. de Vries's picture bears the name of *C. Polk*.

If the other data should be found to be satisfactory, this confusion of names and place of residence would prove to be no serious objection to the claim of the de Vries portrait as an original. Favorable results from the investigation of the historic event, on account of which the portrait was presented by President Washington to Mr. Claas Taan, are necessary to corroborate the above testimony. This subject is at present engaging the interested attention of the Maryland Historical Society. Mr. Browne, librarian of the Johns Hopkins University, writes that "there is no doubt but that Baltimore was virtually blockaded by the English cruisers, and the distress of the inhabitants arose from the want of such things as could only be procured from Europe, and not from the need of food, since they had the whole South and West from which to draw supplies."

In the family of Mr. de Vries, it was always understood that an autograph letter of Washington's accompanied the gift of the portrait to their ancestor, and that this, together with other important documents, was lost at the time that Napoleon's army took possession of the Netherlands. It is positively known that Mr. Claas Taan was a property-holder in or near Baltimore. Sixty thousand gulden were paid to Mr. de Vries's family, as proceeds of the sale of some portion of this estate, many years after the close of the Revolutionary War. A record of this transaction should be easily ascertained.

Does a diary of Washington cover the year 1793?

Has the family of Mr. Polk, or of Peale, the artist, any letters referring to this interesting transaction?

Is there authority for the statement, made by a lecturer on "Art in Holland," that the Hollanders loaned the American Congress fourteen million dollars in aid of our Revolution? If this be true, let us cite it, with this act of Claas Taan, whenever we refer with gratitude to Kosciuszko, Pulaski, Von Steuben, and Lafayette.

On the 4th of July, 1876, Mr. de Vries gave a banquet in honor of the Centennial of the Declaration of American Independence. The consul-general of the United States for Holland was present. Mr. James Birney,

our minister at the Hague, was expected, but was unavoidably detained. This portrait of Washington, appropriately draped with the American colors, was placed in the position of honor at the table; and under this inspiration, the appreciative host and his friends became eloquent in their eulogium of the Republic which Washington so greatly aided to establish.

Investigation thus far leads to high probability that this is an uncatalogued original portrait of Washington. The writer submits this cumulative evidence: First. It has been in Mr. de Vries's family from the year 1793, the year in which it was painted. To this the owner furnishes an unbroken chain of oral testimony. Second. It bears the name of an artist known to have painted original portraits of Washington. Third. One portrait painted by him is not accounted for. Fourth. It bears evidence of having been painted at the alleged time, in the canvas, the frame, and the artist's name. Fifth. The memorable service rendered our country by Claas Taan has ever been cherished with pride by his descendants.

In the opinion of the writer, investigation will confirm the claim of the "DE VRIES PORTRAIT" of Washington as original; at the same time, it will do tardy honor to a deserving friend of America whom history seems to have forgotten.

J. Howard Suydam

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF WASHINGTON, IN FAC-SIMILE

ADDRESSED TO JAMES DUANE, 1780

The new arrangement of the Medical Department of the army, referred to in the accompanying letter, took place October 6, 1780. Congress had on the 7th of April, 1777, adopted plans for hospitals, modeled after those of the British army, by Doctors Cochran and Shippen, and submitted by them with General Washington's approval. The result was the first distinctive arrangement of the Medical Department; and at its organization Dr. Cochran received the appointment of Chief Physician and Surgeon, and Dr. Craik that of first in order of the three chief physicians and surgeons of the hospitals.

Such were the positions of both Dr. Cochran and Dr. Craik in the Medical Department, when General Washington wrote the letter to James Duane, then chairman of the military committee of Congress.

On the 6th of October, 1780, the re-arrangement took effect, to which the letter refers, and which accordingly retained Doctors Cochran and Craik in their former positions—the one of Chief Physician and Surgeon of the army, and the other of the first of the three chief physicians and surgeons of the hospitals; which ranks they continued to hold till January 19, 1781, when Dr. Cochran, on the resignation of Dr. William Shippen, was made Director of the Military Hospitals of the army, and Dr. Craik Chief Physician and Surgeon of the army in place of Dr. Cochran, promoted. Dr. Craik, it will be remembered, was the life-long friend and neighbor of General Washington, and his family physician who attended him at his death.

The letter allows a curious glimpse of the perils to which, even in that primitive time, "a spirit of party out of doors" exposed those in the public service. We detect in those suggestive words the irrepressible desire, whose offensive prurience is better known to this degenerate age, as the greed of office. We learn that, in very truth, human nature discloses the same characteristics, under similar circumstances, at all times; and whether the world's theatre is occupied with the struggle of revolutions, or with the wrangle of politicians, the strife is ever the same between the ins and the outs.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John Cochran". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the main text block.

* This letter was found among the papers of Judge Duane, and thus came into possession of General John Cochrane, Dr. Cochran's eldest grandson.—*Editor.*

Fac-simile of the original in possession of General John Cochran.

Head 2nd Sep^r 9th 1780.

Dear Sir,

I have heard that a new arrangement is about to take place in the Medical Department and that it is likely, it will be a good deal curtailed with respect to its present appointments. — Whom be the persons generally employed I am not informed, nor do I wish to know — however I wish mention to you that I think Doctors Cochran and Craik from their services, abilities and experience — and their close attention, have the strictest claim to their Country's notice, and to be among the first officers in the Establishment.

There are many other
deserving characters in the
Medical line of the Army, but
the reasons for my mentioning
the above Gent^l are, that I have
the highest opinion of them - and
have it hinted to me that the re-
arrangement might possibly
be influenced by a spirit of
party out of Doors, which w^d
not operate in their favor. - I
will add no more than that I
am with the most perfect res^t.

D^r Sir

Y^r Most Obedt Serv^t
G. Washington

A CANADIAN-AMERICAN LIAISON

Mr. Goldwin Smith and Mr. Erastus Wiman have cut all the maps out of their geographies excepting that of the United States of America. They would like to enlarge this map, and if they have their way it will be necessary to double it up before long: the book will hardly hold it. Whether they will succeed in thus revising the geography and making new work for the publishers of school-books may depend upon the result of the next Dominion election which will probably occur in the American presidential year 1892. Mr. Smith's able essays and Mr. Wiman's telegraphic dispatches have convinced the leaders of the Canadian Liberal party that the manifest destiny of the provinces is closer union with the United States, and as soon as they can agree upon a name for the new policy a vigorous campaign will begin. But the name is a very troublesome matter. Shall it be "unrestricted reciprocity," commercial union, or annexation? In favor of the first and second, it is argued that in going down hill easy grades are the best; on behalf of the third, it is urged that when several roads lead to the same market it is wise to take the shortest. Perhaps American statesmen can help these doubting Canadian politicians to come to a decision.

The question for Americans to consider is this: The idea of annexation being distasteful to Canadians in general, will it be good policy for Americans to form a liaison with Canada in the hope of bringing about an honorable union later on? It is inconceivable that any maiden who rejects an honorable offer of marriage from a lover would consent to become his concubine. But perhaps countries are different from maidens: Mr. Erastus Wiman thinks so. He is sure that Canada would indignantly reject an offer of annexation or marriage, and thinks she would readily consent to enter Uncle Sam's house as a concubine. The *New York Sunday Sun*, of September 30, 1888, contained an article giving the views of Mr. Erastus Wiman in the form of an interview with Mr. Blakely Hall. As newspaper men are sometimes charged with making mistakes in reporting interviews, it is important to note that Mr. Wiman, in the course of a letter to the Canadian press, dated October 3, 1888, said: "I had prepared a few days before, at the request of my friend, Blakely Hall, an interview, which, fortunately for my purpose, came out in the *New York Sun* of Sunday morning, and was simultaneously transmitted to a syndicate of 42 different

influential journals throughout the country." At Mr. Wiman's request the interview was republished in full in the *Toronto Empire* of October 8, 1888. So Mr. Wiman himself prepared the interview; he is responsible for every word of it, and had no fault to find with its accuracy after its publication. In the interview referred to, Mr. Wiman, after stating that it would be useless to think of annexing Canada at present, because "loyalty to Great Britain has been imbibed with mother's milk by a large proportion of Canadians," said: "If the barbed wire fence, which, in the shape of a customs line, now runs athwart the continent, could be lifted up, made of uniform height, and stretched around the continent, commercial union would be achieved. The height of this line, in other words, the tariff, would have to be regulated in Washington. It would seem impossible that the American people would ever consent to permit the smaller body to have much influence in regulating the rate of duties to be levied. Of course, the Canadians object to this, and say that it is taxation without representation; and there is a very strong feeling, that if commercial union implies that the tariff must be regulated at Washington, all the advantages which would flow from an open market in the Republic would be dearly bought. There are, however, not a few who feel that the elimination of the tariff entirely from the politics of Canada would not be an unmixed evil, and it would be worth the attempt to see whether or not the enormous gains which Canada would make under commercial union would not be more than a compensation for the loss of the privilege of tariff-making. It is claimed that whatever would be good for Massachusetts in the shape of taxation on imports, would certainly be advantageous to the Maritime Provinces. Whatever would suit New York and Ohio in the shape of tariff would certainly suit Ontario and Quebec; while, if Minnesota and Montana prospered, Manitoba and the Northwest would enjoy equal advantages, and that which precisely fitted the Pacific slope would suit British Columbia. It may be difficult to achieve, but, if commercial union stands or falls upon the right of the American people to regulate the tariff of the whole continent, my own impression is that, with time and patience and liberality on the part of the United States, the Canadian people would accept such a tariff as would benefit the United States, because it could not fail to benefit them also."

Mr. Wiman's explanation of what he means by commercial union is clear and unmistakable, but many Canadians who have used the term in advocating closer relations with the United States, have attached a different meaning to it, and Canadians in general have assumed that the accomplishment of commercial union would mean the establishment of a new

congress, composed of representatives from the United States and Canada in proportion to population, to whom the tariff-making power would be delegated by the two governments. It was some such arrangement as this which the leading Liberal newspapers at first advocated, although they never defined exactly what they wanted, but the proposal did not meet with a very hearty response from the party at large, and the term "unrestricted reciprocity" was adopted at the suggestion of Mr. Edgar. How the tariff would be made with "unrestricted reciprocity" in force has never been explained, but the object in view, as with "commercial union," is complete freedom of trade between the two countries. It was urged at one time that the sea-board tariff need not be touched, that each country could make its own tariff against transoceanic countries, the customs houses along the international boundary being still maintained, but only for the purpose of levying duties on goods imported from across the ocean. However, it was evident that the opportunities of defrauding the revenue would be multiplied under such a system, and the idea seems to have been abandoned. It is now admitted by all that to insure freedom of trade between the two countries it will be necessary to assimilate the seaboard tariffs, and in discussing the question it is generally assumed that under unrestricted reciprocity the tariff would be made by treaty. The two houses of Congress and the president having agreed upon a tariff, it would be passed over to the Canadian Parliament for approval or amendment, after which a treaty would be based upon it. Can it be supposed for a moment that the United States Congress would submit its tariff bills to the Canadian Parliament for amendment? Suppose such an arrangement were made, with what derision would the two houses of Congress receive a bill sent back from Canada with amendments! Yet, if the Canadian Parliament might not amend tariff bills, it would be farcical to submit them to it. In short, as Mr. Wiman says, the tariff would have to be regulated at Washington.

If it were workable, the most equitable arrangement short of annexation would be to have the tariff made by a congress or parliament common to the two countries. In such a parliament the United States would have ten times as many representatives as Canada, but it is conceivable that if the Canadians were united they might hold the balance of power. However, a solid Canada would certainly be met with a solid America and completely crushed. Would it be wise for the American people to take the tariff-making power away from their own Congress and delegate it to a semi-foreign body such as the Canadian-American international parliament would be? I think not. Such a parliament would be cursed with

sectionalism. In the United States Congress, as now constituted, there is some sectionalism, too much for the good of the country, but underlying it all there is a feeling of pride in the Republic and a desire to see it prosper. Few of the members are entirely lacking in patriotism; the most selfish will at times be stirred by national enthusiasm. There would be no such unity of sentiment in a Canadian-American parliament. Its very existence would mean a sacrifice of national spirit to the desire for gain, and every member's heart would be in his own pocket. But, even if such a parliament could settle the tariff question to the satisfaction of both nations, there would be other causes of dissatisfaction. Unless there was a common executive as well as a common parliament, the Canadian and American customs officials would interpret the customs act differently, and constant disputes would arise between the importers of the two countries, causing much bitterness of feeling. The two nations trading so freely with each other, a common currency would be necessary, the banking systems must be assimilated, and the laws regulating railways must be the same in both countries. Every day some new cause of difference would arise, necessitating the delegation of more extensive powers to the Canadian-American parliament, until the United States Congress and the parliament at Ottawa would alike fall into a state of "innocuous desuetude." No doubt the ultimate outcome of the liaison would be annexation, but in the meantime the government of both countries would be disorganized, and the anarchists might arrange matters to please themselves. If a short period of semi-anarchy would lead to the peaceable annexation of the great Dominion of Canada with its wealth of natural resources it might be worth while. But it would not lead to peaceable annexation. Annexation probably would be brought about: under such circumstances it would be almost as necessary to the preservation of the Republic as was the suppression of the Southern rebellion, but it would not come peaceably. Let me tell you why. So far I have looked at this question from an American standpoint. Now I propose to consider how a Canadian-American liaison, whether under the name of "commercial union" or "unrestricted reciprocity," would affect my own country, "this Canada of ours," as we Canadians delight to call our Dominion.

In the first place it must be understood that Canada is now a prosperous country. There are not as many millionaires in the Dominion in proportion to population as in the neighboring Republic, but poverty is almost unknown. Even the pessimists will admit that the country is more prosperous and more progressive during this decade than in that between 1871 and 1881, which included four years of extreme depression.

Now, let us see how the progress of the Canadian provinces compared with that of the adjoining states during the last decade. A census is taken by both the Canadian and American governments once in ten years, the last Canadian census being taken in 1881 and the last American census in 1880, near enough together to institute a fair comparison. Beginning with the Maritime Provinces of Canada, we find that in 1871 Prince Edward Island's population was 94,021; in 1881 it was 108,891, an increase of over fifteen per cent. In 1871 Nova Scotia's population was 387,800; in 1881 it was 440,572, an increase of over thirteen per cent. In 1871 the population of New Brunswick was 285,594; in 1881 it was 321,233, an increase of over twelve per cent. In 1871 the combined population of the three Maritime Provinces was 767,415; in 1881 it was 870,696, an increase of over thirteen per cent. Now take the State of Maine which adjoins the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Its population in 1870 was 626,915; in 1880 it was 648,936, an increase of a little over three per cent. as compared with over thirteen per cent. in the adjoining Canadian provinces. And how did slow-going Quebec province compare with Vermont and New Hampshire, which are contiguous to it? In 1871 Quebec's population was 1,191,516; in 1881 it was 1,359,027, an increase of over fourteen per cent. The combined population of Vermont and New Hampshire in 1870 was 648,851; in 1880 it was 679,277, an increase of over four per cent. So far the comparison is decidedly in favor of the Canadian provinces; but let us include all the New England States. In 1870 the combined population of Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut was 3,487,924; in 1880 it was 4,010,529, an increase of nearly fifteen per cent. In 1871 the combined population of Quebec and the Maritime Provinces was 1,958,931; in 1881 it was 2,229,723, an increase of nearly fourteen per cent. Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut seem to have drawn largely upon Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont for their increase of population. No doubt, if annexation or commercial union were consummated, the Canadian provinces adjoining would also become tributary to them. Going farther West we find that the premier province of the Dominion made greater progress than the Empire State of the Republic during the last decade. In 1871 the population of Ontario was 1,620,851; in 1881 it was 1,923,228, an increase of over eighteen per cent. In 1870 the population of the great metropolitan State of New York, directly south of the Province of Ontario on the other side of the lakes, was 4,382,759; in 1880 it was 5,082,871, an increase of over fifteen per cent. Traveling to the far Northwest we find that in 1871 Manitoba had a population of 18,995; in 1881 it was 65,954, an increase

of over 247 per cent. Minnesota, an American state adjoining Manitoba, had, in 1870, a population of 439,706; in 1881 its population was 780,773, an increase of over seventy-seven per cent. The territory of Dakota, southwest of Manitoba, had, in 1870, a population of 14,181; in 1880 its population was 135,177, an increase of over 853 per cent. Why did Dakota grow faster than Manitoba during that decade? The question may be answered by another: Why did Dakota gain only six thousand in population during the decade between 1860 and 1870 when the states and territories south of it were growing wonderfully? The people did not begin to move into Dakota until the best of the free public lands in the states to the south of it were taken up. Manitoba is farther north than Dakota, and although its climate is more moderate than that of Dakota, owing to the lower elevation of the country, the presence of great lakes and other causes, there is no reason to believe that if it were an American territory the influx of population would begin before Dakota's public lands were nearly all taken up by settlers. The Canadian Northwest was not annexed to the Dominion until 1870, and practically no attempt was made to open up the country until 1880. The population of the Canadian territories west of Manitoba in 1871 is not known, no accurate census of that section of the Dominion being taken until 1885, when the population was 48,362, of whom 20,170 were Indians. Although British Columbia was completely isolated from the rest of the Dominion during the decade between 1871 and 1881, its population increased over 36 per cent., while Washington Territory, lying to the south of it in the United States, gained over 213 per cent. Since British Columbia has been connected with the rest of the Dominion by the Canadian Pacific Railway, its growth has been very rapid, and there is little doubt that at the next census it will make at least as good a showing as Washington Territory. The reports of the Hudson Bay Company and other land companies in the Canadian Northwest show that more land has been sold this year than during the five preceding years, and there are many other indications that the Canadian Northwest is now entering upon a period of development as extraordinary as that of the western states of the American Union. Now as to the growth of our cities. Toronto is the residence of Mr. Goldwin Smith, and the headquarters of the Commercial Union Club, although the majority of its people are intensely Canadian in feeling and strongly opposed to closer union with the United States. Let us see how the growth of Toronto compares with that of neighboring American cities. Toronto's American rivals are Rochester, Buffalo and Detroit. Rochester is just across the lake, Buffalo is the chief city of northern New York, and Detroit is the

metropolis of Michigan. In 1870 Rochester's population was 62,386; in 1880 it was 89,366, an increase of a little over 43 per cent. In 1870 Buffalo's population was 117,714; in 1880 it was 155,134, an increase of a little over 31 per cent. In 1870 Detroit's population was 79,577; in 1880 it was 116,340, an increase of a little over 46 per cent. In 1871 Toronto's population was 56,032; in 1881 it was 86,415, an increase of a little over 54 per cent. So Toronto increased in population more rapidly than any of the neighboring American cities during the last decade. Its growth since 1881 has been even more extraordinary. A municipal census taken December 12, 1888, showed the population at that time to be 166,040, an increase of over 92 per cent. in less than eight years. About a week after the taking of the census the suburb of Parkdale, with about 6,000 inhabitants, was annexed, making the population of the city about 172,000. Including Parkdale, which is an outgrowth of the city since 1881, the per centage of increase is about 99 per cent. It should be noted, however, that the census of 1881 did not include the floating population, while that of 1888 included all who slept in the city the night before, but as there was nothing going on in the city at the time to attract strangers, it is probable that the floating population did not number more than 6,000, so that the actual increase was about 92 per cent. West Toronto Junction, Carleton, Davenport, Chester, and East Toronto, are thriving suburbs which have grown up around the city during the last five years, and if they were included the population of the city would probably be over 180,000; but it would not be fair to include them in calculating the increase since 1881, for suburban districts, which in 1881 had about the same population as that of these new suburbs at present, have been annexed since 1881. In 1881 Toronto's taxable property was assessed at \$56,286,039; in 1888 it was assessed at \$113,183,828, an increase of over 101 per cent. Chicago, the marvel of the United States, only increased in population 68 per cent. during the ten years between 1870 and 1880. Boston is nearer to Montreal than any other large American city, and it is one of the most important cities of the Republic. In 1870 Boston's population was 250,526; in 1880 it was 362,839, an increase of over 44 per cent. In 1871 Montreal's population was 107,225; in 1881 it was 140,747, an increase of a little over 31 per cent. Since 1881 the increase in Montreal has been much more rapid than ever before. In the year 1886 the assessors took a census which showed the population to be 186,000, an increase of over 32 per cent. in five years, but the assessors admitted at the time that they had not secured full returns. The general opinion is that the population is now about 225,000. According to assessors' returns, which are usually below the

mark, during the five years between 1881 and 1886 Ottawa gained 35.75 per cent., London, Ont., 32.05 per cent., and Hamilton, 16.74 per cent., while many of the smaller towns of Ontario, ranging from 4,000 to 10,000 in population, have increased as rapidly as Toronto. In 1871 Winnipeg had a few hundred inhabitants; in 1881 it had 6,249 inhabitants, and the assessed value of real and personal property was \$9,196,435; in 1886 its population was 22,025, and the assessed value of property, \$19,286,405, the population having increased over 252 per cent., and the assessment 109.71 per cent. It should be noted that between 1880 and 1883 Winnipeg passed through a great boom, increasing in an incredibly short time from a few hundreds to 30,000. Then came a collapse, and the population decreased to 15,000 or less. The city is now on a solid basis, having about 25,000 inhabitants, and is steadily increasing in population and wealth, although some people think that Brandon, Calgary, and several other towns that have sprung up on the prairie within the last five years, may rival it. The youngest marvel of Canada is Vancouver City, the British Columbia terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Five years ago its site was covered by gigantic forest trees; there was not a house built; about two years and a half ago when its population was 2,000 it was burned to the ground, only two or three buildings escaping the flames; in July, 1888, a census showed its population to be nearly 8,000, and it is said to be now about 11,000. Many pages of official statistics might be given to show that Canada is making great progress, instead of standing still as some people suppose. The letters and post-cards delivered numbered 53,600,000 in 1880, and 90,656,000 in 1887; there were 2,040,000 registered letters in 1880, and 3,560,000 in 1887; in 1880 there were issued 306,088 postal money orders, amounting to \$7,207,337, and in 1887, 574,899, amounting to \$10,328,984; in 1880 the amount of money orders issued in other countries payable in Canada was \$698,651, and in 1887 it was \$1,495,674; the newspapers and periodicals posted in Canada numbered 45,120,062 in 1880, and 64,246,326 in 1887; the deposits in savings-banks under Government control amounted to \$9,207,683 on July 1, 1880, and to \$37,173,813 on July 1, 1887; the deposits in chartered banks amounted to \$84,818,804 in 1880, and to \$114,483,190 in 1887; the amount of life insurance at risk in 1880 was \$90,280,293, and the amount of new life insurance effected that year was \$13,906,887, while in 1887 the amount of life insurance at risk was \$191,679,852, and the new insurance effected that year amounted to \$38,108,730; in 1880 the Canadian railways handled 9,938,858 tons of freight and carried 6,462,948 passengers, while in 1887 they handled 16,356,335 tons of freight and carried 10,698,638 passengers.

Six million prosperous people, enjoying practical independence, are asked to give up the right to make their own tariff for the sake of freer trade with their neighbors. It is reasonable to suppose that if the Canadian provinces were peaceably annexed to the United States, the people sharing in all the rights of American citizens, the new states would make equal progress with the old states contiguous to them. Perhaps they would even maintain their present rate of growth, which has been shown to be greater than that of the states south of them. But the outcome of a Canadian-American liaison, whether under the name of commercial union, or "unrestricted reciprocity," would be almost complete stagnation on the Canadian side of the boundary. Politically dependent on Great Britain, and commercially dependent on the United States, the Dominion would be like a legless man with a broken crutch on one side and an ill-fitting wooden leg on the other. No one could believe in the permanency of such an arrangement, and capitalists could not be induced to invest in a country with such an uncertain future. The tariff being abolished, by locating in such border cities as Buffalo and Detroit, manufacturers would be able to reach the Canadian markets as advantageously as if they were in Canada, while they would be in a much better position as regards the American market. It is absurd to suppose that any American manufacturer would remove to Canada, where he would have no voice in making the tariff, when he could carry on his business with both countries just as well from the border cities of the United States. Boston would take from Montreal the trade of the maritime provinces; Detroit and Buffalo would do the manufacturing for central Canada, and St. Paul and Minneapolis would together form the metropolis of the Canadian Northwest. Buffalo and Detroit would gain most by such a liaison, and Toronto would suffer most. The South-western peninsula of Ontario, the most populous section of Canada, is nearer to Detroit and Buffalo than to Toronto, or any other large Canadian city. Even with complete annexation Toronto, which now almost monopolizes the wholesale trade of this section, would have to share it with Buffalo and Detroit. With "unrestricted reciprocity," or commercial union, such as Mr. Wiman proposes, these American cities would not only cut out Toronto, but would also grow at the expense of Hamilton, London, and all the smaller cities of the peninsula, which could not hope to secure many new manufacturing industries so long as the country had no voice in the making of the tariff. If a Canadian-American tariff-making Parliament were established, the Canadian manufacturers would probably be consulted to some extent in framing the tariff, but very few capitalists would invest in the Dominion,

because every one would know that such a liaison could not last long and there would be fear that the difference of opinion among Canadians would lead to a civil war. The Canadian people would have to contribute their share of the cost of the international parliament in addition to maintaining their own Dominion Parliament and the Provincial legislatures. They could not expect to greatly extend their foreign trade, for the British representatives in various quarters of the world would be slow to assist a people who discriminated against Great Britain in favor of the United States, and Canada could not afford to maintain a foreign diplomatic and consular service of her own. Indeed, in order to carry on the Government of the country and meet its obligations, it would be necessary to resort to direct taxation to raise about fifteen million dollars of revenue, lost by the abolition of the customs houses along the Canadian-American boundary. Heavily taxed, suffering from loss of trade, and despised alike by British and Americans on account of their dependent position and the sale of their birthright, Canadians would very soon wish to end the liaison. But the only ending that the United States could agree to would be annexation, and to that the majority of Canadians would not be disposed to consent. Although they would be themselves to blame for their misfortunes, there would be a strong disposition to charge the Americans with having cheated them. One party would favor annexation, the other would bitterly oppose it, and civil war would be the result. The United States would have no choice in the matter. To save the republic the conquest of Canada would be necessary, and, although the Canadians would be divided against themselves, and could not expect any assistance from Great Britain after discriminating against that country in favor of the United States, they would not submit until the country was overrun by American soldiers. If the United States waged war against Canada before the formation of such a liaison the Canadian people would be united against the invaders and have the British to back them, while by persuading them to adopt commercial union they could be set against each other and cut off from England; but surely the American people are too generous to wish to take their neighbors at such a disadvantage. They would be obliged to do so in self-defense if the liaison were formed, but they are too sensible to enter into an arrangement which would result in that way.

Let us have no halfway measures. In favor of honorable, voluntary annexation some very strong arguments can be adduced if we accept Mr. Goldwin Smith's map, but not one sensible reason can be given for a Canadian-American liaison which, while causing an extraordinary growth for a few years in the American cities at or near the Canadian boundary,

would engender bitter feelings and bring about a war whose evil effects would be felt for generations afterward. If annexation is inevitable, if the manifest destiny of the Dominion is absorption by its great neighbor, as Mr. Goldwin Smith believes, the people of the United States can afford to wait quietly until the Canadian people knock at the door for admission to the union. But perhaps Mr. Smith is mistaken in that regard. Look at the map of Canada—not the map in Mr. Goldwin Smith's "Handbook of Commercial Union," where it is represented merely as a fringe of the United States, but at the map in any Canadian school geography. Is Canada's proximity to the United States the only geographical fact worth teaching? Note the remarkable way in which it juts out into the two great oceans; mark the numerous good harbors on both Atlantic and Pacific coasts; see how the Atlantic sweeps in to meet the mighty St. Lawrence and joins its waters with the Arctic in forming Hudson's Bay. Then take a map of the world, or better still, a globe, and see what Nature means by this peculiar configuration. Is it for nothing that Canada is hundreds of miles nearer to both Europe and Asia than the United States? Is it for nothing that the Canadian coasts abound in magnificent natural harbors, with unlimited quantities of good coal close to them, while the American coasts have comparatively few good harbors and the coal is in the interior? The answer is plainly marked on the map in Nature's own language. Canada was not intended to be a fringe of the United States, but the entrepot for trade between Europe and Asia. Through Canada lies the way to Japan and China, Australasia and India, and before the next century is as old as this one the Canadian people will probably hold the commercial supremacy of the world. It may be said that the Hudson straits are often blocked with ice and that the Gulf of St. Lawrence is sometimes made dangerous by fogs. These are disadvantages, but they are more than offset by the fact that Montreal, hundreds of miles inland, at the foot of lake navigation, is a port for ocean vessels several hundred miles nearer to Liverpool than New York is, while Louisburg, the most eastern port of Canada, is over seven hundred miles nearer England than New York, and several good harbors on the western shore of Hudson Bay, in the very heart of the Canadian Northwest, are about the same distance from Europe as the leading Atlantic ports of the United States. The channels of the St. Lawrence River are constantly being improved, and when the work is done it is permanent, for there is no trouble with shifting sands as with the Mississippi. The gulf and river are becoming better lighted every year, and science will probably yet discover a light that will neutralize the fog. As to the ice cakes in Hudson Strait, it is claimed that

even now vessels can pass through without danger for five months of the year. Once through the straits the difficulties of Hudson Bay navigation are over. Long before the Northwest is densely populated steamships will probably be specially constructed to meet the difficulties of navigation in that region, while the straits and bay will be thoroughly lighted by the Dominion Government, making the way clear. In the meantime the St. Lawrence route serves all necessary purposes, and it will probably always take a large share of the Northwest trade. Nature often fails to complete her work when she knows that man can do it for her; she likes to set tasks for men, but always rewards them for their pains. Here in the Northland of America where the climate makes men energetic and vigorous she has placed great confidence in their ability to overcome difficulties, and has demanded of Canadians the completion of some stupendous undertakings; but when the work is done she will make them the masters of the world.

Nature evidently intended Lakes Ontario and Erie to be navigated, and she might easily have made a waterway between them, but, instead, she turned her attention to the creation of the wonderful Niagara waterfall, and Canadians had to make the Welland Canal for her. She intended the St. Lawrence to carry the commerce of the lakes to the Atlantic, but left numerous rapids in the way between Ontario and Montreal, forcing the Canadians to make canals to overcome the difficulties. These canals are gradually being enlarged to meet the demands of trade, and in a few years any vessel which can pass through the Welland Canal will be able to come to Montreal to meet the ocean steamships. Nature placed one chain of rivers and lakes between the northern part of Georgian Bay and the Ottawa River, and another between the southern part of the bay and Lake Ontario. Had she finished her work lake vessels could have taken a short cut from Lake Superior to Montreal in the one direction and to Toronto in the other, saving hundreds of miles of voyaging by way of Lakes Huron, St. Clair and Erie and their connecting links. But British and Canadian engineers have estimated that for less money than the Welland Canal has cost a ship canal can be constructed between the Georgian Bay and the Ottawa River, and although this work has not yet been begun it is certain to be accomplished in the future. The advantages which the Canadian Northwest, the northern part of Ontario and the city of Montreal will derive from this short route can not be over estimated. Work is now in progress on the Trent Valley Canal, which will connect Georgian Bay with the eastern end of Lake Ontario, and Toronto people talk hopefully of a canal to connect their city with Lake Simcoe, which is joined to

Georgian Bay by the Severn River. All these waterways were begun by Nature; she intended to have them completed, but knew that the performance of such work would do more than anything else to make the Canadians a strong, vigorous, self-reliant people. Nature marked out the shortest route for a railway across the continent, but left some very big rocks in the way along the north shore of Lake Superior. Mr. Goldwin Smith and his disciples said: "Don't fight against Nature. Let the railway connections with the Northwest be made through the United States, south of Lake Superior." But the Canadian people understood Nature's orders better than Mr. Smith. They cut through the rocks, and now have the shortest and best equipped railway across the continent. Having completed our great railway we now intend to devote more attention than ever to the improvement of our waterways and the equipment of our ports. The pessimists among us ring alarm bells and proclaim to the outside world that we are piling up a big debt in fighting Nature, but the world at large and the heart of it, the London money market, begin to see the meaning of it all, so Canada's credit is exceptionally good and improving all the time. Since the last census we have completed the Canadian Pacific railway and established a line of steamships connecting its Pacific terminus with Japan and China; we are now having constructed in Scotland a magnificent line of steamships, which will probably be on the Pacific in a year and give us the fastest service to Australia, while we expect to make arrangements at the coming session of Parliament for the construction of a line of Atlantic steamships that will surpass any now running to New York city in both accommodation and speed. These steamships will run from Montreal in summer and from one of the ports of our maritime provinces in winter, and will cross the Atlantic in five days. Many Americans suppose that central Canada is cut off from the Atlantic in winter or that our maritime ports are blocked with ice. This is a great mistake. It is true that the upper part of the St. Lawrence is closed in winter, but some steamship men are of the opinion that there would be little difficulty in navigating the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec city in winter, and many more declare that ocean steamships can reach Tadousac, where the Saguenay River joins the St. Lawrence, at all seasons of the year. However this may be, there is no doubt whatever that St. John, Halifax and a number of other ports in the maritime provinces are open all the year, and Montreal is connected with the maritime provinces by two railways running entirely through Canadian territory, while a third railway, known as the Canadian Pacific Short Line, is being constructed across the State of Maine to New Brunswick, bringing St. John and Halifax still nearer to

Montreal. A ship railway is now being constructed across the Isthmus of Chignecto between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and it may have an important effect in determining the location of Canada's most important winter port. It may be asked, if Canada has good winter ports why do not Canadians use them instead of importing by way of American ports. They do use them to a great extent, importing millions of dollars' worth of goods through the home ports every winter, but many business men got into the way of importing through the United States before the railway connections with the maritime provinces were completed, and business seeks old channels until it is forced into new ones. Many Canadians hoped that Mr. Cleveland's retaliation scheme would be carried out, feeling sure that it would have the effect of forcing Canadian business into home channels, where it would have gone naturally had not the American railway system been completed before that of Canada.

The latest scheme to establish Canada's position as the connecting link between Europe and the countries of the Pacific Ocean is a cable line from Vancouver to Australia, touching at New Zealand and other points. This is being pushed by energetic men; it will be subsidized by the Canadian, Australasian and British Governments, and is almost certain to be in operation before the year 1891. Arrangements have already been made to lay a cable from Halifax to Bermuda, and an independent Canadian cable to England is projected. In the summer of 1892 a great Oriental exhibition, in which Persia, India, Japan, China, Australia and New Zealand will be asked to join, will be held in Montreal to commemorate the completion of the systems of communication which make Canada the highway between the East and the West.

Have we not come to the front during the last ten years? Who talked of Canada five years ago, who thought of it ten years ago? The whole English-speaking world is thinking about it now, and talking, too. Why is it that almost every American newspaper one takes up contains an article on Canada? Why is it that the English papers, which a few years ago scarcely mentioned the Dominion, now devote so much space to it? Because we own the world's highway. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* recently said: "The Canadian Railroad is a menace to the supremacy of the United States in the Continent of North America—really. It imperils its very life by threatening to take from it its only remaining foreign market, the great East, including China, Japan, and the East Indies. From the British Isles to the St. Lawrence ports is four days sooner than from the British Isles to New York. From the mouth of Puget Sound to China, Japan and the Indies is two days sooner than from San Francisco to the

same points. Great Britain, through her Dominion of Canada, has throttled both the St. Lawrence and Puget Sound, and her new railroad joins the two coasts in one day less than our Pacific roads can make the distance. The net gain to England in its trade with the great East is seven days, and the result of that is to control the trade of the world. Is the United States, already, through supine republican policy, driven out of almost every foreign market, going to put up with this last blow at her very vitals? If she does, then this paper wholly mistakes the temper of her people. We want Canada, Puget Sound, the St. Lawrence and the connecting road with it. We should waste no more time in the matter."

Those Americans who foresee that Canada will in the future control the commerce of the world, should come to Canada to live. We do not want the American absconders, but we will gladly welcome all honest, enterprising Americans, especially those with capital. Come and share the great future that awaits the people of Canada. There are boundless opportunities for men of capital and enterprise. Canada's great want is capital. We have fertile lands for agricultural purposes, grassy plains for stock-raising, coal and iron and timber enough to supply the world, and our waters are full of fish. The climate is invigorating, the scenery is beautiful, the government is democratic, the judiciary is unrivaled and the people sociable. It is a pleasant land to live in. Let millions of Americans come and share it with us. And they will do so! Before the next twenty-five years have gone the public lands of the United States will all be occupied, and those restless people who are always seeking new fields of enterprise will begin to crowd into Canada just as they rushed to the Western States. Mr. W. H. H. Murray, a well-known American writer, has recently published a book on the Canadian Northwest, which he calls *Daylight Land*, on account of the long days of our northern latitudes. He makes one of his characters say: "This country is agricultural, and in a few years a great agricultural movement from the states northward is likely to take place. Our tent is pitched at the centre of the wheat area of the continent. Five hundred miles to the north and as far to the south from where we sit, and a thousand miles east and west, measure what I call the great wheat square of this continent. Here is pure water, a perfect climate, cheap fuel, and a soil that produces forty bushels of prime wheat to the acre. As the soil to the south, under our silly system of agriculture, becomes exhausted, as it soon will be, and the average yield per acre shrinks more and more, the wheat growers must and will move northward. This movement is one of the fixed facts of the future; it is born of an agricultural necessity, and when it begins it will move in with

a rush. A million of American wheat farmers ought to be in this country inside of ten years, and I believe that within that time population will pour in and spread over these Canadian plains like a tide." Those people who expect a rush of American settlers during the next ten years are likely to be disappointed. It will probably be fifteen years before the movement attains sufficient magnitude to attract much attention. But, it may be asked, will not this multitude of Americans so control public sentiment as to bring about annexation? I do not think so. Had the rush of Americans begun ten years ago that would probably have been the result, but the pioneers are Canadians, Canadian laws and Canadian customs are established, Americans cannot vote until they become naturalized, and the extraordinary development of the country will excite Canadian pride and intensify the present opposition to annexation; for when the exodus to Canada begins, the period of extraordinary development in the American West will be over; the public lands having been mostly taken up the rate of increase in population will be about the same as that of the Eastern States at present, while the Canadian West, where millions of acres of cheap lands can be obtained, will be filling up in a most astonishing way. Moreover, it is probable that the majority of those who come from the United States to Canada will not be very enthusiastic Americans. These will stay at home, while millions of Canadians, Scotchmen and Englishmen now residing in the United States, will cross the boundary, bringing with them, of course, a great many who are Americans by birth. It is worthy of note that some of the most enthusiastic believers in the great commercial future of the Dominion are American-Canadians, natives of the United States, who have invested their capital in Canada and come to live here.

The Canadian provinces and the States adjoining them, having the same climate and the same class of productions, are competitors rather than customers of each other; but there is growing up in Australasia a great community of English-speaking people, citizens, like Canadians, of the British Empire, with whom we may have a profitable exchange of products, and just across the water, nearer to Canada than to any other civilized country, are the wonderful Japanese who have wakened up to civilization just at the time the Canadian Pacific railway is completed, and the Canadian people are ready to supply them with manufactured goods. All Canada will greatly benefit by this trade with the East, but Vancouver City will probably be the chief mart. The terminus of the greatest trans-continental railway, with cheap coal, iron, and timber, close at hand, a magnificent natural harbor, and a climate scarcely ever cold enough for

snow in winter and never oppressively hot in summer, it may be the greatest city on the American continent before the twentieth century draws to a close.

But, after all, Canadians are more likely to be guided by their hearts than by their pockets. Mr. Goldwin Smith, who was a professor of history, ought to know, that, in guessing at the future of nations, history as well as geography must be taken into account. Mr. Erastus Wiman has much to say about Canadian loyalty to Great Britain, and he is right in thinking that there is a great deal of British sentiment in the Dominion, but stronger than that, more general than that, is the sentiment of Canadianism, the love of Canada. We like the Americans, we imitate them in many ways, we would be pleased, as I have said, to have millions of them come among us and share the era of extraordinary prosperity that is approaching our country, but we will never listen to any proposition involving the disintegration of "this Canada of ours," which we all love so well.

Watson Griffin

MONTREAL, CANADA, *December 27, 1888.*

ORIENTAL ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

In accordance with the desire expressed by Mr. Henry Harrisse for literary exemplifications concerning the reception which the discovery of America met with amongst the Orientals, some remarks are here given:

Hadji Khalfa (d. 1658) notes in his bibliographical lexicon under the same number two writings concerning the history of India. The first is composed by Muhammad ibn Yusuf-al-haravi, and in it he describes the East Indies. The other, *ta'rikh hind al-djadid algharbi*, history of the New West Indies, is translated by one of the more recent writers from the Frankish language, and he has added to it sundry matters from the Commentary of the *tad'kira* (record or memorandum book). He describes therein the history, resources and peculiarities of the quarter of the earth which is called *yeñi dunyâ*, or New World, and how the moderns discovered it after the ancients had failed to do so.

The Leyden codex of Hadji Khalfa, written in 1729, gives this article another form, by reason of alterations in the text from omissions and additions. Fifty years ago, as a matter of curiosity, I made a copy of this piece, without imagining that after so long a period it might be turned to account. It runs thus, literally translated:

"*Ta'rikh al-hind*, written by Shaikh Muhammad ibn Yûsuf-al-haravî, an instructive book, entitled *al-ta'rikh al-djadid* (the new history). [There is a mistake in the title.] In it are enumerated the rulers of India one after the other with their ministers, the events of their dynasties are described, their notions of religion and morals, what happened in the time of their independence (daula), what remarkable things the described realms contained in the way of spices, trees and fruits, of the variety of character and languages of the natives, and other innumerable curiosities. One of the moderns then rendered the book into Turkish, after a learned man in earlier times had translated it from the Indian language into the Arabian. A supplement to it was made by the Shaikh Abu'lmuhlif Muhammed al-micri, and the description of that part of the world which lies in the ocean surrounding the earth was added. He relates that an Indian ship drifted about in the ocean, and sailed eight months without knowing where it was, till the wind cast it on the place which is called the New World. This is a wide outspread continent, with various races whose languages are not easy to understand, and who live mostly by the

chase and fishing. Amongst the remarkable things are gold and silver mines, but the silver is more plentiful.

The inhabitants made no use of the metals; the sailors went to work then, took as much of these metals as they could, returned to India, and related their experience. In consequence of which their king fitted out six other ships and sent them off well provisioned. They arrived in six months, during which time they saw neither land nor bird. The natives were rejoiced at their arrival when they saw what precious viands and sumptuous Indian garments they had, and gave them as much as they wanted of the said metals, and they also allowed a good many of the sailors to remain with them whilst a number of their own people went on the Indian ship.

Upon their return home in good condition, the news became known and spread abroad until it came to the regent of the Spaniards. [Turkish style.] He at once commissioned seven ships, which followed the Indian vessels and so came to the before mentioned part of the world. They had learned about it from the Greek books of history, and had gone to much trouble and pains to get there, but had not found it till finally they reached it by following the Indian ships.

They built there castles and fortresses, collected in them quantities of metals, placed themselves on a good footing with the natives, intermarried with them, and bestowed upon them such worldly goods as were new to them. The natives inclined towards them, left the Indians and attended them. Thus they got the upper hand of the Indians, and there arose between them fighting, quarreling and war.

Regularly to the present time the Frankish ships of the Spaniards went there, the new ships went, the old came. We have seen how a lot of people set out on the way at the same time with the ships of the West Islands, and watched them in the neighborhood of their territory; then when ship after ship came till seven ships [themselves?] followed, they drew up against them ten ships strong, captured the garrisons and found silver bars as if they were but iron, and each and every one of them took from the garrison of those ships a number of hundred weights of the same—and the wealth of the inhabitants of the island [sic] had its origin in this booty."

Unfortunately the time of the two authors cannot be ascertained from the present means at hand. Muhammad al-haravi appears, judging from his expression concerning the former independence, to have lived in a time when the supremacy of the Mohammedan dynasties was firmly established. Elliott, *History of India*, IV, 1872, p. 558, in accordance with

an irresistible combination, places him in the first quarter of the 14th century of the Christian era, by which the truth may be arrived at. So many works bear the title *tadkira* that from want of a closer description nothing can be divined as to which is here meant. In like manner, which would be of the greatest importance, nothing can be found out about Abu'lmuhlif.

As he evidently knows about the convoys and the filibusters, he may have written after the middle of the 16th century. Also whether both the Turkish works are identical or not is not positively certain, although probably they are. The putting together with the earlier work under one title by the genuine Hadji Khalfa leads to the conclusion that he already knew them in the united form; the writer of the codex of 1729 must have been visually entrusted with a sight of its contents, and was thus induced to amplify the original article. The unfortunate transferring of the name Indies has brought, as a consequence, the accession of a book treating of the East Indies; in like manner can be explained the peculiar distortion of the history; if the Spaniards fought with the East Indians still they must have got at them first. . . .

Bönn.

J. Gildermeister.

The foregoing, with the exception of the altered title and omitted technical references to libraries and MSS., is a close translation of the first two-thirds of an article entitled "Oriental Literature Concerning the Discovery of America," which appeared in the July (1888) number of the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* of Leipzig. The remaining part treats of some more recent Turkish books on the same subject, but has no peculiar interest beyond aiming at bibliographical fullness, and is omitted in this connection. There is a certain similarity in the statements of this old narrative to that passage in the *Vuria Historia* of Aelian, where it is said "that Europe, Asia, and Africa are surrounded by the ocean; and that beyond there is a great continent sustaining huge animals, . . . and the land possessed an abundance of gold and silver, which the people regarded less than the Phrygians did iron." See Samuel F. Haven's *Archeology of the United States*, 1856. This work of Aelianus (who flourished in the early part of the third century) therefore was probably one of the old Greek books referred to by Abu'lmuhlif in his concise but interesting account.

Alfred J. Hall.

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA.

THE MOUND-BUILDERS AND NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

WHENCE CAME THEY?

There is evidence that in the early ages of the human race migrations were made from Asia to America, the nearness of the two continents in their northern portions facilitating such movements. The currents in Behring Sea as well as the winds are mainly toward the American coast, but even much more is this the case in the currents of the North Pacific, the main one of which—the Japan—comes near the coast directly opposite the mouth of the Columbia River; likewise the prevailing winds are in the same direction, while the waters are comparatively smooth and free from storms.

These migrations, though they occurred in the comparatively early ages of the world's history, must have been at least in two divisions, and they far separated in time. The first immigrants, the presumed ancestors of the mound-builders of the Mississippi Valley, came evidently from the north middle portion of eastern Asia. We may imagine their ancestors occupying long ages in growing in numbers, and in migrating from the cradle of the human race in the vicinity of Mount Ararat, and moving in an easterly direction along the southern slope of the Altai Mountains, and north of the great desert of Gobi, or Shamo, till they reached the head-streams of the Amoor, then availing themselves of these water-courses they passed down to the ocean, meanwhile the fertile soil of the valley and the fish of the river itself affording them sustenance. They being a pastoral and agricultural people, became a prey to robbers, perhaps the wild Tartars or Scythians, who, though of the same stock or race now known as the Mongolian, roamed over the northern slopes of the Altai Mountains, and who, by invasion, may have compelled a portion of these unwarlike people to abandon their homes in the valley of the Amoor. The latter may at first have taken refuge on the island Saghalien, off the mouth of that river, and on the Kurile and Aleutian Isles (*Lenormant's Beginnings of History*, p. 452). Thence they found their way along the south shore of Alaska, and round to the valley of the Columbia River, while another portion in rude vessels may have been carried along the north shore of the Pacific to the same destination by the remarkable current just mentioned, aided by the westerly winds. This migration from

Asia to America may possibly—yet it is not probable—have grown out of a spirit of adventure among the people themselves, though, judging from the relics which the mound-builders have left, we infer that their ancestors in Asia were domestic in their habits and unwarlike, not inclined to roam, and also that they were forced from their homes by enemies and compelled to emigrate. This inference is strengthened by the fact that their presumed descendants, the Mexicans and the Peruvians, when they became known to Europeans, exhibited similar domestic traits, living in permanent homes and cities, in contrast with our Indian tribes, who are evidently the descendants of the wild Scythians or nomadic Tartars that dwelled north of the Altai Mountains.

In process of time the population of the valley of the Columbia became so great as to overflow, and some of the people passed down the coast toward the south, while, it would seem, a much larger portion—the passageway being easier, while an abundance of food could be obtained in the form of fish—went up the river, through the Cascade Mountains, to its head-streams, and thence across to the fountains of the Missouri. In relation to the abundance of food, “the facts are sufficient to raise a presumption that the valley of the Columbia was the region from which both North and South America were peopled in the first instance, and afterward resupplied with inhabitants. . . . Here were the most bountiful and widely distributed fisheries to be found in any part of the earth, while the fineness of the climate of that region could not fail to arrest attention” (L. H. Morgan, *North American Review*, Oct., 1869, and Jan., 1870). These first immigrants brought with them the custom of raising mounds over their dead chiefs, as their fathers had done in north central Asia and southern Siberia. In describing the burial of a Scythian king or chief, Herodotus tells us “that the people raised a vast mound above his grave, making it as high as possible.” It is well known that the mounds scattered over the valley of the Mississippi bear a striking resemblance to those found in that portion of Asia just cited, and that such are traced from Oregon, along up the Columbia River and the fertile valleys of its tributaries, and through the Cascade Mountains into the valleys of the head-streams of the Missouri, as on the Yellowstone and other rivers in Dakota, and still further east, in Minnesota and Iowa, even to and beyond the Mississippi itself. We would infer that the narrow valleys of these upper streams were not the favorite dwelling-places of the mound-builders, and that only a small number lingered in those regions, as the mounds which they erected there are few in number and comparatively small. Meanwhile the main body moved eastwardly, their favorite highways being the rivers, which they

could use as a means of transportation ; hence, along their route from the Cascade Mountains to the Mississippi, they left scarcely a relic of their presence in the regions, either north or south of their main line of migration. Uncivilized tribes or nations, in the mass, roam much farther and faster than the civilized, the latter being more attached to localities, and the former little encumbered with household effects.

The mounds in this region took different forms, and often that of wild animals. There is one in Wisconsin, the outlines of which represent the elephant. This may have been made as a memento of that animal, and to remind these first immigrants of their native land, while its location would seem to indicate that they entered the valley of the Mississippi from the northwest, as there seems to be no other representation of the elephant among the mounds. A pipe was also found in the state of Iowa, which was ornamented by a rude figure of that animal. The pipe is of sandstone and of the ordinary type of that used by the mound-builders. In the ruined city of Palenque, in Central America, is a stucco bas-relief of an elephant's head and trunk, introduced as an ornament for a head-dress (*Donnelly's Atlantis*, p. 169). Did these people carry with them this form of ornament when they migrated south?—and was the idea derived from the Asiatic elephant or from the American mammoth?

The mound-builders sought the valleys and the alluvial plains; they worked their way down the Mississippi and up its tributaries, making their settlements always in the most fertile districts, as on their bottom-lands. There is no evidence that they crossed the Alleghany Mountains, but, in following up the streams which flow from them, they approached their western foot-hills. From the Ohio River they made their way up the Monongahela, and also up the Alleghany, to the northwest of the mountains, as indicated by a few small mounds on its head-streams in the state of New York. "No authentic remains of the mound-builders are found in New England." They also passed round the southern extremity of the Alleghanies and along the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico—as traced by their mounds—the land in that region being fertile plains and easy to cultivate, but there is no evidence that they to much extent availed themselves of the fertile plains on the South Atlantic slope. The favorite location of these people seems, however, to have been within the peninsula between the Mississippi and the Ohio rivers, a region to this day famed for its fertility and the ease with which the soil can be tilled. Judging from these indications, the mound-builders, taken as a whole, could not have been very numerous, though they may have been so in certain localities, but in the main they must have occupied a comparatively small terri-

tory. This statement is an inference, as they left no inscriptions by which we can ascertain their numbers. Their civilization was crude, but in after ages it became self-developed among their presumed descendants while under more favorable circumstances in Mexico and Peru.

It is more than probable that the numbers of emigrants in each of the two original migrations from Asia to America were not very large, but during the course of ages their respective numbers were greatly enlarged by subsequent migrations and natural increase—the first to come, the mound-builders, being long before the second—that of our Indians—perhaps, many, many centuries. The former, thus isolated, and being untrammelled by outside influence, developed a civilization unique in its character—that it was of a comparatively low type we infer from the few relics they have left, such as crude pottery and equally crude ornaments, and domestic utensils of the most primitive sort, as well as weapons of war.

The traditions of the North American Indians as to their origin are more or less tinged by *tribal pride*, each assuming that their own ancestors were superior to those of the other tribes. Upon the whole these several traditions—which we will not discuss—are worthless in determining anything definite in respect to the origin of tribes; but, since tribal pride has not given tone to those that tell whence their common ancestors came, the latter may be received as more reliable. It seems to be instinct that induces a people, civilized or otherwise, unless compelled by untoward circumstances, to migrate on or near the parallel of latitude on which they have lived. This may be only to secure a climate similar or like the one to which they have been accustomed. Be that as it may, this peculiarity is strikingly shown in the United States, when people for the most part migrate from the eastern states to the western territories.

We can imagine, in accordance with this instinct, the ancestors of the mound-builders moving eastward for generations along the southern slope of the Altai Mountains, and almost on the parallel of their ancestral home, while their congeners, the wild Tartars or Scythians, were moving in the same direction on the northern slope of this dividing range, but much slower, because of the lack of equal facilities in not having a river course, and also in the scarcity of provisions in that much less fertile region—the former in process of time reaching the Pacific ocean, at or near the mouth of the Amoor River, and the latter on Behring Sea.

The Tartars coming from north of the Altai would be likely to follow the line of latitude to which they were accustomed in Asia, and that would lead them to occupy first the northern portion of the territory of the United States, as the mound-builders did the southern portion, but

the latter diverted more from the line, as they followed closely the courses of rivers.

Some of the North American Indians have traditions to the effect that their ancestors crossed a great water that was interspersed with islands, and that they met with many difficulties because of snow and ice. This description might apply to Behring Sea; if so, it would indicate that the ancestors of our Indians came across that sea, and thence found their way through Alaska. Being hunters, they could in that region obtain food from the products of the chase and in the abundance of fish in the rivers, till finally they came round to the valley of the Columbia, to find that fertile region in possession of the descendants of those who were the first to migrate. Here began the conflict between the residents and these invaders, and which perhaps lasted for generations. The Scythians or wild Tartars that lived north of the Altai Mountains were far less civilized than those of the same stock who lived south of that range, and this fact may account for the contrast in the habits of the savage tribes of our Indians when compared with those of the mound-builders, as we infer from the relics of the latter.

It is remarkable, when taken in this connection, that the tradition of the Mexicans and Peruvians in relation to the deluge is more in accordance with the Biblical account than that of any uncivilized nation of the old world. This may be taken as corroborative evidence that their supposed ancestors—the mound-builders—commenced their migrations across Asia in the very early ages after the deluge or the dispersion on the confusion of tongues, and because of their isolation they have preserved the original tradition in greater purity.

Evidence is adduced to show that the Indians of North and South America are originally of the same stock—the Tartar or Mongolian—but of course subject to the physical changes that may in process of time grow out of climate or habits of life. The difference in personal characteristics or appearance between the Tartars—descendants of the ancient Scythians—that have ruled the Chinese Empire for two hundred years, and the Chinese themselves, they being a branch of the same stock or race, is not greater than that between the Mexicans when conquered by Cortez and the Indians found at that time within the boundaries of the present United States. Says Humboldt: "The Indians of New Spain [Mexico] bear a general resemblance to those who inhabit Canada, Florida [United States], Peru, and Brazil." Again: "The American race is the same from 65° north latitude to 55° south latitude"—their physical characteristics being of the same type, having prominent cheek-bones; straight, smooth,

coarse, black hair ; scanty beard ; narrow between the eyes, and of a swarthy or copper color. The early Spanish, French and English discoverers and explorers "observed no difference in type, but, on the contrary, abundant evidence of a common type among the aborigines of North and South America from near the Arctic Ocean to Patagonia" (*North American Review*, Oct., 1869, and Jan., 1870). They called them by one name—American Indians. "The nations of Mexico and Central America were emigrants from the north" (*Indian Tribes of the United States*, p. 87).

A number of authorities coincide in this view. The Abbé Clavigero and other historians "point to the north and northwest as the direction whence the different races in Mexico came in their migrations. It is probable that the copper-colored races came from eastern Asia and belonged to the same races with the ancestors of the Mongols, Chinese, Japanese, and the Malays." Cuvier considers there are only "three races, the white, the black, and the yellow." Says Fontaine: "It is more than probable that the aborigines of North America were Asiatic nomads who came into this continent in successive swarms in different periods from northeastern Asia. Of these the earlier immigrants [mound-builders?] were probably the most civilized" (p. 148).

The dissimilar habits of these two branches of the Mongolian race—the unwarlike mound-builders and the savage wild Tartars—when they came to occupy the same territory, would of necessity provoke a contest for the mastery; and this they did when the latter reached the valley of the Columbia. Had these savages been the first to occupy the ground, they, being so much superior in war and in arms, would certainly have excluded the peaceful mound-builders. It is therefore much more reasonable to suppose that the latter were the first to possess the territories in which they left their monuments, and here, before their terrible enemies came, they dwelled for centuries and developed independently their civilization, limited though it was. They were evidently, in comparison with their enemies, an unwarlike people, and apparently industrious, living in a quiet manner, and subsisting upon the products of the soil in the vicinity of the mounds, near which were the local centres of their population. They had the maize or Indian corn, which they could cultivate sufficiently to supply their wants; they had beans and other vegetables, and perhaps the sweet potato, squashes and pumpkins, as we infer from the rude earthen vessels modeled after the latter and found in the mounds. We have no evidence that they had domestic animals, for, when they constructed mounds in the shape of animals, they modeled them after the wild and not the domestic. Meantime, when their civilization appeared

at its best, the wild Indians—the descendants of the second migration—came upon this peaceful and almost defenseless people, attacked them, drove them first east, then south, and took possession of their homes, not to dwell in them and cultivate the soil, for that was contrary to their savage and nomadic nature. Instead, they continued their roving; sought, in pursuit of game, the wooded valleys and hills and the wild mountains, meanwhile converting into mere hunting-grounds the bottom-lands and prairies once cultivated by the mound-builders. These savages wandered from the great valley northeast and east, threaded their way over the Alleghany Mountains, and in the course, it may be, of many centuries, spread all along the Atlantic slope, from the Savannah to the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia, where their descendants were found by the first European explorers and colonists. It would seem that during this period another branch of these nomads was moving toward the east on parallel lines north of the Great Lakes. The latter finally reached the Atlantic Ocean, where, in 1497, John and his son Sebastian Cabot encountered them on the barren shores of Labrador. It is probable, during the centuries, while these migrations eastward, just mentioned, were going on, that in the valley of the Mississippi a great struggle was also in progress, the result of which conflict was that the original population—the mound-builders—were compelled to abandon their homes and seek refuge toward the south, the only way open to them. Thus they passed beyond the present limits of the United States, not at once, but gradually during this long period.

Here we may remark that during this period the mound-builders must have remained essentially in their characteristics the same people—homogeneous in race and in language; in government, customs and religion. That they were compact in their centres of population is evident; in this manner they could more effectively defend themselves against their implacable enemies, the savage Indians. The main conflict with the latter raged all along their northern borders in the great valley, from the Rockies to the Alleghanies. It is noticeable that many of their mounds or earthworks, in the region immediately south of the Great Lakes, partook of the character of fortifications.

In contrast with the permanent settlements of the mound-builders were the habits of the wild, roaming Indians, who were broken up into tribes hostile to one another. This caused separations into small groups, which became so isolated that finally their original language was changed into as many dialects, and these so diverse as to baffle the attempts of philologists to trace them satisfactorily to a common origin.

When the mound-builders, after their expulsion from their homes, arrived in Mexico and Central America, they made a change in their materials, but not in the form of building their places for burial or for worship. On alluvial plains they constructed their mounds by piling up the earth, their only material, and which in the course of ages crumbled down very much, in consequence of the abrasion caused by the elements, but now they found an abundance of stone with which to build their mounds—teocalli, as they named them—their places of worship. These were pyramidal in form, and modeled after the mounds erected by their ancestors in the valley of the Mississippi; the latter being evidently, as we have seen, copied from those in Asia—but we cannot go into detail. The pyramidal form of structure, when intended to be commemorative, as over a grave, is the most natural for uncivilized men to adopt; and that form was adopted in Egypt as well as on the plains of the Mississippi. It requires quite an amount of skill to build a perpendicular wall—to joint the stones and lay them in cement that would cause them to adhere to one another, and prevent their bulging in or out by their own weight.

The style of such structures would naturally be improved in the course of centuries. Perhaps they would be made higher and more elaborate, for the sentiment that demands ornamentation is found among all nations. In the progressive development of this sentiment of beauty, it is not strange that similar forms of architecture would be devised by the planners of buildings, though separated far from one another in time and in different nations, and even in continents, thus producing coincidences that are quite remarkable. This may explain why the architects of Central America, long ages since, hit upon forms of buildings similar to those now found in Egypt. The form of the pyramid was adopted by the Egyptian architects, while those of Central America derived theirs from the rude earthen mounds of their ancestors in the valley of the Mississippi, and in both cases the special form was the natural outgrowth of placing one stone upon another and so fitting them that the pressure was inward—in truth the only form in which such unskilled workmen could erect structures that would be stable. These coincidences have led to the theory that the civilization of Mexico and Central America and Peru had been derived indirectly from that of Egypt, and the latter had been obtained from the Phœnicians, the ancestors of the Carthaginians. In connection with this theory are adduced two historical facts: one that Hanno the Carthaginian in the time of Pharoah-Necho, six hundred years before Christ, sailed out into the Atlantic, and along the west coast of Africa, and so far south that he saw the sun to the north, and then

returned home through the Straits of Gibraltar. We have no evidence that he went even so far west as to lose sight of land. It is also recorded that afterward voyages were made through the Straits of Gibraltar, and that they turned to the southwest into the Atlantic Ocean. Mention is made of colonists, numbering thirty thousand, male and female, being on board these ships, and that they founded colonies on the coast as far south, it is supposed, as the present Sierra Leone. That these voyagers ventured so far from the coast of Africa as to reach Mexico and Central America, five thousand miles distant, is not even intimated in the narrative. In truth, such a feat of seamanship in that age of the world was impossible. This leads us to the belief that the first migrations from the Old World to the New were made by land, with only a few short stretches of water, as exist in the seas and inlets along the coast between northeastern Asia and northwestern America. It is reasonable to suppose that causes similar to those which induced the Mexican architects to improve upon the style of the earthen mounds piled up by their ancestors, would influence and improve their domestic life, and mold a civilization of their own, as peculiar in its characteristics as were the conditions under which they lived, they being completely isolated from all other nations. Lenormant quotes Alfred Maury, with whom he agrees, as follows: "The attempts that have been made to discover in Asia the beginnings of Mexican civilization have not, so far, led to any satisfactory issue. Undoubtedly certain nations of America, such as the Mexicans and Peruvians, had already reached a very advanced social condition at the period of their conquest [by Cortez and Pizarro]; but this civilization has a character peculiar to itself, and appears to have been developed upon the soil where it flourished" (*Beginnings of History*, p. 454). Professor William Darby states in his lectures on history that, in point of a mere secular civilization, the Mexicans were the equals of the Spaniards when Cortez invaded their country—the latter having only the advantage derived from the use of gunpowder and cavalry.

The theory has been elaborately advocated that the mound-builders came from the traditional and submerged Atlantis of which Plato speaks, and that they entered the valley of the Mississippi from the Gulf (*Donnelly's Atlantis*, p. 370).

There are at least three objections to this theory: One that the works which they constructed in the vicinity of where they first landed show evidences of maturity of design and finish—this is contrary to the facts in the cases of other colonists, who have improved in their works of that character from age to age. Grant for the occasion there was once such

an island in the Atlantic Ocean, situated off the Straits of Gibraltar, but which was submerged in the convulsions of an earthquake, though previous to that catastrophe it had sent out colonists that were partially civilized. In that case a second objection suggests itself, Why did not some of these colonists land on the east coast of the present United States rather than pass round three thousand miles further to the mouth of the Mississippi? Admit that the mound-builders came from Asia and by way of Columbia River and the Northwest, and thus entered the Great Valley, and the solution of the problem is easy and consistent with itself and with other facts bearing on the question, Whence came they? In the Northwest the mounds are not so large and numerous nor so elaborate in their construction as farther south, thus showing the gradual increase of the people in numbers, and also of their continuous elevation toward a higher plane of civilization.

As if to corroborate the theory that the mound-builders entered the valley of the Mississippi from the south, it is stated that "the intercourse, which evidently existed between Mexico and the Mississippi Valley, is proved by the presence of implements of obsidian in the mounds of Ohio" (*Atlantis*, p. 385). The author must have been unaware that obsidian is found in abundance in Yellowstone Park, in the Rocky Mountains, and, as indicated by mounds, in the vicinity of the route which the mound-builders followed from the Columbia to the Mississippi, (*Patton's Natural Resources of the United States*, pp. 263, 264).

Again, ornaments and other articles made of pure copper are found in the mounds along the Gulf and up the Mississippi. It is admitted that copper in a pure state is found on this continent only on the shores and on some islands in Lake Superior, twelve hundred miles distant from the mouth of the Mississippi. It would follow from this that the mound-builders, if they entered from the south, had either brought with them this pure copper, which they deposited with their dead in their mounds, or they obtained it by going twelve hundred miles through an unknown territory. The question arises, How did they learn of these copper-mines, and from whom? These rude people knew neither how to obtain copper by smelting, nor how to combine it with zinc to make brass, nor with tin to make bronze. Had they known how to smelt ores, they certainly would have become acquainted with iron, as there was an abundance of its ore lying almost side by side with the pure copper on the shores of Lake Superior. Yet the only evidence adduced to prove that they were acquainted with iron is the discovery in a mound of the *appearance of rust*, connected with a copper tube. Could not meteoric iron have sup-

plied that? The copper-mines just mentioned give evidence, however, that they had been worked at some remote period, for modern miners have found deep excavations, rude stone tools and masses of rock broken off, and other evidences of ancient mining operations, but which did not require much skill.

It is reasonable to suppose that, soon after their arrival in the upper valley of the Mississippi, the mound-builders—as we have evidence from their mounds that they once lived in the vicinity—discovered and worked these mines of pure copper, and used the metal as best they could for articles of utility as well as for ornament, and buried the latter with the owner, thus following the custom of their fathers in Asia. It is supposed, from certain excavations and indentations or cuttings in the native copper, that they had a process of hardening that metal when used as tools. Lead is also found in these burial-places, and occasionally small quantities of silver, which was used to overlay copper, apparently for ornamentation. They could obtain the lead, for instance, in the vicinity of Galena, Illinois, while silver occurs in connection with the copper-mines of Lake Superior.

An insuperable objection to the theory that either the North American Indians or the mound-builders came from Atlantis lies in the striking physical resemblance between the Mongolian races of eastern Asia and the aborigines of both North and South America. This is so remarkable as to induce a belief amounting to a moral certainty that they are derived from the same stock in Asia. If the Mexicans and Peruvians, for illustration, came from Atlantis, how does it happen that they have the physical characteristics of the Mongolian nations of eastern Asia, while, according to the theory, from this comparatively small district or island lying off Gibraltar, known as Atlantis—the Garden of Eden—were also derived the other races occupying Europe and Africa. Is it reasonable that three races of people with such distinctive and different physical conformations, and as to color, white, black and yellow, originated together in this quite limited territory? The white and the black races occupy that portion of the world that joins the supposed locality of Atlantis on its eastern border, and extends for a thousand miles east and west, and north and south from near the Arctic Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, and which extensive region is inhabited to-day, and always has been, by these peoples so entirely different in complexion, in physical conformation, and in habits and customs from the Mongolian race. How did the Mongolians pass over this intervening space of a thousand miles, leaving behind them not a trace of their existence, and thus find their way from Atlantis to the north middle and eastern portions of Asia? Or did they, according to the

theory, go west from Atlantis, away round to the mouth of the Mississippi (*Atlantis*, p. 370)—thence, a portion going south to Mexico, and still further toward Cape Horn; while another division went up the Great River, following its tributaries east and west, and crossed over the Rocky Mountains to the river Columbia, down which they passed? Having come thus far, why not imagine them passing through Alaska or along its southern shores across to Asia, where they became known to Herodotus as Scythians, and who describes their customs, which, in accordance with the theory, they derived from their ancestors in North America? There is a more reasonable solution of the problem of the unity of the Mongolian race of Eastern Asia with that of the American aborigines, which is, that the migration was from Asia to America, rather than from the latter to the former.

In contrast with the theory just mentioned is the Biblical account, which places the origin of the human race in Asia, and in a locality from which, as a centre, after the confusion of tongues and subsequent dispersion, the ancestors of the three main divisions of the race could find ample room for homes by migrating to the west and southwest, to the north or south, or toward the east and southeast. Climates of diverse characters and different modes of living have, in the course of thousands of years, modified their physical characteristics to such a degree as to produce the traits which we of to-day recognize as special to each race of people, be they Caucasian, Mongolian, or African.

A unique custom handed down from distant ages goes far to identify the North American Indians with Asia, and also strengthens the theory that there were two migrations to America from that mother of nations—the one long before the other. The former, a peaceable people, domestic in their habits, living in rude inclosures or towns, and subsisting upon the products of the soil in the vicinity; the latter, barbarous savages, nomadic in their habits, and living almost entirely upon the products of the chase. The custom alluded to is that of *scalping* their enemies when slain in battle, as related by Herodotus in respect to the ancient Scythians, who were the ancestors of the present Tartars, from whom were evidently descended the race of Indians having possession of North America when Columbus made his great discovery.

Herodotus, who lived 400 B.C., when writing of the Scythians, describes the manner in which they carried on war (*Herodotus's History, Book IV., Section 64*). He says that, when a soldier slays his first man in battle, he drinks of his blood—our Indians have been known to do the same. He brings the head to his chief and receives a reward. Should he slay more,

he brings the *scalps* only. These he takes by first "making a circular incision above the ears, then taking hold of the head at the top strips off the scalp." The scalps, after being shown to the chief, the soldiers retain, and "suspend them from the bridles of their horses, and they are exultantly proud of these scalps as trophies of their valor, and the man who has the most of such trappings is deemed the bravest." This singular custom has always prevailed among the North American Indians, while they also preserve the scalps which they have taken, but, not having horses, they instead decorate with them their bows and their wigwams. No other American savages are known to practice this custom; neither the Mexicans nor the Peruvians scalped their enemies. The Digger Indians of the mountains of California do not practice the custom. It is supposed the latter are descendants of the mound-builders, and that their ancestors were driven into these mountains by the wild Indians, in a manner similar to that which the Saxons drove the ancestors of the present Welsh into the mountains of Wales.

In this connection may also be cited the Natchez, who were Indian, we infer, in their physical characteristics, as no mention is made by the writers of the time of their being different in that respect from the other Indians among whom they dwelled. They are supposed to have been descended from a remnant of the mound-builders. They were not a numerous people; they were unlike their neighbors in their language as well as in their religion. Like the Peruvians, they were worshipers of the sun, and in their great wigwam they kept an undying fire. Their principal chief professed to be a descendant of the sun. They did not *scalp* their dead enemies, but cut off their heads. In a war with the French colony at New Orleans (1730) they were virtually exterminated, and left only their name to the city that now stands on the site of their principal village.

The Scythians were also famous in ancient times for their "excellence in horsemanship and archery;" as an illustration may be cited the Parthians, who were said to be Scythian in origin, and who defeated the Romans under Crassus by means of their superior horsemanship. They rode with their backs to their horses' heads, meanwhile skillfully handling the bow and arrow. In the latter respect our Indians, when the Europeans first knew them, were also wonderfully skillful; and this art of war, taken in connection with their nomadic or roving habits and their unique custom of scalping, point to their origin.

In addition, the general physiognomy of our Indians so much resembles that of the Tartars of to-day as to deeply impress the beholder, who may be acquainted with both races, that they have descended from the same

ancestry. Says George Bancroft: "The daring traveler Ledyard, as he stood in Siberia with men of the Mongolian race before him, and compared them with the Indians who had been his old play-fellows and schoolmates at Dartmouth, writes deliberately that 'universally and circumstantially they resemble the aborigines of America.' On the Connecticut and the Obi, he saw but one race." The late Rev. Dr. Robert Baird, an author of note, visited Russia some years since. His visit being in behalf of temperance reform, he was cordially received by the emperor and courteously by the people. When in Moscow, being invited to inspect a celebrated seminary for the education of young ladies, he saw as pupils of the institution daughters of prominent Tartars of eastern Asia, and was astonished in noticing their personal appearance. These girls were almost *fac-similes* of the Indian girls—Cherokees, Choctaws and others—whom he had seen a year or two before in a similar school in the Indian Territory in his own country.

It has recently been argued that the ancestors of our present Indians were the mound-builders. If this theory is true, when did they cease to thus honor their chiefs when dead? Within the last three hundred years, there has been no notice taken by explorers of the building of such immense mounds. The proverbial indolence of the Indian character and distaste for physical exertion, except in hunting and war, preclude the idea that they would, or ever did, undertake such labor. On the other hand, if their ancestors did build mounds in order to commemorate their dead chiefs and also for religious purposes, is it not reasonable to suppose that their descendants would have continued the custom, as we have seen the presumed descendants of the mound-builders actually did in Mexico.

Again, if mound-building on a scale so extensive had been carried on by the ancestors of the present Indians, would there not have come down to us through their descendants traditions on the subject? On the contrary, "there is no reasonable tradition of their origin [the mounds] among the Indians themselves. . . . The later Indian tribes, with a vague notion of their sanctity, have sometimes buried in them [the mounds] their own dead" (*American Cyclopædia*, I., p. 394). After the ancestors of our Indians had driven south the mound-builders, they would feel little interest in the mounds themselves, with whose builders they had no sympathy, and in a generation or two the traditions concerning them would be forgotten. This result is the more probable since their savage conquerors were broken into hostile tribes, and were continually fighting and driving one another from place to place.

Jacob Harris Patton

SLAVERY IN NEW YORK AND MASSACHUSETTS

AN INTERESTING RELIC

Editor Magazine American History :

I have just read Mr. Hammond's paper on "Slavery in New Hampshire," in your January issue, and it occurs to me that you may find of interest to your readers a copy of two documents now in the possession of Mr. J. A. Walker, barrister, of Chatham, Ont. The first is the deed of manumission of Wm. Potter, whose grandson, Mr. Morris Potter, is a respected citizen of this place; the second is an Indenture of Service to secure the sum paid for the freedom of the said Wm. Potter and wife. I give both *verbatim et literatim* :

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

LENOX, July 6th, 1801

Know all Men by these Presents, that I, Stephen Cornwell, of Hampstead, in the State of New York, yeoman—for and in consideration of the sum of four hundred dollars paid me by William Potter now resident in Pittsfield in said County, a black man, the receipt whereof I hereby acknowledge—Do hereby manumitt, sett at full liberty, & give freedom forever the said Wm. Potter & Mary his wife—they having this day been (adjudged) [interlined] on due examination made by Eldad Lewis, Esq., one of the Justices assigned to keep the peace, within & for the said County of Berkshire, the slaves of the said Stephen, according to the law in such cases made & provided—authorizing such examination—& for the consideration aforesaid I hereby relinquish & release all right & claim I have, or any other Person or Persons claiming thro' by or under me in & to the Services, and also the right of Disposal of the said William & Mary.

In Witness whereof I have hereto set my hand & Seal the day and year above mentioned.

Executed before us the
word "adjudged" being
first interlined.

Samuel Quincy, Ethan
Stone, Eldad Lewis, John
Gregory.

STEPHEN CORNWELL.

Seal.

The Indenture of Service, is as follows :

Know all Men that We William Potter, Laborer, and Mary Potter his wife do hereby agree assign and indent ourselves in service to Lemuel Collins, gentleman, Eldad Smith, Esq., and Samuel Wright, yeoman, all of Lenox, in the County of Berkshire, and James Cott, Gentleman, of Pittsfield in said County, with them faithfully to serve for the term of 7 years computing from the date hereof—During the whole of which term we agree and promise to be subject & obedient in all things to the said Lemuel, Eldad, Samuel & James, to be diligent and faithful in their business and will not absent ourselves or desert their service without their leave first obtained.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this sixth day of July in the year of our Lord Eighteen hundred & one.

In the presence of.

	his	~~~~~
	William X Potter	Seal.
Samuel Quincy	mark	~~~~~
Jeremiah Colgrove	her	~~~~~
	Mary X Potter	Seal.
	mark	~~~~~

The conditions of the above indenture is that i the said William Potter shall pay to the said Lemuel, Eldad, Samuel & James the full sum of four hundred & thirty dollars and the Interest from this date, In that case the above Indenture to be void, otherwise to remain in full force.

The documents are very much worn, and to preserve their contents they have been set up in type and printed. The seals used are simply diamond-shaped pieces of paper. The writing is above the average. On the back of the indenture the proceeds of a \$50 note, paid by Potter, is credited, and sundry sums in the five years subsequent to the date of the instrument are annually deducted from the debt, to which interest at six per cent. is added at each computation. In one year an error of 20c. against Potter occurs. The indentured couple fully paid the sum agreed upon and obtained their liberty.

John Barwick

MINOR TOPICS

WILLIAM E. H. LECKY ON WASHINGTON

To the appointment of Washington, far more than to any other single circumstance, is due the ultimate success of the American Revolution, though in purely intellectual powers Washington was certainly inferior to Franklin, and perhaps to two or three other of his colleagues. There is a theory which once received the countenance of some considerable physiologists, though it is now, I believe, completely discarded, that one of the great lines of division among men may be traced to the comparative development of the cerebrum and the cerebellum. To the first organ, it was supposed, belong those special gifts or powers which make men poets, orators, thinkers, artists, conquerors, or wits. To the second belong the superintending, restraining, discerning, and directing faculties which enable men to employ their several talents with sanity and wisdom, which maintain the balance and the proportion of intellect and character, and make sound judgments and well-regulated lives. The theory, however untrue in its physiological aspect, corresponds to a real distinction in human minds and characters, and it was especially in the second order of faculties that Washington excelled. His mind was not quick or remarkably original. His conversation had no brilliancy or wit. He was entirely without the gift of eloquence, and he had very few accomplishments. He knew no language but his own, and, except for rather a strong turn for mathematics, he had no taste which can be called purely intellectual. There was nothing in him of the meteor or the cataract, nothing that either dazzled or overpowered. A courteous and hospitable country gentleman, a skillful farmer, a very keen sportsman, he probably differed little in tastes and habits from the better members of the class to which he belonged ; and it was in a great degree in the administration of a large estate and in assiduous attention to county and provincial business that he acquired his rare skill in reading and managing men.

In civil as in military life, he was preëminent among his contemporaries for the clearness and soundness of his judgment, for his perfect moderation and self-control, for the quiet dignity and the indomitable firmness with which he pursued every path which he had deliberately chosen. Of all the great men in history he was the most invariably judicious, and there is scarcely a rash word or action or judgment recorded of him. Those who knew him well, noticed that he had keen sensibilities and strong passions ; but his power of self-command never failed him, and no act of his public life can be traced to personal caprice, ambition, or resentment. In the despondency of long-continued failure, in the elation of sudden success, at times when his soldiers were deserting by hundreds and when malignant plots were

formed against his reputation, and the constant quarrels, rivalries, and jealousies of his subordinates, in the dark hour of national ingratitude, and in the midst of the most universal and intoxicating flattery, he was always the same calm, wise, just, and single-minded man, pursuing the course he believed to be right, without fear or favor or fanaticism ; equally free from the passions that spring from interest, and from the passions that spring from imagination. He was in the highest sense of the word a gentleman and a man of honor, and he carried into public life the severest standard of private morals.—*History of England in the Eighteenth Century.*

GUIZOT, THE FRENCH HISTORIAN, ON WASHINGTON

On the list of great men, if there be some who have shone with more dazzling lustre, there are none who have been exposed to a more complete test, in war and in civil government ; resisting the king in the cause of liberty, and the people in the cause of legitimate authority ; commencing a revolution and ending it. . . .

Free from all internal restlessness and the promptings and pride of ambition, Washington did not seek opportunities to distinguish himself, and never aspired to the admiration of the world. This spirit so resolute, this heart so lofty, was profoundly calm and modest. Capable of rising to a level with the highest destiny, he might have lived in ignorance of his real power without suffering from it, and have found, in the cultivation of his estates, a satisfactory employment for those energetic faculties, which were to be proved equal to the task of commanding armies and founding a government. But when the opportunity presented itself, when the exigence occurred, without effort on his part, without any surprise on the part of others, indeed rather, as we have just seen, in conformity with their expectations, the prudent planter stood forth a great man. He had in a remarkable degree those two qualities which, in active life, make men capable of great things. He could confide strongly in his own views, and act in conformity with them, without fearing to assume the responsibility.

He did the two greatest things which, in politics, man can have the privilege of attempting. He maintained, by peace, that independence of his country, which he had acquired by war. He founded a free government, in the name of the principles of order, and by reëstablishing their sway. When he retired from public life, both tasks were accomplished, and he could enjoy the result. Of all great men he was the most virtuous and the most fortunate.—*Essay published in Paris in 1839.*

AN ESTIMATE OF WASHINGTON

FROM THE *London Courier*, JANUARY 24, 1800

The whole range of history does not present to our view a character upon which we can dwell with such entire and unmixed admiration. The long life of General Washington is not stained by a single blot. He was indeed a man of such rare endowments, and such fortunate temperament, that every action he performed was equally exempted from the charge of vice or weakness. Whatever he said or did or wrote, was stamped with a striking and peculiar propriety. His qualities were so happily blended and so nicely harmonized that the result was a great and perfect whole. The powers of his mind and the dispositions of his heart were admirably suited to each other. It was the union of the most consummate prudence with the most perfect moderation. His views, though large and liberal, were never extravagant ; his virtues, though comprehensive and beneficent, were discriminating, judicious, and practical. Yet his character, though regular and uniform, possessed none of the littleness which may sometimes belong to these descriptions of men. It formed a majestic pile, the effect of which was not impaired but improved by order and symmetry. There was nothing in it to dazzle by mildness, and surprise by eccentricity. It was a higher species of moral beauty. It contained everything great and elevated, but it had no false and tinsel ornament. It was not the model cried by the fashion and circumstance ; its excellence was adapted to the true and just moral taste, incapable of change from the varying accidents of manners, of opinions and times. General Washington is not the idol of a day, but the hero of ages !

Placed in circumstances of the most trying difficulty at the commencement of the American contest, he accepted that situation which was preëminent in danger and responsibility. His perseverance overcame every obstacle ; his moderation conciliated every opposition ; his genius supplied every resource ; his enlarged view could plan, revise, and improve every branch of civil and military operation. He had the superior courage which can act or forbear to act, as true policy dictates, careless of the reproaches of ignorance either in power or out of power. He knew how to conquer by waiting, in spite of obloquy, for the moment of victory ; and he merited true praise by despising undeserved censure. In the most arduous moments of the contest, his prudent firmness proved the salvation of the cause which he supported. His conduct was, on all occasions, guided by the most pure disinterestedness. Far superior to low and groveling motives, he seemed even to be uninfluenced by that ambition, which has justly been called the instinct of great souls. He acted ever as if his country's welfare, and that alone, was the moving spring. His excellent mind needed not even the stimulus of ambition or the prospect of fame. Glory was but a secondary consideration. He performed great actions, he persevered in a course of laborious utility, with an equanimity that

neither sought distinction nor was flattered by it. His reward was in the consciousness of his own rectitude, and in the success of his own patriotic efforts.

It is some consolation, amidst the violence of ambition and the criminal thirst for power, of which so many instances occur around us, to find a character whom it is honorable to admire and virtuous to imitate. A conqueror for the freedom of his country! A legislator for its security! A magistrate for its happiness! His glories were never sullied by those excesses into which the highest qualities are apt to degenerate. With the greatest virtues he was exempt from the corresponding vices. He was a man in whom the elements were so mixed that "Nature might have stood up to all the world" and owned him as her work. His fame, bounded by no country, will be confined to no age. The character of General Washington, which his contemporaries regret and admire, will be transmitted to posterity; and the memory of his virtues, while patriotism and virtue are held sacred among men, will remain undiminished.

COLONEL FRANCIS LOVELACE

In the valuable pamphlet recently issued by Dr. George H. Moore, entitled *Introduction of Printing into New York*, the following paragraph concerning the governor who was sent in 1668 to succeed Colonel Richard Nicolls in the command of the province of New York, will be read with interest. Dr. Moore says:

"This gallant soldier and accomplished gentleman deserves more than a passing notice here, not only as the first to propose a printer for New York, but as having never been properly known and identified in her history. No historian or biographer has ever correctly stated his origin, his family connection, or his fate. . . .

Francis Lovelace was of a race of gentlemen who in the military line acquired great reputation and honor, and by their knowledge in the municipal laws deserved well of the commonwealth. Hitherto he has been described as belonging to the family of the Lords of Hurley, and made to be, not only the uncle of the third Lord Lovelace, that audacious and intemperate Whig celebrated by Macaulay, who abandoned James and took up arms for William, but also the grandfather of that Lord Lovelace who died at New York in the office of governor in 1709. There was a connection between the families, but it was very remote, and the royal duke's governor lived and died a bachelor. His immediate ancestor was Sir William Lovelace, of Woolwich, who was killed in Holland. His wife was Anne, daughter of Sir William Barne, also of Woolwich, by whom he had six children (five sons and one daughter), of whom Francis was the second.

His elder brother was that bright particular star in the galaxy of the minor poets of England in the seventeenth century—Richard Lovelace—whose songs

To Lucasta, and *To Althea, from Prison*, will long keep fresh among men of letters the memory of his chivalric love and loyalty. It is a charming reminiscence which connects his name and fame with the early annals of an American state. Two other brothers became residents of New York, where the family name was continued for a century later. When the Dutch recovered their ancient colony in 1673, Governor Lovelace was taken prisoner by them, afterwards by the Turks, and died of his wounds. He was himself a poet and an artist, and his figure will be more conspicuous hereafter in the early history of New York when the annals of that period come to be better known and more fairly written. Very soon after he assumed the government in 1668, Lovelace manifested his desire for having a printer in the province by sending for one to New England, where the press was already established ; but he does not appear to have been successful in his application."

THE COMING CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION

EXTRACT FROM PRESIDENT GAMMELL'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE RHODE ISLAND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, JAN. 8, 1889

"The centennial celebrations connected with the formation and adoption of the Constitution of the United States have not yet come to an end. In addition to the magnificent ceremonies which for three days in September, 1887, commemorated the completion and promulgation of the Constitution at Philadelphia, there have been local celebrations of its adoption in several of the states. And in the coming month of April the inauguration of the first President of the United States and the beginning of the new government are to be commemorated in the city of New York, where these events took place. These transactions relating to the Constitution are the grandest events in American history. To know them, to appreciate them in all their bearings, is a matter of great importance to the people of every state. The Declaration of Independence, the battles of the Revolution, even the founding of the Republic itself, might all have been in vain had it not been for the Constitutional government which was framed at Philadelphia and set in operation in New York. It was this that enabled us to become what we are as a nation. In these greatest of our national achievements our own state took no part. A majority of the legislature three times refused to send delegates to the Convention that framed the Constitution, and the same majority for nearly three years refused to call a Convention to act upon its adoption. Still further must it be said that the Convention itself, in its meagre majority of two votes, virtually declared that it yielded at length only to necessity. A large and most respectable minority of the population

looked on in helpless agony and despair while their deluded and reckless fellow-citizens were bringing blight and ruin to the good name and the interests of the state, and this not because they cared for the decaying and worthless confederation, for they had disregarded all its most essential obligations, but because they were the votaries of paper money which the Constitution unequivocally condemned and prohibited. It was only when this delusion began to lose its power that the state could be rescued from the humiliating condition to which it was reduced. The only gratifying reminiscences connected with this dismal period in our local history are those of the patient and conciliatory treatment which the state received from the great leaders of the Constitutional party, from many of her sister states, and especially from President Washington and the Congress of the new government. As the conduct of the Rhode Island authorities became more hostile to the Constitution, a deep sympathy sprang up for the crushed and overborne minority of our people. Nothing, however, was done needlessly to offend the rulers of the refractory state. She was allowed to have her way till reason should return and she should again be in her place. The private letters of Washington which have been published show nothing but tenderness and hopefulness towards her. Only once in these letters does he refer to her conduct with severity, and this was just as the North Carolina Convention was about to hold its second session in 1789. "No doubt," he writes, "is entertained of North Carolina. Nor would there be any of Rhode Island, had not the majority of those people bid adieu long since to every principle of honor, common sense and honesty." Two months, however, after the Constitution was adopted here, he took the earliest opportunity, apparently without invitation, to visit the state, and was received with every demonstration of honor and respect. Equally courteous and conciliatory was the action of Congress. It passed acts continuing the freedom of trade with the state, and only when her Convention adjourned without action was the time definitely fixed for her to take the consequences of her false position and to pay her allowance of the public debt. This action undoubtedly helped to hasten the final result. The great exposition of the Constitution, and of the blessings it was designed to secure for the country, were set forth in the series of papers now known as the *Federalist*, written by Mr. Madison, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Jay, and published in a New York newspaper. In these papers the utmost care was taken to avoid anything that might look like a threat offered to dilatory states. It was rather assumed that there would be no such states. In one of the papers, however, written by Mr. Madison, there is a passing intimation as to what must be the consequences of a final refusal. It points out the essential fact that the Union is indivisible, and that, if the people of a state should finally decide not to accept the Constitution, the state would still be a part of the Republic, and would be governed as a Territory of the United States. This intimation has long ago become an essential principle of constitutional law, and our state came rather too near experiencing the first application ever made of it. It was in full accordance with this idea that the town of

Providence in 1790, as the Convention was about to hold its second session, instructed its delegates, in case the Constitution should be again refused, to unite with such other towns as might desire to do so, in placing themselves under the protection and jurisdiction of the United States, of which their inhabitants were citizens as truly as of Rhode Island. A few days later the Constitution was adopted, and the state was again in her true and normal relations to the Republic of which she was always an inseparable part, even while she was so stoutly refusing to acquiesce in its change of government, and still dreaming that she could be independent and sovereign."

A TOUCHING LETTER BY ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Contributed by Rev. George G. Hepburn.

[This beautiful letter was printed in some of the local newspapers at the time, but otherwise has never before been published.]

WASHINGTON, *May 25, 1867.*

To the bereaved father and mother of Col. Elmer E. Ellsworth.

"My Dear Sir and Madam :

In the untimely death of your noble son, our affliction here is scarcely less than your own. So much for promised usefulness to one's country, and of bright hopes for one's self and friends, have never been so suddenly dashed as in his fall. In size, in years, and in youthful appearance a boy only, his power to command men was unsurpassingly great. The power, combined with a fine indomitable energy, and a taste altogether military, constituted in him, as seemed to me, the best natural talent in that department I ever knew. And yet he was singularly modest and deferential in social intercourse. My acquaintance with him began less than two years ago ; yet through the latter half of the intervening period, it was as intense as the disparity of our ages and my engrossing engagements would permit. To me he appeared to have no indulgences or pastime, and I never heard him utter a profane or an intemperate word. What was conclusive of his good heart, he never forgot his parents. The honors he labored for so laudably, and in the sad end so gallantly gave his life, he meant for them, no less than for himself. In the hope that it may be no intrusion upon the sacredness of your sorrow, I have ventured to address you this tribute to the memory of my young friend, and your brave and early fallen son. May God give you the consolation which is beyond all earthly power ! Sincerely your friend in a common affliction,

A. LINCOLN."

NOTES

WASHINGTON'S LEARNING—The accomplished scholar Dr. David Ramsay says, "The learning of Washington was of a particular kind. He overstepped the tedious forms of the schools, and by the force of a correct taste and sound judgment seized on the great ends of learning, without the assistance of those means which have been contrived to prepare less active minds for public business. By a careful study of the English language, by reading good models of fine writing, and, above all, by the aid of a vigorous mind, he made himself the master of a pure, elegant, and classical style. His composition was all nerve, full of manly ideas, which were expressed in precise and forcible language. His answers to the innumerable addresses which on all public occasions poured in upon him were promptly made, handsomely expressed, and always contained something appropriate. His letters to Congress, his addresses to that body on the acceptance and resignation of his commission, his general orders as commander-in-chief, his speeches and messages as President, and, above all, his two farewell addresses to the people of the United States, will remain lasting monuments of the goodness of his heart, of the wisdom of his head, and of the eloquence of his pen."

WASHINGTON'S HABITS—Jedediah Morse, D.D., speaks of Washington's habits as follows: "He lived in the unvarying habits of regularity, temperance, and industry. He steadily rose at the dawn of day, and retired to rest usually at 9 o'clock in the evening.

The intermediate hours all had their proper business assigned them. In his allotments for the revolving hours, religion was not forgotten. Feeling, what he so often publicly acknowledged, his entire dependence on God, he daily, at stated seasons, retired to his closet to worship at his footstool, and to ask his divine blessing. He was remarkable for his strict observation of the Sabbath, and exemplary in his attendance on public worship."

RHODE ISLAND'S NAVY IN THE REVOLUTION—In a paper recently read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., observed that "he could not say much about Rhode Island's navy, but to make the evening less dry he would read a ballad called *The Yankee Privateer* which existed only in manuscript. It was about the privateer *Providence*, of which Abraham Whipple was captain, and the story was that the ship found three frigates convoying ten merchantmen, and, going up in the night, cut out the merchantmen, one each for ten nights, till all ten were captured. Three of the stanzas were as follows:

'For ten nights we followed,
And, e'er a sun rose,
Each night a prize we'd take
Under the lion's nose.
When their captain looked to see
Why their ships should disappear,
They found they had in convoy
A Yankee privateer.
But we sailed and we sailed
And never thought of fear;
Not a coward was on board
Of the bold privateer.

'A flag-ship of the British
 Bore round to give us chase,
 But though we were the faster [fleeter]
 Old Whipple wouldn't race.
 He luffed and raked her fore and aft—
 The lubbers couldn't steer—
 And then he showed the heels
 Of the Yankee privateer.
 We sailed and we sailed,
 And we made good cheer,
 For not a British frigate
 Could come near the privateer.

'So homeward we sailed
 To the town we all know,

And there lay our prizes
 All anchored in a row.
 Right welcome were we
 To our homes so dear,
 And we shared a million dollars
 As the bold privateer.
 We'd sailed and we'd sailed,
 And we made good cheer ;
 We had all made our fortunes
 On the bold privateer.'

Dr. Hale said the tale was absolutely true, and that such traditions in Rhode Island history ought to be brought out."

QUERIES

WAS WASHINGTON'S MOTHER A LOYALIST?—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: In Ramsay's "Life of George Washington" (1807), on page 2, that Washington's mother "was, from the influence of long-established habits, so far from being partial to the American revolution, that she often regretted the side her son had taken in the controversy between her king and her country."

Dr. Ramsay was born in Pennsylvania in 1749 (when George Washington was only 17 years of age), was graduated at Princeton College in 1765, and studied medicine in Philadelphia under Dr. Rush, but soon afterward removed to Charleston and became a member of the legislature of South Carolina, and in 1782 was elected to the Continental Congress. Thus, he was not only contemporary with Washington, but was probably acquainted personally with both him and his mother, and as an earnest Whig (which he must have been, to be elected to the Continental Congress) it is not likely that he was prejudiced against either. His statement, therefore, as to

the loyalty of Washington's mother to the crown is presumably true.

Can you, or can any readers of the Magazine, cite any authority that either corroborates or contradicts what Dr. Ramsay has written on this subject?

T. C. CALLICOT

THE SARATOGA MONUMENT—Will the Magazine or some of its readers kindly give notice, in the journal, when the monument on the battle-field of Saratoga is to be unveiled? By so doing you will oblige a subscriber.

A. W. KALDENBERG

MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATE OF THE CINCINNATI—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Can any of your readers give me information of the present whereabouts of the certificate of membership to the Society of the Cincinnati of John Bush, Captain Third Regiment, Pennsylvania Line, Army of the Revolution.

LEWIS BUSH JACKSON

3344 WALNUT ST., PHILADELPHIA

REPLIES

"THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY." *Origin of the Epithet* [xx. 495]—This is one of the most honorable appellations which can possibly be conferred upon any man, especially if worthily bestowed. Washington was not, in the world's history, the first to receive it; but it has been in vogue all along the ages for two thousand years. Before the Christian era, the eloquent Cicero styled Marcus Portius Cato *Pater Patriæ*—the father of his country. In Rome, also, Tacitus informs us that Octavius Cæsar, in addition to the surname of Augustus, was, by a decree of the senate, hailed by this same honorable title. Tacitus likewise says that Nero was saluted in like manner, and that on some ancient medals there was inscribed *Livia Augusta mater patriæ*—the MOTHER of her country. And *pater patriæ* was likewise bestowed upon Commodus Antoninus.

Such was the general estimation in which Cosmo de Medici was held that the Florentines inscribed on his tomb "Father of his Country." The Genoese senate gave Andrew Doria, a naval commander of great renown, the title, "Father of his Country and the Restorer of its Liberties."

Louis XII. and Henry IV., Kings of France long ago, were each hailed by their subjects *le père du peuple*, father of the people. William III., King of England, was styled *pater patriæ*; and Alexander Petion, the mulatto President of the Republic of Hayti, discharged the duties of his office so acceptably that the people bestowed upon him this same honorable epithet. Charles Augustus

Weimar, Grand Duke of Saxe, during his reign of fifty-three years, was called not only the father of his people, but the patron of learning and the arts; and finally, Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, likewise received the same appellation.

Many other instances might be adduced, but these are sufficient to show that this epithet is not of modern origin, and was not the product of any English or American brain, as has recently been suggested.

M. M. BALDWIN, A.M., LL.B.

"THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY"—The origin of the epithet "Father of his Country" seems to be of much more ancient origin than that which is ascribed to it in the last number of your magazine.

In the *History of the Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, by Conyers Middleton, D.D., third edition, 1742, the following lines can be found on p. 236: "Whilst the sense of all these services was fresh, Cicero was repaid for them to the full of his wishes, and in the very way that he desired, by the warm and grateful applauses of all orders of the city. For, besides the honors already mentioned, L. Gellius, who had been consul and censor, said in a speech to the senate that the republic owed him a civic crown for having saved them all from ruin; and *Catulus*, in a full house, declared him the *Father of his Country*; as *Cato* likewise did from the rostra, with the loud acclamations of the whole people: whence Pliny, in honor of his memory, cries out, 'Hail thou, who wast

first saluted the Parent of thy Country !' This title, the most glorious which a mortal can wear, was from this precedent usurped afterwards by those who of all mortals deserved it the least, the Emperors ; proud to extort from slaves and flatterers what Cicero obtained from the free vote of the senate and people of Rome."

LEOPOLD A. BERNHEIMER
2 HOLMES PLACE, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

THIRTEEN NOT AN UNLUCKY NUMBER [xx. 424, 510. xxi. 79] — *Editor of Magazine of American History* : Apropos of *thirteen at table*, may not this superstition, like many others, have had a very practical origin in common affairs ? What could be more unlucky for a hostess, whose china cups and saucers, spoons, forks, and napkins, were all reckoned by, and perhaps limited by the dozen, than to have a thirteenth guest appear at her board ? Let us not throw down or try to peer behind all the little convenient screens that harmless superstition provides us with.

HOUSEKEEPER

January 2, 1889.

THE OLDEST STATUE IN THE WORLD [xx. 158, 250] — In the Louvre, at Paris, there is a wooden statue, said to be six thousand years old. If I recollect aright it is ascribed to the archaic period of Grecian art. It is of a man, rather small, crudely executed, with some traces of green, black, and red paint about the eyebrows, lips, and head. It

is more than six years since I saw it, but a vivid impression of it has remained on my memory's tablets, and I think my recollection is correct. It seems strange that the oldest statues known should be of wood. Surely there were images of stone or metal or clay antedating these ?

WM. NELSON

PATERSON, N. J.

MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE [xxi. 31] — In addition to the authorities cited by General C. M. Wilcox in his interesting paper in the *Magazine of American History* for January, 1889, as to the genuineness of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, I would call attention to a letter written on the 20th of June, 1775, by Sir James Wright, governor of the province of Georgia, to the Earl of Dartmouth. The letter is printed in the third volume of the "Collections of the Georgia Historical Society" (pp. 189, 190), and the concluding words contain proof positive that the citizens of Charlotte, North Carolina, did adopt some "extraordinary resolves." These words are as follows :

"By the inclosed Paper Your Lordship will see the extraordinary Resolves by the People in Charlotte Town, Mecklinburg County, and I should not be surprized if the same should be done every where else."

Very respectfully,

WM. HARDEN
Librarian Georgia Historical Society.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A stated meeting was held at the hall of the society on December 4, 1888, the Hon. John A. King presiding. After the usual reports, the Hon. Edward S. Isham, of Chicago, read the paper of the evening, entitled "Frontenac and Miles Standish in the Northwest," contrasting the aims and methods of the Puritan and Massachusetts colonists, and, in general, the French and English colonial systems, in the settlement of this continent.

The annual meeting of the society was held January 2, 1889. The annual reports indicated the steady increase of the library and collections, and the executive committee officially announced that the sum of \$250,000 had been secured toward the purchase of a new site and the erection of a new building thereon for the use of the society. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, John A. King; first vice-president, John A. Weekes; second vice-president, John S. Kennedy; foreign corresponding secretary, John Bigelow; domestic corresponding secretary, Edward F. de Lancey; recording secretary, Andrew Warner; treasurer, Robert Schell; librarian, Charles Isham.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its regular monthly meeting in its new quarters at Columbia College on the evening of the 20th of December, Vice-president Edward F. de Lancey in the chair. In connection with the general business of the society a long list of new members was presented for election. The highly intellectual audience

assembled, representing the best and most cultivated families of the city, was very large, filling every seat in the spacious audience hall. The paper of the occasion, entitled "The Career and Times of Nicholas Bayard," the Huguenot mayor of New York city in 1685, was read by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting at Utica on the 8th of January, in the afternoon, President Ellis H. Roberts in the chair. After the reading of the various reports, the following officers were elected for the coming year: Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, president; Rev. Isaac S. Hartley, D.D., first vice-president; Hon. D. E. Wager, second vice-president; Hon. John F. Seymour, third vice-president; Rees G. Williams, recording secretary; General Charles W. Darling, corresponding secretary; Dr. M. M. Bagg, librarian; Warren C. Rowley, treasurer.

In the evening the society assembled in Library Hall to listen to the annual address by Rev. Willis J. Beecher, D.D., of Auburn Theological Seminary. The subject was "Geographical Names as Monuments of History," which he treated in a most interesting manner, remarking at the opening "that one chief element of interest in American historical research, as compared with researches into the history of other continents, lies in the fact that our history is a history of beginnings."

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY has held regular semi-monthly meetings in the Berkeley

Lyceum, No. 19 West 44th Street. On the 23d of November addresses were delivered by Dr. Edmund S. F. Arnold on "Dr. Valentine Mott," and by Gen. James Grant Wilson on "The Young Heroes, Cushing and Custer;" on the 14th of December, by Rev. Dr. William J. Seabury on "Bishop Seabury;" and on the 21st of December Rev. Arthur H. W. Eaton read a paper written by Dr. Rand, of Boston, on "Emigration from New England to Nova Scotia prior to the Revolution." January 11, 1889, the paper of the evening was by the Hon. Theodore Roosevelt, on "Some Features of New York City History." Mr. James R. Gilmore and Gen. Daniel Butterfield have kindly promised to address the society during the present winter.

At the annual meeting January 9, the following officers were elected for the coming year: Gen. James Grant Wilson, president; Dr. Ellsworth Eliot and Dr. Samuel S. Purple, vice-presidents; Gerit H. Van Wagenen, corresponding secretary; Thomas G. Evans, recording secretary; Dr. George H. Butler, treasurer; Rev. Beverley R. Betts, librarian.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

An interesting paper was read before this society on the 28th of December by Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., of Boston, on the "Naval History of the Revolution." He said that leading historians were satisfied, in writing on this subject, to give accounts of the descents of the ships of Providence on the Bermuda and Bahama islands, the exploits of Paul Jones and DeGrasse, and other brilliant conquests. But, as it is the perpetual dropping which wears away the

stone, so it was the dropping off of 3,000 vessels from the English merchant marine, that changed the attitude of England toward America more than the field conflicts. John Adams, coming from the maritime and commercial State of Massachusetts, insisted from the beginning on the new government's having a new navy. Through his efforts, as chairman of the naval committee, Congress purchased several ships, giving them high-sounding names, and built thirteen fine frigates. The history of this fleet is pathetically sad, as most of them never went to sea, many being burned, some even on their stocks, to save them from being captured by the English. With other ships, later on, the navy was more successful. When the alliance with France was made, that country had many ships as strong as, if not stronger than, any of England's; therefore it was not necessary for Congress to maintain a large fleet. When John Adams went to Europe on his diplomatic mission, the efforts of Congress and the naval committee were relaxed.

In concluding his paper, Dr. Hale said that the references he had made were enough to show that, if one of our accomplished naval officers would take up the pleasant duty of writing the history of the naval war of the Revolution, he would find much material which had not as yet been thoroughly explored.

At the annual meeting January 8, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Professor William Gammell, president; Dr. Charles W. Parsons and Horatio Rogers, vice-presidents; Amos Perry, secretary; Richmond P. Everett, treasurer.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

The phenomenal interest suddenly awakened the world over in the approaching celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of Washington, in New York City, as first President of the United States, is extremely gratifying to all patriots and lovers of history. The country has grown not a little since April 30, 1789; and when the great family of states come home, through their representatives, to participate in the grand jubilee, it will be the most remarkable gathering the world has ever seen. It is now confidently expected that every state in the Union will contribute troops to the wonderful pageant to be presented in the streets of New York on Tuesday, April 30, 1889, and that the governor of each state will appear with his staff at the head of his forces.

One of the most impressive features, however, of the coming celebration will be the opening of the churches at nine o'clock in the morning of the great day of days. A hundred years ago the religious sense of the importance of the occasion was manifested in this manner. Every church in the city of New York was then opened; and we are told by the newspapers of the period, that "the people in prodigious numbers thronged these sacred temples, and with one voice put up their prayers to Almighty God for the safety of the President."

The committee of clergymen appointed to act with the regular committee on the centennial celebration of the inauguration of President Washington, has issued an address to the clergy and churches of the country, suggesting appropriate services at nine A.M. on April 30, next, the day and hour on which services were held in this city a century ago. After a proper tribute to the character of Washington, and a long quotation from his inaugural address, the committee says: "We respectfully and earnestly request our fellow-citizens of every name and race and creed, in this city and through the entire country, following the example of our fathers, to meet in their respective places of worship at nine o'clock on the morning of the 30th of April, 1889, and to hold such religious services of thanksgiving and praise as may seem suitable, in view of what God has done for us and our land during the century which has elapsed since George Washington took the chair of state. Religion and patriotism have been united among us as a people from the very beginning. May they so continue forever."

From all quarters come responsive words of cordial sympathy with the noble work that is progressing so successfully in New York City. At the annual meeting in Utica, January 8, of the Oneida Historical Society, the first vice-president, Rev. Isaac Smithson Hartley, D.D., offered the following resolution, which was adopted: "Whereas, The 30th day of April next is the centennial inauguration of General George Washington as the first President of the United States; and Whereas, The general and many of the state governments have suggested that the day be observed in a manner befitting the memories of which it speaks, and the results which have come to the nation and the world through a government for the people and by the people: therefore, be it Resolved,

That a committee of five be appointed by the chair to consider the propriety of observing this day under the auspices of the society, in a manner as shall properly accord with the memories and the abiding principles with which its return is historically connected."

It has been recommended that thirteen able-bodied New Yorkers should row President Harrison from Elizabethport across the Bay to New York, as they rowed Washington one hundred years ago, before the introduction of steam as a force in navigation. At a recent meeting of the governors of the different States, Governor Biggs of Delaware said that the celebration was of the greatest possible patriotic interest. Delaware would be well represented, and his white locks would float on the wind in advance of "the chickens of the old blue hen." As Washington was entertained in Philadelphia on his way to New York in 1789, the corporation of that city are preparing to entertain President Harrison in a similar manner. General Stryker says New Jersey wishes to get the custody of President Harrison at noon of April 27. He will then be taken to Trenton, led under the same arch that Washington passed under, and thence to Princeton, where he can spend Saturday night and Sunday with President Patton of the college, as Washington spent some time with President Withers in 1789. On Monday New Jersey will deliver President Harrison to New York at Elizabethport.

On the 17th of April, 1889, a loan exhibition of historic portraits and relics will be opened at the Metropolitan Opera House, to continue three weeks. These exhibits will be confined to those relating to Washington, his cabinet, the framers of the Constitution, members of the first Congress, and others concerned in the inauguration of Washington, together with pictures of scenes and localities pertaining to the period. A special feature will be the exhibition of original portraits of Washington.

The balmy weather of the present winter is not unprecedented, but had its counterpart a hundred years ago, and also two hundred years ago. The winter of 1789 and 1790, was the warmest ever known in New York and vicinity; the farmers on Long Island were ploughing their fields in January. It will be said a hundred years hence that the farmers along the Hudson River, in some localities, were ploughing the fields in January, 1889, as is the fact. An account of a Minnesota winter without any ice has recently been discovered in one of the volumes of the Wisconsin Historical Society. "It was the winter of 1688-1689, a date so remote that it sounds very oddly in the ears of the Westerner, who regards any event of fifty years ago as belonging to ancient history. In the year 1688 the Baron La Hontan undertook an expedition in the valley of the Mississippi. Ascending the river with a number of heavily laden canoes, he entered the mouth of a river which he called Rivière Longue, on the 3d of November, and ascended its course for over five hundred miles, being employed sixty days in the ascent. He returned to the Mississippi on the 2d of March, 1689, down which he proceeded to the Missouri. This he ascended as far as the Osage. It is generally supposed that the river on which this winter voyage was made was the St. Peter's or Minnesota. Nicollet supposes it was the Cannon, which at that time was an outlet of the Minnesota."

BOOK NOTICES

THE DIARY AND LETTERS OF GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, Minister of the United States to France, Member of the Constitutional Convention, etc. Edited by ANNA CARY MORRIS. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 604, 630. New York: 1888. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The works on Gouverneur Morris heretofore published have been confined almost exclusively to his connection with public affairs. The one before us, edited by his granddaughter, reveals that other side of his life, which shows that he was even more a man of the world, a society man, a frequenter of salons, than he was a statesman. He, apparently, was perfectly at home amid the "persiflage" of the "beaux esprits" of the France of that epoch. This phase in his history should not be ignored, as it enabled him to leave a vividly indiscreet social picture of France on the eve of the Revolution, the exact equivalent of which exists nowhere else. His diary gives a series of graphic and extraordinary portraits. He was a constant visitor and adviser of Lafayette. Montmorin and Moustier appealed to him for counsel in the direst straits and the darkest days. He was equally at home in Madame de Tesse's republican salon and in the boudoir of the devout but sentimental Madame de Nadaillac. He dined often with Madame de Staël. He conversed with and advised her father, Neckar. He was an intimate of the charming Madame de Flahaut's circle, and chatted nightly there with Talleyrand, then the Bishop of Autun. He was greatly admired by the unhappy Duchess of Orleans, who cherished a real affection for him. All subjects are discussed; and in the continual reference to public events, and the great actors on the stage of public affairs, many bright sidelights are thrown upon the historic page. The style of the diary is so easy and natural that the reader is carried along as if by a charmed whirlwind. An example of this may be quoted from the diary under date of May 9, 1791: "At Madame de Foucault's M. de Fanchet reads an excellent comedy which he has written. Bouinville is here. I take him home, and *en route* he complains of Duportail's ingratitude to Lafayette. He says that Montmorin was very low-spirited this morning. I tell him what I had told Montmorin—that things must grow worse before they can mend. The weather is growing milder, but during my walk this morning I observe that the vines have suffered from the frost. At table they say that no mischief was done in the open country, owing to the wind. M. Brémont calls, and I tell him that I am in hopes of getting the money which may be needful for the rations. He tells me that he is to be employed by the Jacobin chieftains to form a selection of consti-

tutional articles, and also to consult on the means of restoring order. Visit Madame de Ségur, and she gives me the talk of the society, and that is very near the truth. So much for the secrecy of this court."

Under date of December 21 is the following: "Dine with Madame Tronchin, and meet here Madame de Tarente. Ask her to procure for me a lock of the Queen's hair. She promises to try. I think Her Majesty will be pleased with the request even if she does not comply with it, for such is woman. Call at Madame de Staël's. She is in bed, and is glad to see me, and tells me all the news she knows. The Abbé Louis comes in, who is *flagonneur au possible* (Hibernicé, blarney). Delessart, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, is at Madame de Montmorin's this afternoon; and as we turn a good many things over in conversation after dinner, I conclude in going away by telling him that the king is the only piece of wood which will remain afloat in the general shipwreck. He says that he begins to think so."

After Morris left Paris, he made a tour through England and the Continent, and in each country was the guest at court, and was *flêted* and honored by society leaders of the period. His letters to Washington, Hamilton, and others sparkle with the inner history of the times; and his speculations on political changes in Europe during the victorious career of Napoleon are of permanent value as indicating contemporary opinion. Each volume contains a portrait of Morris, and the work is printed and issued in elegant taste.

FOUR YEARS WITH THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC. By REGIS DE TROBRIAND. Translated by George K. Dauchy. 8vo, pp. 757. 1889. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

Amidst the multitude of war reminiscences written by Americans for Americans, it is pleasant to read a book written in French, by a Frenchman, and presumably for French readers. No doubt he anticipated the translation of his book into English, but it carries with it a characteristic French flavor which is not wholly lost even by being done into English. The translator has endeavored, not always with happy results, to retain the French idiom as far as possible; but as a whole the translation is to be commended as satisfactory. The writer of this notice well remembers seeing General (then Colonel) de Trobriand ride down Broadway at the head of his fine regiment of volunteers in 1861. Particularly does he remember the man-

ner in which the colonel saluted a party of friends with his sword. The regiment was better drilled than most of the hastily raised troops that went to the front in those days of doubt and hurry, and it did good work during its long term of active service.

General de Trobriand was trained to the profession of arms in the best European schools, and volunteered in the service of the United States at the outbreak of hostilities. Some of his comments on the causes of the war and the conditions that preceded secession are extremely interesting and suggestive. For instance, he ascribes the almost unanimous sympathy with secession of the foreign ministers resident in Washington, to the fact that Washington society at that time was wholly Southern. The South sent its men of culture to Congress. At the North such men preferred to stay at home. The result was that the foreign ministers heard only one side, and their reports were naturally colored by what they heard.

The narrative itself is strictly personal, following the author's diary with absolute fidelity. It is full of incident, and carries with it a color, life and freshness that at once capture the attention, and hold it to the very end. The volume is a most welcome addition to the long list of war memoirs.

THE HUMAN MYSTERY IN HAMLET.

By MARTIN W. COOKE. 16mo, pp. 135.
New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert.

The Hamlet problem will never cease to be suggestive to students of the immortal bard, and the results of their analyses will always possess a living interest for the average reader of Shakespeare. Now and then, as in the present instance, some author will evolve something original and striking. Mr. Cooke's theory is that Hamlet is not a person, but a "type;" that the office of the character is to exhibit certain mental struggles through which all human creatures are likely to pass; that "the theme of Hamlet is the interior life of humanity in this world, striving to harmonize its actions with a supernaturally imposed law of rectitude, which it recognizes, but ever fails to fulfill. It reveals a warfare which does not manifest itself in clash of swords or roar of cannon, but which rages never ceasing till the dissolution of the soul and body; 'the rest is silence.'"

Whether or not Shakespeare actually intended to convey this elaborate and complex idea is immaterial; that he has actually presented a character capable of this interpretation, the author shows is sufficiently plausible. To most of us Hamlet will continue to be Hamlet to the end of the chapter, however interesting, able and convincing may be the speculations of ingenious authors. Such, nevertheless, is the

power of the book, that we shall never again read Hamlet without being strongly influenced by the views here presented.

VIRGINIA COUSINS. A study of the ancestry and posterity of JOHN GOODE OF WHITBY; and a history of the English surname Gode, Goad, Goode or Good, from 1148-1887. By G. BROWN GOODE. With a preface by R. A. Brock. 8vo. Pamphlet, pp. 526. J. W. Randolph & English: Richmond, Va. 1888.

This work is called "a study" by its author, the accomplished naturalist, who tells us in his prologue how he became absorbed in it "on account of its numerous side-issues, especially the studies upon certain periods of English and colonial history, not otherwise approachable, into which it has led. Delightful have been the hours in the British Museum, among old volumes of country histories, manuscripts of heralds' visitations, and files of musty old newspapers, and the hasty peeps into hundreds of volumes of records of any description, the existence of which I should otherwise never have known, and the acquaintance of which it is pleasant to have made. Delightful, too, the visits to ancestral homes and out-of-the-way parish churches; the little excursions to inspect and interview colonies of remotely connected kinsfolk, who look upon the stranger who bears their own surname, and who knows more about their grandparents than they themselves, as if he were a chance guest from the moon."

The work has been remarkably well prepared in every respect, and is a most valuable contribution to the history of America. The descendants of the first emigrant of the name, who died in Virginia in 1709, are estimated at six thousand. The author says, "The time is coming when the sociologist and the historian will make an extensive use of the facts so laboriously gathered and systematically classified by genealogists, and it is probable that this can be better done in the United States than elsewhere. The thousands of pedigrees will, under skillful treatment by men trained in scientific methods, yield a harvest of new ideas concerning the constitution of the population of North America." Professor Goode not only traces the ramifications of descent, but he has made a study of the lines of ascent, so to speak—the various sources from which his ancestor derived his hereditary physical and mental traits. The book is overflowing with information of the most agreeably picturesque character in history, genealogy, tradition, and social life. There is hardly a family in Virginia of which some record will not be found in its pages. It is a work of interest for all

other states, and should find a place in every library in the land.

THE STOCK EXCHANGES OF LONDON, PARIS, AND NEW YORK. A Comparison. By GEORGE RUTLEDGE GIBSON. 12mo, pp. 125. G. Putnam's Sons: New York and London. 1889.

This cleverly written little volume supplies an actual want. However much financial journals may address those who in practical affairs are familiar with stock-markets and finances, the world at large knows very little about the actual operations of stock exchanges. These institutions affect wide interests, and are much more useful than they seem to the uninitiated. Mr. Gibson traces with great clearness the results of the ebb and flow of securities between great financial centers, and the enormous economic value of the exchanges in subdividing capital and directing its employment in the vast system of commerce and industry. Nearly half the volume is devoted to the New York Stock Exchange, its origin, gradual evolution, and expansion into its present commanding position. A fine engraving of the building is given, also pictures of the Bank of England, the London stock exchanges, the Paris Bourse, and the New York Consolidated Stock Exchange in Broadway.

LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS (Series): ZACHARY TAYLOR, MILLARD FILLMORE, FRANKLIN PIERCE, AND JAMES BUCHANAN. By WILLIAM O. STODDARD. 16mo, pp. 322. New York: Frederick A. Stokes. 1888.

The lives of the four Presidents included in this volume are necessarily treated somewhat briefly; but their administrations were comparatively uneventful, and the tremendous revolutions of the four years immediately succeeding Mr. Buchanan's term merely cast their shadow before during his last few months in the executive chair. Mr. Stoddard has omitted nothing of importance in his review of the periods under consideration.

COLLECTIONS OF THE NOVA SCOTIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, for the year 1887-1888. Vol. VI. 8vo. Pamphlet, pp. 154. Halifax, Nova Scotia. 1888.

The current volume of these collections opens with "The Acadian Boundary Disputes, and the Ashburton Treaty," by Justice Weatherbe, which is an instructive paper. It is followed by "The Loyalists at Shelburne," occupying nearly forty pages, a paper read on the 10th of

April last by Rev. T. Watson Smith. The most interesting contribution to its pages, however, because of the practical information contained therein, is "Early Journalism in Nova Scotia," by J. J. Stewart, Esq. One hundred years ago Halifax and Shelburne each supported three weekly newspapers. "King's College and Episcopate in Nova Scotia" records the plans submitted to the British government in the year 1783, by Sir Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, being copies of the original documents in the Dorchester collection.

THE HISTORY OF FAIRFIELD, Fairfield County, Connecticut. From the settlement of the town in 1639 to 1818. By ELIZABETH HUBBELL SCHENCK. Vol. I. Royal octavo, pp. 454. Published by the Author. 1889. New York City. Price \$5.

This superbly printed and in every respect elegantly issued volume is one of the best local histories that has been published in many years. Its subject is, in itself, exceedingly picturesque. No town probably on the whole Connecticut coast has passed through more of the disquietudes and vicissitudes which produce romantic records, and contribute to the making of genuine history, than Fairfield. The pioneers of this forest were mostly of English birth; and hanging now upon the walls of some of the inhabitants of the old town, carefully preserved, are family heraldic devices, showing the titled ancestors of several of the early settlers of Fairfield. Family seals have been preserved in the Probate Office, and some of these are very curious. Every descendant of the Fairfield families, wherever their homes may be cast, will have just cause for pride in this splendid memorial. The town was originally called Uncoway, the old Indian name. When discovered by its heroic planters, it was regarded as the long-sought-for country, where the land was rich, the pasturage good, abundance of fresh springs, rivers, ponds and streamlets of pure sweet waters, grand old forests and majestic hills overlooking some of the most picturesque scenes in New England, and the blue Long Island Sound spread out in front as far as the eye could reach—a country beautiful beyond all other spots which these adventurous men had yet discovered.

The author has studied with consummate care into all the beginnings, traced the Indian wars and the gradual growth of the town with conscientious detail, and interwoven the wonderful story with many incidents of great interest. In one place we are told how in 1641, "in order to increase the interest of home-made linen in every family, all persons possessing more than one spoonful of hemp-seed were required to sell it to such of their neighbors as were not provided

with the seed, or else plant as many spoonfuls themselves as they had applicants for." Again, we are shown how, about the same time, the General Court at Hartford saw fit to legislate on the subject of dress, as its love and too much thought about it, were esteemed "a sore and besetting sin." Excellent maps are given showing all the original lots of the first settlers, whose names are handed along with precision. The work has a valuable Appendix containing many documents which everyone will be glad to see preserved; and the "genealogical tables" which follow, occupying seventy-five or more well filled pages, are in themselves worth the price of the whole volume, as they touch some of the best known families, not only of Connecticut and New York, but of the entire country. The book has been admirably well made in every particular, and is creditable alike to its painstaking author and to the town and the community whose interesting history it unfolds.

MISCELLANIES. Colonel Arent Schuyler de Peyster, 1744-1813. With original letters from distinguished persons from 1776-1813, never before published, the discovery of De Peyster Islands, and Biographical sketches. By J. WATTS DE PEYSTER, LL.D., M.A. 2 parts, 8vo, pamphlets, pp. 300. Privately printed.

This repository of valuable information is a welcome contribution to American history. As we turn its leaves, we find that General de Peyster has preserved a large amount of material that might have been lost but for his wise and discriminating care. The De Peyster family have been conspicuous in New York affairs for considerably more than two centuries, and biographical sketches of the different members, who from time to time held important trusts and high positions, civil and military, together with allied families—Watts, Nicolls, Kearny, Dobson, and others—form a considerable portion of the work. Original letters of Colonel Arent de Peyster, of Sir John Johnson, Colonel Guy Johnson, and others are included, many of them throwing fresh light upon obscure events. Of these letters Colonel de Peyster's are the most interesting, as they show the condition of Indian affairs at Detroit, where he was stationed, during some of the darkest days of the American Revolution. On the 19th of August, 1782, he writes to Alexander McKee, the deputy agent: "You must be sensible that I have lost no opportunity to request that you would recommend humanity to the Indians. Upon my arrival here I found the Indians greatly civilized from the good advice they received from you and my predecessors, in which disposition through our earnest

endeavors we continue them, till the imprudent step of the enemy at Muskingham called up their savage ferocity, which I am convinced, but for the timely interposition, would have gone to greater lengths. I see they still hold their prisoners, formerly taken, in mild captivity, while their resentment only shows itself upon those newly taken, looking upon them as a part of the people who imprudently declared both by words and signs that they were to exterminate the Wyandott tribe." Colonel de Peyster had also written to the same officer on the 6th of August, saying: "I am confident sir that you and your officers do all in your power to instill humane principles into the Indians. It is, however, incumbent on me to beg of you once more to speak to the Chiefs and assure them that Brigadier-General Fowell was greatly shocked at the reports spread by Geans, and strongly recommends that it may be stopped." There are numerous poems in the work of a miscellaneous character, also pictures of houses, useful maps, and interesting portraits. A remarkably fine portrait of Colonel Arent de Peyster graces one of the opening pages, and that of the author of the volume is the frontispiece to Part II.

ANCIENT FAMILIES OF BOHEMIA MANOR. Their homes and their graves.

By Rev. CHARLES PAYSON MALLERY. 8vo, pamphlet, pp. 74. The Delaware Historical Society, Wilmington, 1888. Price \$1.50.

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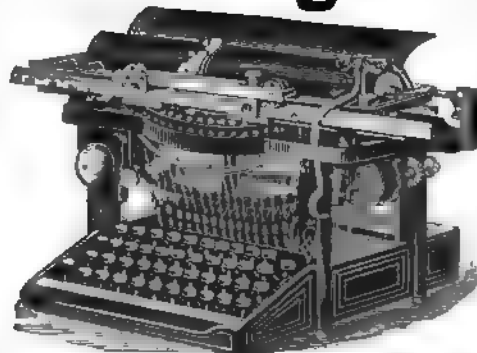
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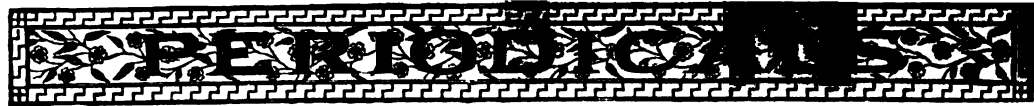
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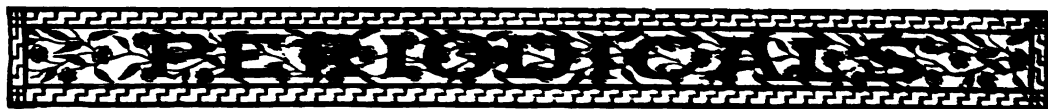
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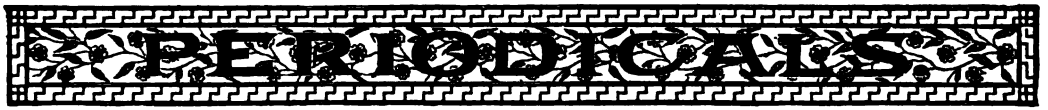
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ASSETS \$118,806,851 88.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	189,927	\$383,809,902 88	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888...	140,943	\$427,623,983 81
Risks Assumed.....	23,306	69,457,468 87	Risks Terminated.....	11,339	35,637,738 74
	162,223	\$463,266,671 25		159,323	\$463,266,671 25

Dr.

Revenue Account.

Cr.

To Balance from last account ...	\$104,712,784 81	By Endowments, Purchased Insurance, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims.....	14,128,423 00
" Premiums.....	17,110,801 62	" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses	2,649,514 49
" Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,009,020 84	" Balance to new account.	116,061,718 68
	\$127,839,656 77		\$127,839,656 77

Dr.

Balance Sheet.

Cr.

To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated....	\$112,420,096 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	\$49,615,268 06
" Premiums received in advance	52,314 35	" United States and other Bonds	43,439,377 81
" Surplus at four per cent.....	6,294,441 53	" Real Estate and Loans on Collaterals	20,159,173 87
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest	2,619,393 66
		" Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit and Sundries.....	2,973,169 98
	\$118,806,851 88		\$118,806,851 88

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,661,420	\$351,739,285	\$4,743,771
1885	46,507,129	368,931,441	5,012,634
1886	56,823,719	393,309,303	5,643,568
1887	69,457,468	427,623,983	6,294,442

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[From original in the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXI

MARCH, 1889

No. 3

HISTORIC HOMES AND LANDMARKS

THEIR SIGNIFICANCE AND PRESENT CONDITION.

CHAPTER II

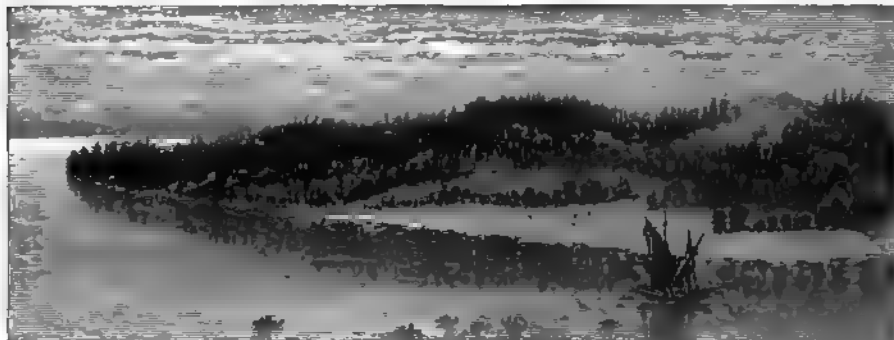
THE historic homes in the oldest portion of New York city—lower Broadway and the vicinity of the Battery—such as remain or have but recently surrendered their sites for the erection of massive structures, are associated with more picturesque and stirring events as well as fascinating romance than the public of the present are apt to suppose. Many of these were well along in years when Washington came to take the solemn oath of office, in 1789, with which he entered upon his eight years' service in organizing and conducting the untried government of a new nation, and were even then vastly interesting. How much more so at this writing, a hundred years later, just as the chief city on the continent is preparing to commemorate the grandest event in the world's annals, and to extend its hospitalities to the ends of the earth; when it is vigorously rummaging its archives, shaking the dust from unused tomes while making felicitous discoveries among the back leaves, and polishing up its rusty and sadly neglected memories.

The Battery and the Bowling Green are familiar names wherever the English language is spoken. But they are more easily found by the sight-seer on maps and in books than in their respective and exact localities. Our foreign visitors look for some monumental indications of their whereabouts, and wonder why Americans do not pay more respect to historic landmarks. The Swiss traveler, after sitting for an hour on one of the settees in the little circle with an iron railing known as the Bowling Green, watching the rushing, bustling throngs on business or pleasure bent—on "the roads in the air" and along the great surface thoroughfare—suddenly sprang to his feet and addressed a passer-by:

"Vot you put your Liberty statue out in ze sea vor? Vy not stood it on ze very spot vare you vurst come to, vare you build your vurst Dutch vort, vare you vight ze Indian

savage, vare you vas beat by ze British with no vighting at all, vare you land your vine governors, vare you build your nize houses, vare you vire your big guns, vare you vurst does your commerce vith ze world, vare you stood your king's grand stature, vare you vorship it vith bon-vire and roast ox, vare you pull it down again and vire it vor liberty at ze king's own men in little bullets, vare you triumph over ze king and make ze country your very own, vare your congress valks up and down vor six years, vare you build ze vurst steamboat, and all ze ozer zings—I zay, vot vor you stood your Liberty statue out in ze sea, and have nottin at all on vis spot vare t'vould show you vhat it vas you vorget?"

There will doubtless be many among the multitude that promenade the grounds of the Battery a few weeks hence who will sympathize with our Swiss friend, and sigh for a sign, if not for the statue of Liberty or knowledge. If appearances are to be trusted New York is about to grap-



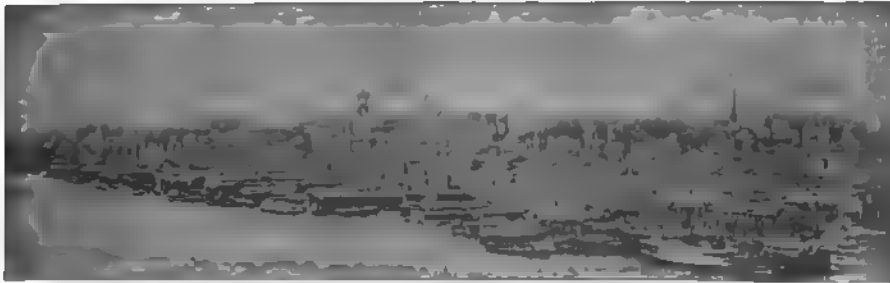
NEW YORK IN THE BEGINNING. THE SOUTHERN POINT.

ple with the boundless idea of consequences, to measure the century's growth of the country at large, and express this dependent continuity in a magnificent, speaking, and educating pageant in its streets on the 30th day of April next—such an one as was never before witnessed in America, rendering the impressive occasion memorable for all time. The points, therefore, which have received the largest legacies of historic riches during the two hundred and eighty years since the beginning of civilized life on Manhattan island, will be sought with freshly awakened interest by those who witness the spectacle.

The two views of the southern extremity of the city are worth more than a volume of wordy eloquence. They both come within three centuries. The first fort was a little block-house with red cedar palisades. The site chosen for it was the same as that now occupied by the steamship offices overlooking the Bowling Green, opposite the Field building. The edge of the water was much nearer to it than now, even in the Revolution,

as will be noticed in an old view upon another page. This little fortress grew from small beginnings into a very respectable citadel. It was revised and remodeled and built over almost as many times as there were new governors to command it during the first century and a half of its existence. When peace came to bless the country, it was allowed to fall into decay, and in 1789 was removed altogether for the erection of the house for the President, illustrated in the February issue of this magazine.

The fort was much more than a military landmark in its interest for the present generation—it was the historic home of all the early governors of the province. Peter Minuit who established it was the first to dwell in a thatched cottage within the inclosure, safe from the howling wolves and curious Indians. He was a man of adventurous spirit, middle-aged, gray-haired, with a dull black eye, large robust figure, and coarse manners. He



NEW YORK IN 1889. THE SOUTHERN POINT, FROM BROOKLYN BRIDGE.

[From a recent photograph.]

is distinguished for having won the confidence of the savage inhabitants, and purchased Manhattan island from them in a very business-like fashion. His successor was Wouter van Twiller, who built a brick house in the fort and lived quite comfortably. Thus we can see progress from the start, although the steps were many and slow for numerous decades. Van Twiller was one of those inactive, good-natured, irresolute men, who without trying achieve fame. Thanks to the genius of Washington Irving his name is better known than that of any of his successors. Wilhelm Kieft succeeded him, and his twelve years of rulership were marked by bloody Indian wars, helplessness, and terror. The fort was the only place of security, and the people fled to it from every quarter. Just prior to the outbreak of savage hostilities—in 1642—Kieft aided in the building of a church inside the fort, on the front wall of which he placed a marble slab bearing his name. When the fort was finally demolished, this slab was discovered buried in the earth, and was removed to the belfry of the old



VIEW OF THE OLD FORT, THE CHURCH, AND NEIGHBORING HOUSES.

[From a rare antique drawing.]

Dutch church in Garden Street, where it was consumed in the great fire of 1835. Governor Stuyvesant, the most remarkable of the four Dutch governors, and his accomplished Huguenot wife took possession of the house in the fort in the spring of 1647. He was the son of a Holland clergyman, had received a military education, possessed great will power, marvelous energy and subtlety of discernment, and for seventeen years governed the colony like a veritable autocrat. The great distinguishing feature of his administration was the incorporation of the city in 1653, unless we may except the surrender of both city and province to the English in 1664. He left the impress of his sterling character upon the forming institutions of New York. His descendants are among our most eminent citizens of to-day, one of whom, the Hon. Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State under President Grant, is president of the approaching centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington in 1789.

The procession of governors who were sent over from England included scions of some of the best families in the realm. Let us observe each one in passing. Colonel Richard Nicolls, in 1664, was the first, and he laughed a little at the fort with its feint of strength and its gable-roofed church, but he found the governor's house within it tolerably supplied with comforts. He was well-born and well-bred, could speak the Dutch and

French languages as well as his native tongue, and was accustomed to all the refinements and luxuries of court circles in the old world. He was about forty years of age, a little above medium height, with a fair, open face, a pleasing, magnetic gray eye somewhat deeply set, and hair slightly curled at the ends. In 1668, after four years' residence in the fort, he was succeeded by Sir Francis Lovelace, "a gallant soldier and accomplished gentleman," writes Dr. George H. Moore, "who was himself a poet and an artist." He was a handsome, agreeable, polished man of the world—upright, generous, and amiable. One of the most important acts of his administration was the purchase of Staten Island from the Indian

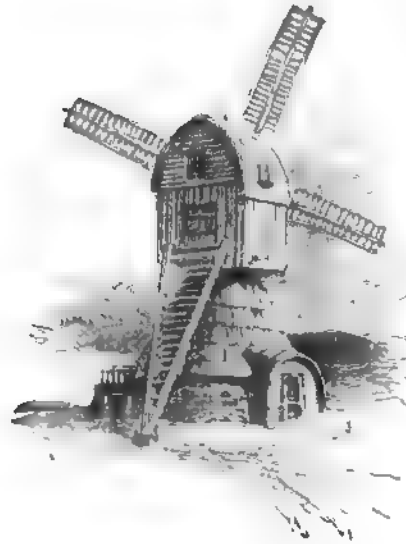


VIEW OF THE SITE OF THE OLD FORT IN 1889.

[From a photograph.]

sachems; the surveyors who explored that property reported that it was "the commodiosest seate and richest land in America." The two Dutch admirals who recovered New York for the Dutch in 1673, made Governor Lovelace a prisoner and raised the three-colored ensign of the republic over the fort, spent very little time in it; but Anthony Colve, who was appointed by them to the chief command, took possession of and had a merry time in the governor's house; it is said that he gave more dinners and disposed of more wine than any of its former occupants. He was a short, stout, dark-complexioned Dutchman, of some military renown among his contemporaries. He amused himself with assuming princely airs, and guarding well the gates—for little New York was then a walled

city. Peace in Europe and the general restoration of conquests soon followed, and then came Sir Edmund Andros, "glittering in gold and lace," a gentleman who had been brought up in the king's household, of which his father was master of ceremonies. On the 10th of November,



AN EARLY DUTCH WINDMILL.

1678, he took formal possession of the citadel, and one of the friendly incidents of the occasion was the presentation by Colve of his coach and three horses to Sir Edmund. The next day was the Sabbath, and it is recorded that the new governor attended divine service in the old church in the fort, as was his habit subsequently during his entire administration. He was recalled in 1681, and Lieutenant-Governor Anthony Brockholls commanded in his place. In 1683 Governor Thomas Dongan became the occupant of the governor's house, although he soon provided himself with another residence. In 1686 Andros was sent over to govern New England, which had been extended to embrace New York

where was stationed his lieutenant-governor, Francis Nicholson, whose abode was in the house in the fort. During the revolutionary months beginning with 1689, when Jacob Leisler was at the head of affairs, the fortress was the scene of many exciting events. Henry Sloughter, the newly appointed governor of William III., arrived at the fort on the 20th of March, 1691. He died suddenly on the 23d of July following, and Lieutenant-Governor Ingoldsby commanded until the arrival of Governor Fletcher in August, 1692. The latter indulged in the same style of living to which he had been accustomed in England. He refurnished the governor's house, his servants wore handsome livery, his wife and daughters dressed in the latest European fashions, he rolled through the streets in a carriage drawn by six horses, and he was never happier than when extending the hospitalities of his home and his table. He was devoutly religious and had the bell rung twice every day for prayers in his household. In his zeal for the good of the church he built a small chapel in the fort in 1693, and the queen sent plate, books, and other furniture for it. Little is known of its history, how-

ever, as it was burned with the other buildings in 1741. Fletcher was succeeded by the distinguished nobleman, Lord Bellomont, in 1698, whose three years' administration was more stirring, eventful, and remarkable in its consequences, than that of any other in the history of colonial New York. He died on the 5th of March, 1701, and was interred with appropriate ceremonies in the chapel in the fort. Prior to the erection of the President's house upon the site of the fort in 1789, his leaden coffin was tenderly removed to St. Paul's churchyard.

Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan governed until the arrival of Lord Cornbury, May 3d, 1702. The latter was the first cousin of Queen Anne, and heir to an earldom, with a handsome face very like that of the queen, and



CASTLE GARDEN IN 1852.

[From an old print.]

bland manners, but he was vain, arrogant, and weak, and earned a most unenviable reputation. He was succeeded in December, 1708, by John, Lord Lovelace, baron of Hurley, who was ill the entire winter, and died on the 6th of the following May. The next governor sent from England was Robert Hunter, a strong, active, cultivated man of middle age, with refined tastes, and a most genial and delightful companion. He was fond of men of letters, was a personal friend of Swift, Addison, Steele, and other distinguished literary characters of the period, and something of a poet himself. He married the lovely and accomplished Lady Hay, who accompanied him to New York, and was the bright particular star of his destiny. She drew about her a "court circle," in which the same etiquette and ceremony were observed as in the higher European coteries. Hunter

purchased a house in Amboy, which was his official residence while on his tours of duty in New Jersey, and to which he often retired in the heat of summer. One winter, at his home in the fort, he composed a farce, assisted by the clever and witty Lewis Morris, called "Androborus"—the



DESTRUCTION OF THE STATUE OF KING GEORGE III.

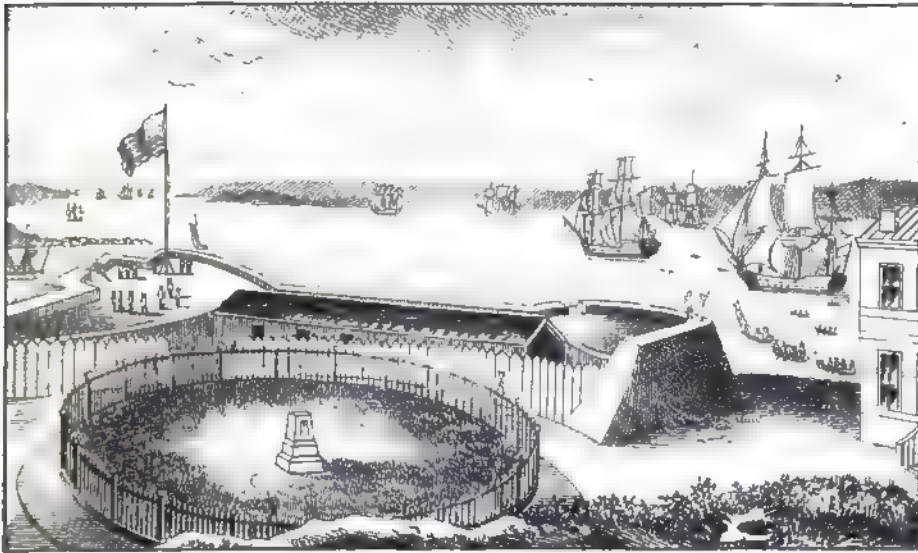
[This equestrian statue, by Wilton, of London, was erected in the Bowling Green in 1770. It was pulled down on the evening of July 9, 1776, amid the ringing of bells and jubilant shouts of the multitude.]

man-eater—in which the clergy, Nicholson, and the New York Assembly were so humorously exposed that it provoked universal merriment.

Following Hunter, in 1720, came Governor William Burnet, son of the celebrated Bishop Burnet. His advent was an occasion of special interest.

The fort was dressed in its best, the military paraded in full uniform, the whole city was alive with banners, and the cannon spoke an uproarious welcome. He was a large, handsome man, of stately presence, affable and captivating. The ladies all proceeded to fall in love with him. He was a widower, and within a few months married the pretty daughter of Abraham Van Horne, one of his counselors. The fort henceforward was the scene of many festivities. Burnet bought Hunter's house in Amboy for a summer retreat, and spent a part of every year there until his removal in 1728 to the government of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. His successor in New York was Governor John Montgomery, fresh from the king's court, a soldier by profession, who knew something of diplomacy, but had very slight capacity for governing. He died suddenly on the 1st of July, 1731. Governor William Cosby, who was appointed in his place, and arrived in the summer of 1732, brought his wife and young lady

daughters with him, and they attracted great attention. Their house in the fort soon became the scene of brilliant entertainments, which brought together the beauty, wit, and culture of the capital. The young nobleman, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, son of the duke of Grafton, then lord chamberlain to the king, was for some weeks the guest of the governor and his family in their house in the fort. He was in love with one of the governor's daughters, but neither father nor mother dared consent to the marriage, for, according to the standard of society in England, the match was beneath him. The young people finally settled the question for



VIEW FROM THE BOWLING GREEN IN THE REVOLUTION.

[From an old print.]

themselves. A clergyman was adroitly assisted over the rear wall of the fort, and performed the ceremony in secret without a license. Another romantic wedding occurred within the fort a little later—Miss Grace Cosby, the second daughter of the governor, being united to Thomas Freeman. Three days after these nuptials the mayor of the city, the recorder, aldermen, assistants, and all the other city dignitaries, marched in a body to the gubernatorial residence in the fort, and in the most stately and formal manner congratulated the lovely Grace upon her marriage, and then said :

" This corporation being desirous upon all occasions to demonstrate the great deference they have and justly entertain for his excellency, William Cosby, and for his noble



THE GOLD BOX OF THE CORPORATION, CONTAINING
THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY.

family, have ordered that the honorable Major Alexander Cosby, brother to his excellency, and lieutenant-governor of his majesty's garrison of Annapolis Royal, recently arrived, and Thomas Freeman, the governor's son-in-law, be presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box."

Cosby was the most generally disliked of any governor since Cornbury. During his brief administration the great Zenger trial occurred, of which the world has heard so much, and he was in perpetual conflicts with some of the best men in the province. From this troublous

epoch arose two great parties, differing materially from those which had previously shaken New York, and which ever afterward divided the people of the province. Cosby died March 10, 1736, and the house in the fort was again vacant. George Clarke, one of the counselors, who had been secretary of the province, and in public life in the city since 1703, took charge of affairs, and was subsequently commissioned lieutenant-governor. He was from a prominent English family, and his wife was Ann Hyde, the cousin of Queen Anne. He removed his family to the house in the fort, and assumed all the powers and consequence of an executive chief. Mrs. Clarke was one of the most charming of women, and greatly beloved; it is said that her sweetness of temper was such that nothing could ruffle it or draw an unkind criticism from her lips. Her generosity to the poor gave her the title of "Lady Bountiful." She died in the spring of 1740, and the whole city was in tears. Clarke's seven years' administration was made memorable in history by the great negro plot of 1741. In March of that year his home in the fort was totally consumed by fire one morning, together with the little chapel, secretary's office, and several adjoining buildings. A new governor's house was accordingly built, which was ready to receive Admiral Sir George Clinton on his arrival in September, 1743. He landed at a new battery which had recently been constructed at the foot of Whitehall Street, and was ceremoniously conducted to the fort, the way being lined with soldiers in full dress, where he was treated to an elegant luncheon with many wines, and thence, as was customary on all such occasions, proceeded to the City Hall in Wall

Street, where his commission was published, and the oaths of office administered.

Clinton's wife and several children accompanied him to New York, and the greater part of each year the fort was their home. As governor of a very refractory province, he had an uneasy and an unenviable career. He was constantly engaged in un-

profitable quarrels, and was treated with less respect by the principal New York men and by the assembly than any English officer who had hitherto governed the colony. He entertained many visitors, among whom was Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, into whose ear he poured his woes. Sir William Johnson was often his guest. He finally lost his health as well as his temper, and pleaded for permission to return to England. Sir Danvers Osborne, brother-in-law of the earl of Halifax, a gentleman whose birth, connections, education, and excellent character fitted him admirably for the place, was sent to New York to relieve Clinton in 1753, and at the same time a commission as lieutenant-governor was forwarded to Chief Justice James De Lancey. As the latter was one of the most unbending of the opponents of Clinton's measures, and the people were uproarious with joy, the effect was most depressing to the new-comer. Sir Danvers landed on Sunday, October 7, and Clinton being at his country seat in Flushing, Joseph Murray, one of the counselors, whose wife was Governor Cosby's daughter, and a relative of the late Lady Osborne, entertained him at his own residence.



CELEBRATION OF THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION IN 1788.

(The most imposing part of the gorgeous pageant was the Federal ship on wheels, with Hamilton's name emblazoned upon each side of it, its crew going through every nautical preparation and movement for storms, calms, and squalls, as it moved slowly through the streets of New York City. When opposite the Bowling Green a salute of thirteen guns was fired.)



THE KENNEDY HOUSE, NO. 1 BROADWAY, OVERLOOKING THE BOWLING GREEN.

On Monday Clinton came to town, and an elegant dinner was given to the two governors by the counselors. On Wednesday, at the council-chamber in the fort, Clinton administered the oath of office to Sir Danvers, and delivered (very reluctantly) the commission to De Lancey. A procession was then formed according to ancient usage, and the new governor was conducted to the City Hall to publish his

commission. The party was scarcely outside the fort when De Lancey was cheered enthusiastically, while Clinton was so grossly insulted by the rabble that, to his intense mortification, he was obliged to turn back for refuge in the fort. Sir Danvers walked in silence beside the counselors, closely observing the noisy shouts of gladness with which De Lancey was greeted on every side. After his return to the council-chamber he received the address of the city corporation; another dinner was given to the two governors in the afternoon, and in the evening the city was illuminated and brilliant fire-works displayed. Sir Danvers, however, was gloomy and silent. He told Clinton he expected like treatment to that which he had received; and he remarked to De Lancey, "I shall soon leave you the government." Before the week ended, the city was shocked by the announcement that the new governor had *hanged himself*. He had become convinced that he never could carry out his instructions from the king, particularly in relation to compelling a permanent revenue from New York. De Lancey henceforward governed the colony until the arrival of Sir Charles Hardy in 1754, who, like Clinton, as an unlettered admiral, was better suited to the naval service, and the lords of trade soon made him a rear-admiral, and he sailed away. De Lancey again took the oaths and continued in the supreme



THE FIELD BUILDING, ON THE SITE OF THE KENNEDY HOUSE. THE BOWLING GREEN IN 1889.

command until his death in 1760. Dr. Cadwallader Colden, as senior counselor, succeeded him, and shortly received the appointment of lieutenant-governor, which post he filled fourteen years, much of the time wielding supreme command. The four Britons who followed as chiefs of the colony, prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, were Major-General Monckton in 1761, for a brief period; Sir Henry Moore in 1765, who died in the fort in 1769; the earl of Dunmore in 1770, occupying the executive chair nine months; and Sir William Tryon, Bart., in 1771.

Meanwhile, four native New-Yorkers as senior counselors had each administered the affairs of the colony under the crown—Abraham de Peyster in 1701, following the death of Lord Bellomont; Dr. Gerardus Beekman in 1709, following the death of Lord Lovelace; Peter Schuyler in 1719, following the resignation of Hunter; and Rip van Dam in 1731, following the death of Montgomery. These eminent characters, as well as the other counselors from time to time, were more or less associated with the old historic fort. Ever since Lord Bellomont's day New York had been growing affluent and aristocratic. The landed gentry had city homes for the winter, as a rule, and lived in what Englishmen called "gilded luxury." There were many importing merchants in New York owning their own ships, who accumulated vast wealth in commercial enterprises, and in their frequent trips to European countries were perfectly familiar with the style of living among the best people of the world. Children were sent abroad to be educated much more frequently than now. At social entertainments guests were nearly all of one class, the majority were related by blood or marriage, and the etiquette of foreign courts was observed with a nicety that can scarcely be comprehended in this democratic generation.

Opposite the fort, on the site of the present Field building, stood the well-known Kennedy house, No. 1 Broadway, of late years the Washington hotel. Captain Archibald Kennedy, for whom it was named, was the son of Hon. Archibald Kennedy, receiver-general, and counselor through many decades to a long line of governors residing in the fort. He left a handsome private fortune to his son, the young captain in the royal navy above mentioned, who married Catharine, the only daughter of the brave Colonel Peter Schuyler of New Jersey, who made such a brilliant record in the French and Indian war. The bride, whose mother was the daughter of John Walter, a man of great wealth, residing in Hanover square, inherited three distinct fortunes, that of her father, that of her grandfather Walter, and that of Richard Jones; but she did not live long to enjoy her riches. The site of the Kennedy house was originally the property of Arent Schuyler, brother of Peter Schuyler first mayor of Albany, and the father of Colonel Peter, of later renown. Eve, the daughter of Arent Schuyler, married Peter Bayard, to whom in his will Schuyler gave the lot of ground on lower Broadway; in June, 1745, according to the *abstract of title*, Mrs. Eve Bayard, then a widow, sold the lot to Archibald Kennedy, the witnesses to the sale being Philip Van Cortlandt and Colonel Peter Schuyler, her brother. The house was designed after the most approved English model. It had a broad, handsome front, with a carved doorway, broad

halls, grand staircases, and spacious rooms. The parlor was some fifty feet long, with a graceful bow opening upon a rear porch, large enough for a cotillion party. The banqueting hall was a magnificent apartment, with walls and ceilings artistically decorated. In its palmy days its grounds extended to the water's edge, and were handsomely terraced and cultivated with fastidious care. After the death of his first wife Captain Kennedy married Ann Watts, the daughter of Hon. John Watts, whose home was a great old-time edifice adjoining that of Kennedy. The rooms in the second stories of the two houses were connected by a staircase and bridge in the rear, for convenience when either family gave large parties. The Watts garden like those of its neighbors extended to the water, and was overlooked by a broad piazza that was often kissed by the spray in a high wind. Kennedy afterward became the eleventh earl of Cassalis, and his eldest son, born in this house, was not only the twelfth earl of Cassalis, but the first marquis of Ailsa.

Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey's home, at the time he received his commission from the king, was a spacious mansion in Broadway, on the site of the present Boreel building. Much has been said about the historic associations of the old City Hotel, but prior to 1793 the explorers of to-day seem to extract very little light. It is an interesting fact that the entire block above Trinity church was the site formerly of one of the handsomest private dwellings in New York. It was erected by Étienne De Lancey (or Stephen, as Anglicized), the son of a French Huguenot nobleman, who brought to New York in 1686 many evidences of wealth and culture. He engaged in commercial enterprises, and became one of the richest men in the province. In 1700, he married the daughter of Hon. Stephanus Van Cortlandt, and the latter conveyed to him the property in Pearl Street, corner of Broad, on which he built the old home-
stead, still standing with two added stories, and known as "Fraunces' Tavern," which enjoys the distinction of being labeled with a crude board sign bearing the words "Washington's Headquarters," it having been immortalized by the presence of our great chief, and particularly as the scene of Washington's parting with his officers at the close of the Revolution. After residing in this home for a quarter of a century or more, Étienne De Lancey moved into his new and larger house in Broadway, which at his death, in 1741, became the property of his eldest son, James, the lieutenant-governor. It was an immense edifice for the period, all its decorations and appointments costly and elegant, and it was encircled by balconies, with a broad piazza on the river side, commanding one of the most beautiful views in the world, while its cultivated

gardens and grounds with winding walks and stairs extended to the water's edge. What is now Thames Street was the carriage-way to the stables.

Admiral Sir Peter Warren was one of the frequent and favored guests in this New York home, and here he courted and married Susan, the beautiful daughter of Étienne De Lancey. It was here also that her captivating sister Anne, the belle of the household, gave her heart and hand to John Watts, who, like her brother James, had been liberally educated in Europe. One of the tutors of young De Lancey at Cambridge was Dr. Thomas Herring, who became successively Bishop of Bangor, Archbishop of York, and Archbishop of Canterbury, and the master and pupil kept up an intimacy by letter long after the one became primate of all England and the other chief-justice and lieutenant-governor of New York. The genius and marvelous abilities of James De Lancey have rendered him a conspicuous figure of the century prior to the Revolution. No ruler of the province, foreign or domestic, ever exerted more healthful influence, or possessed to such a degree the elements of popularity. His bearing was princely, as if born to command; but the people, knowing that he was the richest man in America, instead of a foreign invader seeking to enrich himself with their surplus earnings, pinned their faith to his honesty, because he could have, they thought, no possible motive for stealing the public money. He was intellectually strong, extremely affable and condescending to inferiors, and his scholarship, culture, magnetic presence, vivacity, and wit made him a favorite with all classes. His political opponents were many and sometimes atrociously malicious, and he could not with grace tolerate opinions differing from his own—was haughty and overbearing whenever he was thwarted in his purposes. At the same time, neither the elegance of his style of living nor his beautiful horses and gilded chariot, with outriders in handsome livery, excited envy or criticism. New York was proud of him. His tact and statesmanship were brought into full play after the suicide of Sir Danvers Osborne, in adjusting the permanent revenue question, which had rankled for two-thirds of a century, and been the source of more torment to the English governors, and angry retort and resistance on the part of New York's little parliament, than all other subjects combined. De Lancey, as a jurist of great legal acumen, had repeatedly advised the legislators never to submit to the unreasonable demands of the crown. As a full-fledged officer of the crown he must now obey instructions, the same as those which his predecessors had found so thorny. The difficulty of the position was only equaled by

its delicacy. In addressing the assembly he chose such language as won the confidence of the ministry, and at the same time convinced his audience that he was not about to compel obedience to ministerial orders. He urged that support-bills should be so framed that he could act in relation to them consistent with his official duty—and the members were unruffled, believing that the genius of the man who had been their chief adviser for twenty years, and had proved himself a lover of the country of his birth as well as a just judge, would guide them safely even through the perils of continued oppo-

sition. When the bill for his salary on the old plan was sent for his approval, he promptly rejected it, and sent all the resolutions and addresses concerning the measure to the ministry, and whenever he could do so with propriety he wrote to the chief men in England counseling concession to the iron opinions and wishes of New York.

He continued to decline assenting to the annual money bills, and for three years received no salary. Finally, the battle was won in triumph for New York, the ministry in 1756 assenting to annual support-bills for the future, and the spirited controversy was settled. De Lancey was in correspondence personally, as well as officially, with English statesmen during the critical period of the war with France, and his opinions and suggestions were noted and quoted at the court of St. James. He did not live long enough to exert his powerful influence against taxing the colonies. The French war had proved severely costly, and the lords, while sipping their wine at the king's table, said there was wealth enough in



CHANCELLOR ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

[After painting in possession of New York Historical Society.]



CITY HOTEL, ON HISTORIC SITE OF THE OLD DE LANCEY HOME. TRINITY AND GRACE CHURCHES IN 1831.

[From an old print.]

New York alone to pay the whole debt of England, and graphic stories were told of the triumphal reception and prodigal entertainments given to officers of the British army in the spring of 1760, with special descriptions of the display of "brilliant massive silver" at William Walton's dinners in the old Walton house in Franklin square. The colonists, they argued, were wasting their substance in mad extravagance. The next day in parliament the subject assumed grave proportions. Before the news of how this logic was being turned to account reached New York, Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey suddenly died at his beautiful country-seat in the Bowery, just above Canal Street, 30th July, 1760. His sister, Lady Warren, who was in England, went immediately to Secretary Pitt and asked that her younger brother, Oliver De Lancey, might be appointed to the vacant office. The minister received the application coldly. "I hope," exclaimed the lady with warmth, "that you have had reason to be satisfied with the brother I have lost?"

"Madam," was the answer, "had your brother James lived in England, he would have been one of the first men in the kingdom."



THE BOREEL BUILDING, ON HISTORIC SITE OF CITY HOTEL. VIEW OF TRINITY CHURCH IN 1889.

The mansion in Broadway then became the property of the lieutenant-governor's eldest son, James, by whom it was given by deed, 16th May, 1765, to his brother John Peter, the younger son of the lieutenant-governor, who was sent to England to be educated—at Harrow and at the military school of Greenwich—and after a time entered the British army, but took no part in the war with America; thus his estates were not confiscated. This edifice, being the largest of its kind in the city, was rented for a hotel. It had various proprietors by whose names it was successively called, and for nearly three decades it was the leading public house, the Delmonico of the time. During the Revolution it was the favorite resort of the British officers on account of its piazzas and balconies, and its proximity to the fashionable promenade in front of Trinity church, called "The Mall." It had a great ball-room, where dancing assemblies and concerts and grand dinner-parties were given. It was the scene of the great ball given on the 7th of May, 1789, in honor of Washington's inauguration as President—usually spoken of as the first "inauguration ball."

Having returned from England to reside permanently in New York, John Peter De Lancey took advantage of the rise in real estate and sold this property, conveying it by deed on the 23d of March, 1793, to Philip Livingston, John Watts, Thomas Buchanan, Gulian Verplanck, James Watson, Moses Rogers, James Farquhar, Richard Harrison, and Daniel Ludlow, in trust "for all the subscribers to the New York Tontine Hotel and Assembly Room, upon such conditions, and with right of survivorship, as should be settled by the majority of the said subscribers or their representatives." The consideration was £6,000 New York currency. This "syndicate," as it would now be called, pulled the old house down and built the City Hotel. Its history from that date until 1849, if recited, would fill a volume replete with instructive and captivating incidents. Its great banquetting hall accommodated five hundred guests at table. This hotel was for a long period the only place in the city where large public entertainments could be given. It stood until 1849, when it was taken down and a row of brown-stone stores erected on its site. The estate, purchased by John Jacob Astor, was settled upon his granddaughter, Sarah Langdon, who married Francis R. Boreel, a Dutch nobleman, chamberlain to the king of Holland, and who a few years since removed the stores and erected the great Boreel building on the historic site.

The quarter nearest the fort was the court end of the town prior to the Revolution, although a few consequential families had even then removed to Wall Street and vicinity. The west side of Broadway was a charming place of residence until streets came to pass between them and the river,



VIEW OF BROADWAY FROM THE BOWLING GREEN, 1828

[From an old print.]

and nothing could exceed the beauty of the outlook from the State Street mansions below the fort, which remain to this day. The third house in the Broadway row, adjoining that of Hon. John Watts, was the home of Judge Robert R. Livingston, father of the chancellor, who died in 1776. The journey of this family to and from their manor-house at Clermont every spring and autumn was imposing, for they were attended by a long train of men-servants and maid-servants, and the transportation by sloop or by land occupied many days. At the time of Washington's inauguration this house was occupied by Chancellor Livingston, and it was here that Washington came to see the fireworks on the evening of that memorable day, April 30, 1789.

Next to this stood the interesting home of John Stevens, one of the counselors until 1776, whose wife was the daughter of the great lawyer and mathematician, James Alexander, and the sister of Lord Stirling. Their daughter became the wife of Chancellor Livingston; and their son John, born in 1749, who was associated with this old mansion through all his school days, graduating from King's college in 1768 (in the same class with Egbert Benson, Gouverneur Morris, and Bishop Moore) was the celebrated inventor of steamships, who owned the whole of what is now Hoboken, where he had a summer residence. He and his son, Robert Livingston Stevens,

were the foremost men of any country to venture upon the ocean in a vessel relying entirely upon steam power. The next two houses, Nos. 9 and 11, were built together, presenting a peculiar front, but they were deep, and much more roomy than they seemed to the passer-by, and had extensive grounds in the rear filled with shubbery and flowers. They were originally the property of the Van Cortlandts of Kingsbridge; No. 11 was the inheritance of Eve, daughter of Frederick and Frances Jay Van Cortlandt, who married Hon. Henry White, the counselor and one of the founders and fourth president of the Chamber of Commerce. White was notably one of the consignees of the tea—forbidden merchandise—the shipment of which caused such excitement in the winter of 1773-'74. The tea-ships reached Boston first, and the world is aware how the issue was met. But every one may not be so well informed as to the peremptory and public manner in which New York sent back her tea-ship to the country whence it came without permitting the tea to be landed. All the bells in the city rang for an hour without stopping while the captain was being escorted from his lodgings to the wharf at the Battery, the band playing meanwhile "God save the King;" and an immense but orderly crowd watched his embarkation and the departure of the vessel in a manner that expressed the sense of the community. White had no sympathy with the patriots. He went to England when the city was evacuated in 1783, where he died in 1786. His estates were among the earliest confiscated. His residence had been in Queen Street, nearly opposite Pine, in the elegant old mansion built by Treasurer Abraham de Peyster in 1695, and purchased by White after the death of Abraham de Peyster, Jr., in 1769. It was a great double house, three stories high, the grounds occupying the whole block, with a coach-house and stable in the rear. It is interesting to note in this connection that Governor George Clinton was living in this house at the time of the inauguration of our first President, and that it was where Washington as President-elect, and the committees by whom he was received, dined on the 23d of April, 1789, the day of his arrival in New York from Mount Vernon.

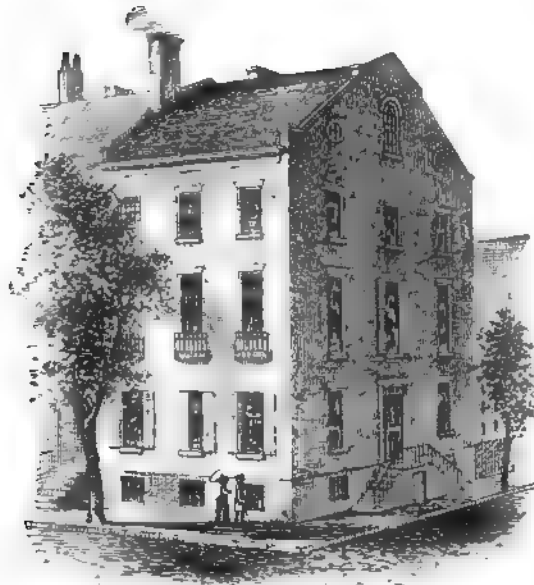
Mrs. White did not accompany her husband to England. She had great wealth of her own, and her daughters were gifted, beautiful, and much admired in society. Margaret became the wife of Peter Jay Munro. One of Mrs. White's sons was Lieutenant-General White of the British army, and another was Rear Admiral White of the royal navy. Mrs. White occupied this house until her death in 1836, at the age of ninety-nine years. The two dwellings were then converted into a public house known as the "Atlantic Garden," which was pulled down a few years ago;



NEAR VIEW OF THE TWO HISTORIC HOMES, NOS. 9 AND 11 BROADWAY.
AFTER 1836 CONVERTED INTO THE "ATLANTIC GARDEN."

curiously enough historic fiction had misled some persons into identifying it with the Burns coffee-house where the famous non-importation agreement was signed, October 31, 1765, thus sundry chairs and canes were made from its rafters to preserve as precious relics. But the Burns coffee-house was farther up Broadway, and the relics lost their fancied value.

The homes of the Van Hornes, the Lawrences, the Ludlows, the Clarksons, and many others, were in full view of the fort. Hon. David Clarkson was a grandson of the Matthew Clarkson who was thirteen years secretary of the province, appointed by William and Mary, and connected with the English nobility. He resided in a grand mansion in Whitehall Street, corner of Pearl, for at least twenty-five years prior to the Revolution—a mansion which the newspapers of the day called an "ornament to the city." His wife was sister to the wife of Governor William Livingston. His house was sumptuous in its appointments, its furniture, costly table service, silver-plate, works of art, and extensive library, chiefly imported from London. His family were influential in social affairs. In 1767 a letter appears written by Mr. Clarkson to a personal friend in



THE CLARKSON HOUSE, IN WHITEHALL STREET.

England, requesting that the wife of his correspondent shall do a little shopping for Mrs. Clarkson—to buy for her “twenty-four yards of best bright blue satin, and a fashionable winter cloak of crimson satin for her own use.” The household servants were chiefly slaves, as they were in all opulent New York families. Mr. Clarkson’s fine house with all its treasures was burned in 1776, and about the same time his summer residence in Flatbush was plundered by the Hessian soldiers, who had a royal drunken frolic over his choice wines which they discovered.

His son, the afterward distinguished General Matthew Clarkson, purchased in 1793 the site of the old Clarkson house in Whitehall Street, and built thereon the substantial three-story brick mansion of the sketch in which he lived until his death in 1825. He married Mary, the beautiful daughter of Walter Rutherford. He was the president of the bank of New York some twenty-one years, and his name is associated with the foundation of nearly all the early important societies of New York, whether intended for education, culture, or charity. Chancellor Kent said of him: “It belongs to Christianity alone to form and animate such a character.”

The great fire of 1776 swept away all the dwellings on the north side of Whitehall Street. The first French Huguenot church edifice in New York was built in Marketfield Street in 1688, and with its gallery, which was added in 1692, seated “from three to four hundred persons.” The site is now entirely covered by the Produce Exchange, the west end of old Marketfield Street being closed to permit its erection. The governor’s house in the fort was burned the second time during Governor Sir William Tryon’s administration. It was a cold night in December, 1773, and the governor’s family escaped with much difficulty, one servant perishing in the flames. Tryon then took up his abode in a large house in Broad



VIEW OF NEW YORK IN 1790, SHOWING SIDE VIEW OF THE GREAT HOUSE BUILT FOR PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

[From an old print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet.]



MRS. JOHN JAY.

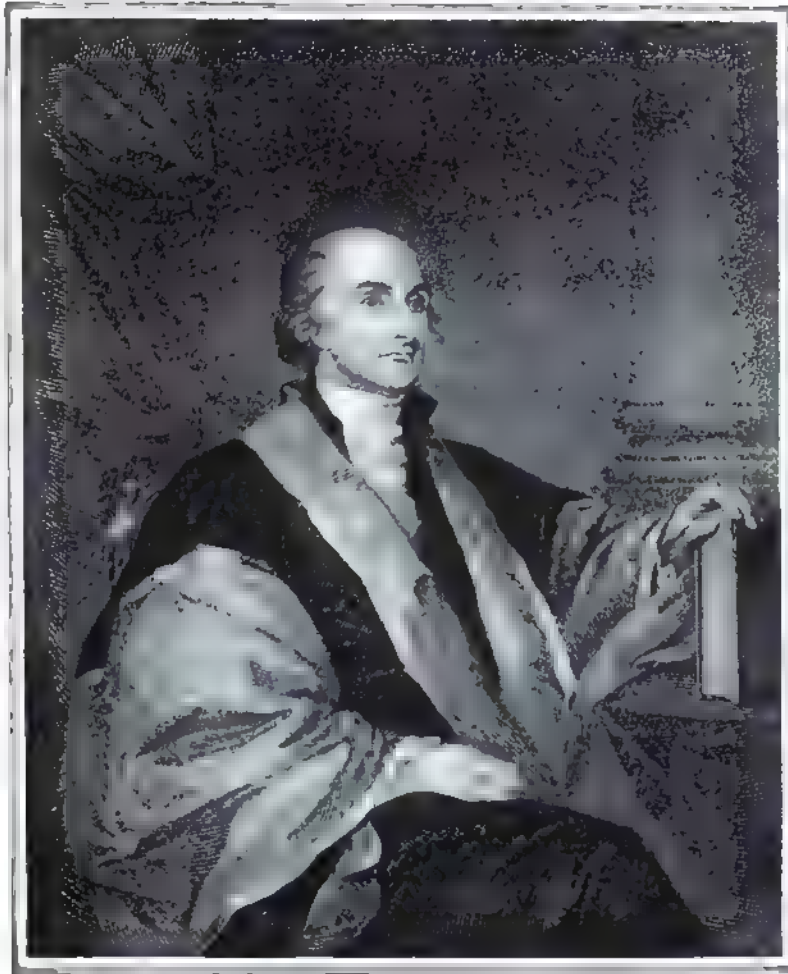
[From a painting in possession of the family.]

Street. Dock Street contained the elegant residence of Hugh Wallace, who entertained Tryon on his return home from England in 1775. Isaac Low was his neighbor, of whom John Adams said in 1774: "He is a gentleman of fortune and his wife is a beauty."

The historic homes overlooking the fort and the Bay were legion, and nearly all occupied by families whose names are well represented in the New York of to-day. When peace came to bless the country, and a President came to charm New York with his presence, it was fitting that soil so thoroughly saturated with historic reminiscence as the site of

the old fort, a central point in this antique vicinity, should be selected above all others for the erection of the stately edifice intended for President Washington's home, and for the occupancy of all future heads of the nation. After the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia the structure was finished and appropriated to the uses of the governors of New York, as had been its predecessors on the same ground. It was constructed of red brick, with Ionic columns, and was a striking example of the tendency of the period toward the severely classical in domestic architecture. Governor George Clinton was the first to reside in it some three or four years. John Jay, who had been the first chief-justice of the state, and the first chief-justice of the nation, as well as one of the ministers in 1783 who negotiated and signed the definite treaty of peace in Europe, and the Secretary of Foreign Affairs during the five most critical years of America's history, was elected governor of New York in 1795, and resided in this grand house six years, until the end of his term of service in 1801.

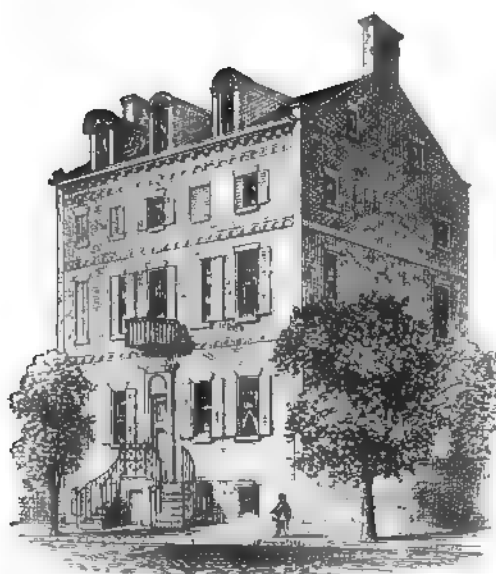
Of the elegances of social life during the period, of the beauty and grace of Mrs. Jay as the presiding genius of the governor's household, of



JOHN JAY, FIRST CHIEF-JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES. GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK, 1793-1801.

the fashionable entertainments, and the distinguished people who met in these spacious rooms, we obtain glimpses here and there, but must leave our readers to trace them between the lines. A foreign writer gives us the following informing paragraph :

" The first society of New York associate together in a style of elegance and splendor little inferior to Europeans. Their houses are furnished with everything that is useful, agreeable, or ornamental ; and many of them are fitted up in the tasteful magnificence of modern luxury. Many have elegant equipages. The dress of the gentlemen is plain, elegant, and fashionable, and corresponds in every respect with the English costume. The



THE LUDLOW-MORTON HOUSE, NO. 9 STATE STREET.

ladies in general seem more partial to the light, various, and dashing drapery of the Parisian belles, than to the elegant and becoming attire of our London beauties, who improve upon the French fashions. The winter is passed in a round of entertainments and amusements. The servants are mostly negroes or mulattoes; some free, and others slaves. Marriages are conducted in the most splendid style, and form a most important part of the winter's entertainments. For three days after the marriage ceremony the newly married couple see company in great state. It is a sort of levee. Sometimes the night concludes with a concert and ball."

The newspapers in November, 1796, chronicle a marriage and reception of this character at the governor's mansion as

follows: "Married on the 3d at his Excellency's, John Jay, Governor, Government House, John Livingston, of the Manor of Livingston, to Mrs. Catharine Ridley, daughter of the late Governor William Livingston." The bride was Mrs. Jay's accomplished and piquant sister, Kitty Livingston, who in 1787 became the wife of Matthew Ridley, of Baltimore, and after brief wedded happiness was left a widow.

One of the romantic social events of June, 1797, was the marriage of the celebrated Josiah Quincy to Miss Eliza Susan Morton, in the old Ludlow-Morton house, No. 9 State Street. The father of the bride was John Morton, styled the "rebel banker" by the British officers, on account of the large sums of money he loaned the continental congress. The brother of the bride was General Jacob Morton, a prominent public character in New York city for nearly half a century, who married, in 1791, Catharine, the daughter of Carey Ludlow, and the Ludlow mansion henceforward was his home. The president of Princeton college, Rev. Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, made the journey to New York to perform the ceremony, the lady having been a favorite in his family. The following day, the wedded pair started for Boston in a coach drawn by four horses, and were five days in reaching their future home. Moses Rogers, of the great firm of Woolsey and Rogers, resided for many years

at No. 7 State Street. His wife was the sister of President Dwight of Yale college, who visited them frequently. At No. 6, lived James Watson, the first president of the New England society of New York, in whose parlors that society was founded in 1805. These State Street houses overflow with charming historic memories although shorn of their balconies and other beauties; very little remains of former architectural elegance. The Battery grounds in front of them have undergone extraordinary changes. Castle Garden, as it was when Jenny Lind immortalized it with

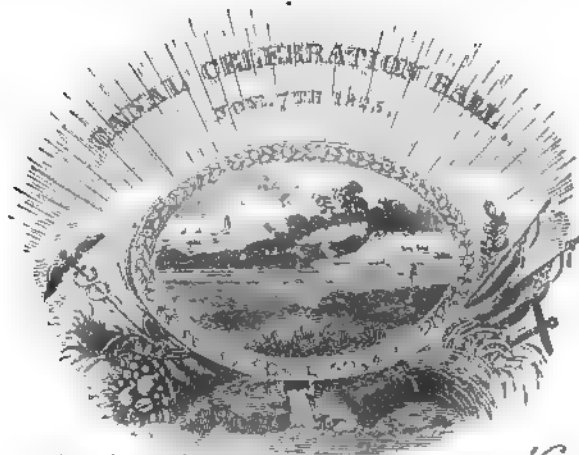


VIEW OF THE STATE STREET HOMES FRONTING THE BATTERY, IN 1859.

[From an old print.]

her sweet voice, is expressed in the picture. The government house was turned into offices after John Jay retired from it, and was the home of innumerable societies and institutions struggling for life. The New York Historical Society occupied rooms in it from 1809 to 1815, when it was taken down, and seven dwelling-houses erected on its site. Stephen Whitney lived in one of these for many years, also Samuel Ward, of the firm of Prime, Ward and King, the brother-in-law of Dr. Francis, and the active founder of churches, institutions, and charities. John Hone, brother of Mayor Philip Hone, dwelt in the same row; and during the period, Nathaniel Prime's city residence was in the Kennedy house, No. 1 Broad-

way, while John Watts, son of the counselor, one of the founders of the Leake and Watts Orphan Home in 1831, and a munificent donor to other philanthropic objects, occupied the stately old Watts mansion adjoining. Fashion pushed in a northerly direction for many generations before the residents near the Battery were disturbed. Among the magnificent spectacles from their windows, nothing probably, after the Inauguration of Washington, ever exceeded the pageant on the occasion of the canal celebration in 1825. It was like a bewildering fairy scene. The magnificent and gorgeously decorated fleet formed a circle about the



Given by the MILITIA OFFICERS & CITIZENS OF *New York.*
Admit Col W^m L Stone

canal boat from Lake Erie of some three miles in circumference, when De Witt Clinton, with great solemnity, poured from an elegant keg adorned with many devices and inscriptions, and gilded hoops, the waters of Lake Erie into the Atlantic ocean. Medals of very beautiful design and workmanship were given to all the invited guests of the corporation on this occasion, both ladies and gentlemen; and fifty-one gold medals were struck and sent to the different crowned heads of the world and eminent men. These were inclosed in elegant square red morocco cases. The silver medals, of which there were several hundred, were inclosed in boxes made from logs of cedar brought from an island in Lake Erie. The "canal celebration ball" was instituted on a grand scale. Some three thousand guests were present, including Governor and Mrs. Clinton. One of the belles of the evening wrote at a late hour: "We met all the world

and his wife; military heroes, noble statesmen, artificial and natural characters, the audacious, the clownish, the polished and refined, but we were squeezed to death, are sleepy and heartily tired."

It is but a few steps, seemingly, from the Bowling Green to Trinity church, at the head of Wall Street, which was a pile of ruins at the time of the Inauguration of Washington. It was rebuilt and consecrated, March 25, 1790, and a richly ornamented pew with a canopy over it was occupied by President Washington and his family on that occasion. The present Trinity church edifice was erected in 1846. The church-yard which surrounds the structure is an endearing memorial of the varied and interesting elements of character which have contributed to the present greatness of New York city. Alongside the noisiest and busiest thoroughfare in America it surprises and interests the stranger, and leads him to pause beside its railings and peer with inquiring eyes into its sycamore shades, where the distinguished scions of Europe's nobility sleep on the same level with our own brave sons and fair daughters, and where talent, wit, beauty, worth, and patriotism share equally in the consecrated rest. The tomb of Alexander Hamilton can be seen from the sidewalk, whose tragic fate crowned what his genius had already achieved—an immortalized name; and when the sublime scene of one hundred years ago is commemorated in Wall Street on the 30th of April next, the impressive fact will be brought freshly home to the public mind that one of the most brilliant and powerful actors in the events which preceded and made Washington's Presidency a possibility, sleeps so marvelously near the spot where the political, commercial, financial, social, and domestic roots of a great country's life were first planted, that the inscription upon his monument can almost be read from the platform where our distinguished guests will stand assembled.

Martha J Lamb

AMERICA. THE WORLD'S PUZZLE IN GEOGRAPHY

From the days of Solon, the Greek, to Columbus, twenty-one hundred years, America was the puzzle of the world in geography. The Egyptian priests gave the puzzle to Solon ; and for how many years or centuries they had been studying it, history does not yet inform us. When prehistoric America has been written up, from our mounds and cliff-houses and *casas grandes*, all the way from the Ohio Valley and Colorado to the ancient Peru, we may know, without going to the Nile, when the Egyptians began to study the enigma which they gave to Solon. It would be, and it may yet be an amusing end in archæological studies, if American antiquaries should exhaust the Old World and then return to find an older world and the oldest antiquities, and the most inscrutable and obstinately silent ones, in their own land. The traveler smiles at the ignorance of the *fellahs* of Egypt, whose garden soil is mixed with the dust of the Ptolemies and the Pharaohs, while they know only that their melons and cucumbers and leeks are good. In that regard we know no better whose dust enriches the grazing for our New Mexican beef and Arizona wool.

Solon told the story of the Egyptian priests to Plato, who records it for substance, that west of Spain there was once an island larger than Asia Minor and Libya. From it travelers could easily pass on westward to other islands, and from them to a continent. This continent was so large as to sweep around and embrace an inland sea, in comparison with which the Mediterranean was only a harbor. On this continent there were populous nations, ruled by strong kings. In some great convulsion of nature, this large island lying off Spain, called Atlantis, was sunk, and many smaller ones about it. Thus travel was cut off between Europe and the continent west of Atlantis. Only mountain tops remained above water, that we now call the Canaries and Azores and West Indies. Legends of these sunken islands and a cut-off continent crept into Grecian and Roman literature, and the half-mystic history of primitive Europe. But the America of the future played shy and concealed herself.

And thus for fifteen hundred years from the Egyptian travels of the Greek Solon. Nor was it difficult for that legendary world west of Atlantis to keep out of sight ; for those were mostly coasting days in navigation, and he who went beyond sight of all headland, and had only stars for a compass, needed the stout oak and triple brass of Horace around his daring heart.

After these fifteen centuries, a wild northeaster chanced to some brawny Norwegians, living in Iceland, and they went over, without choice or ticket, from Iceland to Greenland. One Erik the Red, who swung a savage arm, was afterward exiled from Iceland to this Greenland for manslaughter. Many years later, and about the year A.D. 1000, another northeaster storm caught a son of this Erik and hurried him past some islands far off in the farther southwest, that had not gone under in the catastrophe of Atlantis.

In voyages following, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia and Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard were explored, and a settlement was made near Fall River. The first European dying in America and by an Indian, had a Christian burial across the bay off Plymouth Harbor, and almost in sight of the Burial Hill of the Pilgrims, opened six hundred and seventeen years afterward. Three years later a flotilla of three immigrant ships, the first in an apparently endless line, bring over a hundred and sixty adventurers, with a variety of live-stock. The following year the first native American of European blood is born on the shores of Buzzard's Bay, possibly in Falmouth. That was sixteen years before the birth of William the Conqueror. Erik, Bishop of Greenland, comes over A.D. 1121 for professional and religious purposes. Slowly intercourse ceased between the two worlds, the wake of those pioneer ships was covered by other northeasters, and the memories of them faded off into traditions and myths. The last as yet known voyage was made A.D. 1347 by a crew of seventeen, and the mystic continent of the Egyptian priests is left in quiet and obscurity. The puzzle of Solon was half-worked and then the key was lost.

Scraps of fleeing and fading facts found refuge and security in the literature of Europe, and they are picked up now and then in attics of mediæval rubbish, as wanderers in the icy and dark Northland occasionally find a spoon, or bit of wood, or shred of clothing, that tells that Franklin was once there. The latest coming to my hand, and, so far as appears, not before used in this line of evidences, is from Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bishop of the see of St. Asaph, A.D. 1152, and compiler of the *Chronicae, sive Historia Britonum*.

The reference of Geoffrey to the New World is in a kind of pagan drama, in which Brutus thus speaks to Diana :

"Goddess of shades and huntress, who at will
Walkest on the rolling spheres, and thro' the deep,
On thy third reign, the earth, look now, and tell
What land, what seat of rest, thou biddest me seek,
What certain seat, where I may worship thee
For aye, with temples vowed and virgin quires."

Diana replies, as in the knowledge of the times of Geoffrey, and while the Northmen were visiting America :

" Brutus, far to the west, in the ocean wide,
Beyond the realm of Gaul, a land there lies,
Sea-girt it lies, where giants dwelt of old.
Now void, it fits thy people. Thither bend
Thy course : there shalt thou find a lasting seat ;
There to thy sons another Troy shall rise,
And kings be born of thee, whose dreadful might
Shall awe the world and conquer nations bold." *

The lines of Petrarch are applicable, even if he did not design them to be, A.D. 1304-1370.

" The daylight hastening with winged steps,
Perchance to gladden the expectant eyes
Of far-off nations, in a world remote."

CANZONE IV.

The lines of Pulci, A.D. 1431-1487, are almost imperative for the historical interpretation, as their prophecy had fulfillment, in Columbus, only five years after the death of their author.

" His bark
The daring mariner shall urge far o'er
The Western wave. . . .
And Hercules might blush to learn how far
Beyond the limits he had vainly set

* Diva potens nemorum, terror sylvestribus apris ;
Cui licet amfractus ire per ætheros,
Infernasque domos ; terrestria jura resolve,
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis.
Dic certam sedem, qua te venerabor in ævum,
Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

Brutus circled the altar and image of Diana four times, and nine times repeated the above prayer, pouring the consecrated goblet of wine and the blood of a white hart on the burning altar. Then he fell asleep, when the goddess replied :

Brute, sub occasum solis, trans Gallica regna,
Insula in oceano est, undique clausa mari ;
Insula in oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidem ; gentibus apta tuis,
Hanc pete, namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis.
Sic fiet natis altera Troja tuis ;
Sic de prole tua reges nascentur, et ipsis
Totius terræ subditus orbis erit.

The dullest sea-boat soon shall wing her way.
Men shall descry another hemisphere.

At our antipodes are cities, states,
And thronged empires, ne'er divined of yore.
The sun speeds on his western path
To glad the nations with expected light."

Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella.

No doubt other fragments of the historic thread are yet to be found, and, though broken and tangled, they will lead along from the Nile to Palos, and so across over the sunken Atlantis. But down into the days of the Great Admiral, the Western world has its secret of existence in its own keeping. The mariner's compass, "navigation's soul," had had rude construction and awkward use for two hundred years or so, but could not divine land three thousand miles away; while the steamer, the telegraph, and the telephone that was to whisper the secrets of the world, were waiting three or four centuries down the future. There was no printing-press with mail-pouches, to record and treasure and scatter all abroad the philosophy and theories and facts of scholarly navigators. Can the world's puzzle in geography be solved? Not yet.

But this world can keep no secrets. Venus confesses, centuries in advance, when she will proceed to make her transit. An old mastodon, unearthed from a New Jersey bog, confesses, through a microscope, that he breakfasted on cedar browse the day he died, seven thousand years before, more or less. Ancient Babylon has reluctantly surrendered to us her stone ledgers, showing the stock prices at her brokers' board, when Nebuchadnezzar went down her Wall Street to see the Assyrian and Chaldæan "bulls" and "bears." Daring and science can serve subpœnas on all witnesses, and they must appear on the stand. Ages and distances, heights and depths, are no longer barriers, but ladders and stepping-stones, to inquisitive people.

Finally America must confess to her existence; but when? The horizon is only a pretending cover, and lifts and moves on for those boldly approaching, and Columbus leaves Palos, with the question of Egypt, already on human lips twenty-two hundred years: Is there another continent? That question how many on the coast of Europe all the way from North Cape to Gibraltar, have sent out westward over the dark, mysterious Atlantic. The Great Admiral carries the question and demands its answer. The horizon lifts and moves on, while the new lands stand and confess.

The answer is partial, equivocal and ambiguous. An island is discov

ered, the puzzle is half solved in an archipelago, and Columbus dies without knowing that the continent beyond Atlantis still holds its secret in its own keeping. Even the American birds conspired against him to foil his purpose, and when his prows were well on to the Virginia coasts, they lured him off to a little island, and then hurried him back to the Old World.* So the prophetic inklings of the Egyptian, and of the Greeks, Plato and Strabo, end in an archipelago. The latter had written thus in his eighty-fourth year—probably the year when our Lord entered on his public ministry: "There may be in the same temperate zone two, and indeed more inhabited lands, especially nearest the parallel of Thinaë [or Athens] prolonged into the Atlantic Ocean." †

From the date of the great discovery of Columbus the puzzle evades solution by shifting the question. The problem henceforth is for a passage through the American archipelago to the East Indies. America had adroitly avoided entrance on an atlas of the world as a continent, but gave forced consent to the pseudonym of archipelago. It is the amusement of the antiquary to trace the struggle of navigators, merchants and kings to sail a vessel overland from our eastern to our western coast; and the history of the struggle, that shows in details how it was not done, is a most thrilling romance of facts, showing how nautical scholarship and commercial energy and kingly ambitions made continuous and total mistakes and failures for three hundred years.

It must be sufficient for us at this time to illustrate by scattered cases, somewhat chronologically arranged, how European energy in discovery and trade expended itself in seeking that ship passage through the islands, which composed America, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. When Cabot, Sebastian, the son, visited the continent, in 1497, he had more regret that he did not pass through to China, than satisfaction that he, first of English navigators, sighted the coast from Nova Scotia to the Carolinas. He considered his voyage a failure, because he was braving those unknown seas "ever with the intent to find said passage to India." The same ambition and end ruled Cortez, as he confesses to his king, Charles V.: "Being well aware of the great desire of your Majesty to know concerning the supposed Strait, and of the great advantage the Crown would derive from its discovery, I have laid aside all other schemes more obvious, tending to promote my interests, in order to pursue this object alone." ‡ On the literary side, the Reverend Richard Hakluyt did

* *Humboldt's Kosmos*. Vol. II., pp. 516, 556-557, 645.

† Lib. I., p. 65; Lib. II., p. 118.

‡ *Cortez' Dispatches*, p. 419. Oct. 15. 1524.

much to stimulate the search for this inland passage. He made a compilation of Divers Voyages to America, which much promoted enterprises in that line.

Speaking of the settlement of Virginia, Robertson says, in his *History of America*: "The most active and efficacious promoter of this was Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, to whom England is more indebted for its American possessions than to any man of that age." Hakluyt himself confesses to his own untiring industry and irrepressible ardor to stimulate England to this by his publications. In the preface to his *General Collection of Voyages*, he makes a noble declaration to his scholarly labors in this line. We fear his sermons must have had a marine sameness about Noah in the Ark, and Jonah somewhere else, and St. Paul in Adria.

He quotes authority that the Pacific has been discovered in back of Montreal. He quotes an exhortation of one Robert Thorne to Henry VIII., on this wise: "With a small number of shippes there may bee discovered diuers newe landes & kingdomes, in the whiche, without doubt, Your Grace shall winne perpetuall glory, and your subiects infinite profite. To which places there is left one way to discover, which is into the North. . . . And in mine opinione, it will not seeme well to leaue so great & profitable an enterprise. Seeing it may so easily, & with so little coste, labour and danger bee followed & obtained."

In his "Epistle Dedicatorie" of his book to Sir Philip Sidney, this quaint old author and enthusiast on the West thus writes: "I maruaile not a little, Right Worshipfull, that since the first discoverie of America, which is nowe full four score & tenne yeeres, after so great conquests & plantings of the Spaniardes & Portingales, that wee of Englande could neuer have the grace to set fast footing in such fertile & temperate places as are left us vnpossessed of them." At this time there was but one book in English on maritime discoveries—*Eden's Historie of Travayle*—but Hakluyt soon remedied the defect. He made an epitome of researches for the northwestern passage down to 1582, and also gave, in his *Letter Dedicatorie to Sir Philip Sidney*, eight reasons for believing that there is one. In 1584 he published a *Discourse on Western Planting*, apparently to draw Elizabeth into the grand work, who husbanded, at least, her resources. Eight years before Frobisher had led off, first among Englishmen, in trying this continuous puzzle, and recorded his name and failure on the straits that bear his name. He had also made another famous record when he said that the discovery of that hidden passage was "the only thing of the world that was yet left undone, by which a notable mind might be made famous and fortunate."

He finds room in his *Voyages* for this note from Sebastian Cabot: "It seemeth that God doth yet still reserue the great enterprise for some great Prince to discover this voyage of Cathaio by this way." Certain old maps greatly affected Hakluyt, whose blunders, now so laughable, did much to lead him on and kindle enthusiasm, showing that ignorance is quite a schoolmaster. "A great olde round carde," shown to him by the King of Portugal, located the strait of his desires in latitude fifty-seven on the Labrador coast. Another "mightie large old map in parchment" showed him in latitude forty the Atlantic and Pacific close together, with only a strip of land between, "much like the streyte neck or isthmus of Darienna." An old globe belonging to Elizabeth had this isthmus extended on it, "with the sea joynninge hard on both sides as it doth on Panama." Contemporary and sympathetic with Hakluyt was Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who published a work in 1576, to show "that there is a passage on the north side of America to go to Cataia, China, and to the East Indies." He had the boldness of his convictions and the blindness of his age, for he founded a short-lived colony in Newfoundland, and perished himself in the excursion.

Of course, we are ready to see these theories put to romantic use in any colony planted in America, and they furnish lively illustrations. Fooled by the Indians, Lane, Raleigh's first governor, went up the Roanoke to see the fountain-spring from which it issues, and so near to the Pacific, that in heavy storms the salt spray breaks over and makes the river brackish. It was a long chase and hunt for the ocean and the gold that lined its shores, but even the dog-meat diet to which the party was reduced did not break the delusion, and a map sent back to Europe, and now in the British Museum, shows the river Roanoke as an estuary running back into a connection with the Pacific Ocean.

Captain Newport, of the Jamestown colony, pushed up the James with a strong force as far as Richmond, looking for the Pacific, and it was one of the sham charges against Captain Smith that he had not, in accordance with the sealed instructions of the council, gone up the Chickahominy, to see if it did not connect with the Pacific. He went, but his most important discovery was the redoubted Powhatan and his romantic Pocahontas. The delusion of an archipelago was well sustained, and the continent of Geoffrey "beyond the realms of Gaul" played hide and seek with the navigators and map-makers for three hundred years. The Egyptian puzzle was varied to a labyrinthine hunt for the Straits of Anian—the north-west passage—the game and the chase steadily working toward and into the Arctic. Ariadne would have been perplexed to spin and draw her

spider-thread through all the mazy channels of ice and storm and arctic night, up which bold men went to die.

The jolly gods must have had lively times all to themselves, while they looked on for a century or two to see the naval officers of the world, weighty with knowledge and dignity, and decorations of knightly orders, struggling to sail a frigate from the Chickahominy over the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and by it, and through its head-waters, into the Pacific. Or to see them laying their course from the Great Lakes, through prairies and wheat-fields and ice-fields to the Western Sea, and thence to "Cataia, China, and to the East Indies" of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. We will make long historic steps with a few facts till we come down to the solution of the world's puzzle. In 1673, one Peche, an English buccaneer, pretended that he found this Strait of Anian somewhere north of Japan, and but for head winds could have sailed through to the St. Lawrence or some other eastern waters. Jonathan Carver, hardened up in the French war for such toils, started from Boston, 1766, on a three years' tour to the heads of the Mississippi. His plan was to establish military posts "in some of those parts about the Straits of Annian"—much to the westward. On the map of Ogilby's America, London, 1671, the Strait of Anian is Behring's Strait. "This I am convinced" (Carver) "would greatly facilitate the discovery of a northwest passage, or a communication between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific Ocean." His *Three Years' Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, looking up ship channels, is interesting reading now on those ocean-like prairies. His heirs have lately produced a document of doubtful appearance, and on it lay claim to the territory around the Falls of St. Anthony, as conveyed to him by the Indians. The paper certainly bears some very savage signatures.

Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, whose name justly stands so high on the mountains of this continent, made a more creditable purchase in the same region. "They gave me the land required, about 100,000 acres, equal to \$200,000. [Government land then sold for \$2 per acre.] . . . I gave them presents to the amount of about \$200, and, as soon as the council was over, I allowed the traders to present them with some liquor, which, with what I myself gave, was equal to sixty gallons. . . . You will perceive that we have obtained about 100,000 acres for a song."

Ten years after Carver started out, the English admiralty instructed Cook, 1776, to run up the northwest coast, past the sixty-fifth degree of latitude, and thence, coasting, to search for "such rivers or inlets as might appear to be of considerable extent, and pointing towards Hudson's or Baffin's Bays. He was not to commence search south of sixty-five, since

Hearne had proved that the continent extended beyond that latitude. If he found a promising opening into the continent or north of it, running easterly, he was to seek to sail through. If baffled, he was to repair to Kamtchatka and explore more northern seas "in further search of a northeast or northwest passage, from the Pacific Ocean into the Atlantic or the North Sea." Cook failed to find the passage, and the theory of North America as an archipelago was wearing out in the new world, though still holding some vigor, as we shall see. In Europe this popular delusion maintained itself to even an amusing extent, as one incident will show.

The same year in which Cook took those instructions and sailed on his third and fatal voyage, the Hessians under General Knipphausen, nearly thirteen thousand, embarked for America to aid the English in subduing the rebellious colonies. The General supposed he was shipping for some western rebel island instead of a continent. The seas were rough, the days foggy, and the nights dark, and his sea-sick troops were high to mutiny, with the discomforts and the length of the voyage. With great military respect, as under a captain on shipboard, the General approached the master with the question: "Is it not possible, considering the time we have been under sail, that in one of these dark nights we may have sailed by America where the rebels are?" That question was answered at Trenton, if not before, when two coming presidents of the "rebels" put so many Hessians to sad rout and burial that stormy Christmas night.

It was among the chartered obligations of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1670, that they should pay special attention to "the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea." True, they labored mainly, it is said, how not to do it, as success would have damaged their continental game preserve. They, however, sent forward, at least ostensibly for this purpose, such explorers in the northland as Dease, Simpson, Dr. John Rae, Hearne, 1769-'72, embracing three excursions, and Mackenzie.

In 1789 Alexander Mackenzie went northwest from Montreal till he struck the river now bearing his name, and followed it down to the Arctic Ocean. In the round trip his party consumed one hundred and two days. So far as the interior north of the latitude of Montreal is concerned, this declaration in the Preface to the Narrative is warranted: "The voyage has settled the dubious point of a practicable northwest passage, and I trust it has set that long agitated question at rest, and extinguished the disputes concerning it forever." In 1772 Hearne had explored from Hudson's Bay to the mouth of the Coppermine, and showed that any vessel passing across from ocean to ocean must go south of that river. Now

Mackenzie had excluded from the unprofitable search another vast extent of that iceland.

A grouped miscellany of facts will perhaps best show the awkward condition of American geography as the last century drew toward its close, burdened with the errors of preceding ones.

In 1770 Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico, published a history of New Spain, in which he says: "It is doubtful if the country of New Spain does not border on Tartary and Greenland—by the way of California on the former, and by New Mexico on the latter." The mistake of the Roanoke colonists had probably been corrected, that their river had its rise near the Gulf of Mexico, "that openeth out into the South Sea," the Pacific; but the statement of Ogilby in his "America," 1671, had three times been corrected, that "California is the biggest of all the American Islands." From 1570 to 1648 the maps lay down California as a peninsula, and from 1655 to 1700 as an island. Finally it was made a part of the mainland. Captain Smith labored to convince his English readers that "Virginia is no *Ile*, as many doe imagine," yet a hundred years or so afterward, the home government makes record of appointing a member of council to the "island of Virginia," and for long time New England was regarded abroad as an island. In drafting the treaty of peace, 1783, the American and English commissioners were one hundred and thirty-eight miles out of the way in fixing an important bound—the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods, as related to the Mississippi River.

Three things contributed to this puzzle in American geography, that have now been outlined. The first impression that the New World was a cluster of islands lying loosely between Europe and Asia directed geographical researches and distorted the information and conclusions that they offered. The Hudson's Bay Company had absolute control over the northern half of the continent, and were interested to keep it as the great unknown land for fur-raising. They probably never had in it two thousand persons of European blood, though the region they cultivated, or rather protected, as a game preserve, was as far across in some of its diameters as from London to Mecca, or from Paris to Samarcand, being one-third larger than the whole area of Europe. They welcomed one man, Thompson, as explorer and astronomer, for their own interests, but gave the least and most reluctant entrance to those who would travel through it in the interests of science and mankind.

The Spanish discouraged the efforts to discover the northwest passage or the Straits of Anian, as exposing their possessions and their monopolizing trade on the Pacific to the intrusion of foreign nations. So Hakluyt

says in his *Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Philip Sidney*: "There is no doubt but that there is a straight & short way open into the West, euen vnto Cathay. . . . I haue hearde my selfe of Merchants of credite, that have liued long in Spaine, that King Phillip hath made a lawe of lait that none of his subiectes shall discouer to the Northwardes of fīue & fortie degrees of America: whiche may bee thought to proceede chiefly of two causes, the one, lest passing further to the North they shall discouer the open passage from the South Sea to our North Sea: the other, because they haue not people enough to possesse & keepe that passage, but rather thereby shoulde open a gappe for other Nations to passe that way."*

It would be tedious to detail, even by name only, the thirty and more expeditions that have been sent to explore that dark and frozen Northland since this century came in. Expeditions that started on "the parallel of Thīnæ" to solve the mystery of the continent beyond sunken Atlantis have extended within the Arctic circle. At first explorers shipped from the vine-clad hills of knightly Spain, and bore away gayly from the Pillars of Hercules into the West, as Pulci prophesied, and found sunny lands; but many who followed in later centuries have closed their search between grinding icebergs and in storm-bound igloes. The gallant *Jeanette* is the latest on the sad catalogue, allowing for a comma in the paragraph of Arctic heroism and sorrows, while not a few, in a love for humanity above science, beg devoutly for a period.

It is not surprising that the shifting puzzle of the Egyptian and the Greek and the Genoese led daring explorers farther and farther north, from the Roanoke and Chickahominy to Barrow's Point and Bennett Island. It is surprising that, since some of us began to study the rudiments of American geography under that eminent leader, Jedediah Morse, the throng and struggle have been maintained for a navigable passage through the head of the continent, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. In 1803, and about the time of the Louisiana purchase, a French counsellor of state published an *Address to the Government of the United States* on the cession of that Territory, signed "Counsellor." In it he takes occasion to criticise, as most French statesmen do, the action of his own government concerning that magnificent basis for empire in the Mississippi valley. He says: "Instead of turning our efforts toward the West, where are delightful and immense plains to the Southern Ocean, where our advances were obstructed by no enemy and no jarring claims; from which the egress was safe and easy into the Atlantic by the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and into the South sea by a thousand probable streams, we bent the whole

* Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages*, ed. 1850, p. 13.

force of our arms to reduce the English settlers to subjection." * The "Counsellor" does not make the salt spray of the Pacific break into the Roanoke, but he has carried the delusion farther west to the heads of "a thousand probable streams." This was as late as 1803. In 1822 Jedediah Morse, theologian, traveler, and geographer, rendered to the Secretary of War a *Report on the Indian Question*, which had been submitted to him for personal examination on the Indian grounds. A map of the United States accompanied the report. Unto the port and bay of San Francisco there is outlined a river coming down from the interior, with this legend running along its banks: "Supposed river between the Buenaventura and the Bay of Francisco, which will probably be the communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific." This river, the remains of the "Straits of Anian" in 1822, connects obscurely on the map with a lake, back of which salt plains are located, and farther back is the Salt Lake of to-day. But one other fact is stranger still in this American puzzle in geography. In 1846, Monette, in his very excellent *History of the Mississippi Valley*, has this passage: "Every nation of Western Europe had been enthusiastic with the hope of discovering a direct route by water to China, and all had searched for it in vain. It was believed by some that the pioneers of New France would have all the glory of the great discovery, and France would reap the advantages of the direct trade. To the disappointment of the commercial world, this route still remains as much unknown as it was two hundred years ago, and such it will remain until it is opened by the way of the Oregon river or the Bay of California." One is hardly prepared for such a declaration, written about forty years ago, by a well-accredited American historian. The commercial world by schooner and brig or steamer over the divide from the Missouri to the Oregon! Merchant ships and steam vessels down the western slopes of the Nevadas and over the Coast Range mountains, and across the great wheat-plains to the Bay of California! But the dream, three hundred years old, will prepare us to receive this delusion also.

In the gross geographical darkness which enveloped the interior of North America in the last half of the seventeenth century, we cannot be surprised that in 1672 Count Frontenac believed that the Mississippi emptied into the Gulf of California. In the year following, Joliet, in a company of six others, one of whom was Marquette, with two birch canoes, smoked meat, and Indian corn, came down the Wisconsin and rounded to in the eddies of the great river at Prairie du Chien, a discovery how grand and yet so simple. Immediately after his voyage of exploration, Joliet

* "Political Pamphlets," Boston *Athenaeum*, 1803.

made a small map of the river for Count Frontenac. The valley of the Mississippi is called on this map "Colbertie ou Amerique Occidentale." The Missouri is indicated without name, but bears this inscription: "By one of these great rivers which come from the West, and discharge themselves into the River Colbert [Mississippi], one will find a way to enter the Vermillion sea [Gulf of California]." On a third map of Joliet's, soon following, he portrays the continent, giving it in outline from Hudson's Straits to Mexico and California, with the Atlantic Ocean and a part of the Pacific, an open sea, extending from the Straits of Hudson to the Pacific.

All which is unsurprising and pardonable in consideration of the times. But that a historian of the valley of the Mississippi should be under a kindred delusion forty years ago is explainable only in the fact that "America is the world's puzzle in geography." And the amazement and amusement still continue, while men of much provincial prominence, and even persons of foreign travel, grope and stumble as blind men over our continental interior and interoceanic highways.

T. Barrow

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

PRESIDENT WELLING'S REPLY TO GENERAL WILCOX

I observe in the January number of the *Magazine of American History* an article signed by General C. M. Wilcox on the so-called Mecklenburg declaration of independence, in which the writer, referring to a former paper of mine on the same subject in the *North American Review* for April, 1874, taxes me with being "faulty" in my logic, "inaccurate" in my statements, and "misleading" in my presentation of the evidence on this topic. Not satisfying himself with this prodigality of epithets, the gallant general adds that he does not propose to follow me "in the thirty-six pages of my article, nor to show how I reasoned myself into the real or pretended belief that the so-called Mecklenburg declaration of independence is a 'canard,' a 'fabrication,' and a 'fraud.'"

Forbearing any retort to the imputation on my candor in the gratuitous hypothesis that I may have reasoned in support of a "pretended belief," and simply premising, by way of illustrating the freedom with which General Wilcox writes, that the words "canard" and "fabrication" do not occur in the article to which he refers, and that the allegation of "fraud" in connection with the Mecklenburg declaration is expressly declared by me in that article to be unnecessary to my argument, I proceed at once to do for my censor what I could wish he had been willing to do for me. That is, I purpose to review *his* argument without resort to epithets or insinuations.

In the first place, I have to say that, while the article of General Wilcox is not at all remarkable for what it contains, it is very remarkable for what it omits. The reader who should know nothing about the so-called Mecklenburg declaration of independence in 1775, save that which is to be found in the compend rehearsed by General Wilcox, would know nothing at all about the real *crux* involved in this whole historical contention. That *crux* turns on the question whether the evidence popularly cited in North Carolina in support of the genuineness and authenticity of the declaration alleged to have been made on the 20th of May, 1775, should be understood as really relating to that publication, or to a later series of resolutions known to have been adopted by the same county on the 31st of May, 1775, as to the genuineness and authenticity of which there is no dispute whatsoever.

The text of the so-called declaration of May 20th is too well known to call for fresh recital. The resolutions of May 31st, twenty in number, are too voluminous to be here quoted textually. They proceed on the assumption specified in the preamble that the British parliament, by declaring the American colonies "in a state of actual rebellion," had left the American people free to consider that "all laws and commissions confirmed by or derived from the authority of the king and parliament were annulled," and that consequently the civil constitution "of each particular colony" had been "wholly suspended." To meet the emergencies thus created for Mecklenburg county, in common with the whole country, the resolutions further declare, *inter alia*, that all civil and military commissions in that county, as previously granted by the crown, "are null and void;" that all legislative and executive powers are vested in the provincial congress of each colony under the direction of the continental congress; that in the mean time the people of Mecklenburg should proceed to form certain rules for the civil government of the county; that the military officers of the county, *when chosen by the people*, should exercise their several powers by virtue of such popular choice "and independent of the crown of Great Britain and former constitution of this province;" that any person thereafter receiving or exercising a commission from the crown "should be deemed an enemy to his country;" that these resolutions should be "in full force and virtue until instructions from the provincial congress regulating the jurisprudence of the province should provide otherwise, or the legislative body of Great Britain resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America;" and, finally, as an evidence that the framers of these resolutions were in earnest, it is ordered that the eight militia companies of the county should provide themselves with proper arms and accoutrements, and that Colonel Thomas Polk and Dr. Joseph Kennedy should be appointed to purchase on behalf of the county "three hundred pounds of powder, six hundred pounds of lead, and one thousand flints."

General Wilcox gives what he says are the five resolutions which constitute the Mecklenburg declaration of independence, though he omits to tell us that there are two or three other variants of these resolutions. If it were proper to mention that Judge Martin in his *History of North Carolina* adds a sixth resolution to the series, it would have been still more proper to explain where the judge found it, and what was the origin of the variation in the phraseology of the preceding five, since each of the variants cannot be equally genuine. General Wilcox supports the genuineness of the text which he gives by citing the certificate appended to it

in the original publication made for the first time in the *Raleigh Register* of April 30, 1819. That certificate was as follows:

"The foregoing is a true copy of the papers on the above subject left in my hands by John McKnitt Alexander, deceased. I find it mentioned on file that the original book was burned April, 1800; that a copy of the proceedings was sent to Hugh Williamson in New York, then writing a history of North Carolina, and that a copy was sent to Gen. W. R. Davie. J. McKnitt"

The "J. McKnitt" who signs this certificate is known to have been Dr. Joseph McKnitt Alexander, a son of the John McKnitt Alexander who is mentioned in its body. It is said that he was in the habit of dropping his natural patronymic in order to prevent a confusion of his identity in a county abounding with "Alexanders."

After citing this certificate, General Wilcox very strangely omits to inform the reader that the "copy of the proceedings," mentioned in it as having been "sent to General W. R. Davie," was afterwards discovered, and that to *this* copy a very different certificate was found to be attached—a certificate, too, authenticated by the full and proper name of John McKnitt Alexander himself, and not a certificate given avowedly at second hand, like that signed by his son "J. McKnitt." This original certificate runs as follows: (The italics are mine.)

"It may be worthy of notice here to observe that the foregoing statement, *though fundamentally correct, may not literally correspond with the original record of the transactions of said Delegation and Court of Enquiry*, as all those records and papers were burnt with the house on April 6, 1800; but previous to that time of 1800 a full copy of said records, at the request of Dr. Hugh Williamson, then of New York, but formerly a representative in Congress from this State, was forwarded to him by Col. William Polk, in order that those early transactions might fill their proper place in a history of this State then writing by said Dr. Williamson of New York.

"Certified to the best of my recollection and belief, this 3d day of September, 1800.

"J. McK. Alexander."

With this full certificate before us, we see that the certificate published by "J. McKnitt" in 1819 was only a truncated form of the certificate which had been attached to the "Davie copy" by his father. We see, too, that John McKnitt Alexander, in reproducing the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence," professed to be only "fundamentally correct" in his reminiscences. He frankly stated that these reminiscences might not "literally correspond" with the original records (how could they, when the records had all been burnt?); and as if these honest *caveats* were not enough to prevent misconstruction, he was careful to certify only according to his "best recollection and belief."

As water in finding its natural level can never rise higher than its source, so the "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence" can never rise higher than its natural level in these "recollections" and "beliefs" of its original sponsor. This full certificate was published for the first time, so far as I know, by the Rev. Prof. Charles Phillips, D.D., in an elaborate article contributed by him to the *North Carolina University Magazine* of May, 1853. When Prof. Phillips wrote his article, the "Davie copy" of the declaration had been placed in his hands by Governor Swain, then President of North Carolina University, who had temporarily removed the copy from the archives of the state department at Raleigh, that it might be subjected to a critical inspection. After making his transcript of it, Prof. Phillips returned the "Davie copy" to Governor Swain. It is now reported to be lost or mislaid, but the authenticity of the certificate, as transcribed and published by Prof. Phillips, has never been questioned. I have private letters from him in which he confirms the textual accuracy of the certificate as given above in its integrity. His high personal character is a sufficient guarantee for his loyalty to truth in this matter. Moreover, as the document at the time of its publication was still in the custody of Governor Swain, it is impossible that a member of his faculty, writing with his full cognizance, could have published a falsification of the document without instantaneous detection and exposure.

It is greatly to be lamented, in the interest of historic faith and verity, that the publication heralded to the world by Dr. Joseph McKnitt in 1819 should have been accompanied by a certificate which omits the most significant and important parts of the certificate attached by his father to the "Davie copy." Whether his father attached different certificates to the several copies he made, or whether the son made an improper condensation of the certificate in 1819, I know not. The facts in the case call for simple statement and not for imputations of fraud.

But it does not need to be said that, if the full and proper certificate made by John McKnitt Alexander in 1800 had been published in 1819 along with the memoranda communicated to the *Raleigh Register* in that year by his son, we should never have been haunted by the Mecklenburg legend of later times. If that legend had been at first published as the "recollections" of a venerable man who had drawn from the well of his memory a series of resolutions which, as originally preserved among his records and papers, had been burnt, the story would have been received at once, in North Carolina and elsewhere, precisely for what it was worth, and nothing more. But, as it was first published in 1819 without the reservations and qualifications made by its compiler, it is natural

that it should have been received in North Carolina as a veracious document—impossible as it then was for the people of this state to know that the very author of the paper had certified to its doubtful character, as being only “fundamentally correct.” I must leave to others, now that the facts are known, the responsibility of ignoring the candor and truthfulness of the man who took so much pains to warn the reader against an overvaluation of his reminiscences.

But General Wilcox cites a cloud of witnesses, all of them, as he says, “respectable parties,” all of them having “personal knowledge of what they certified,” and all of them giving evidence which is “positive and direct” in support of the authenticity of the so-called declaration alleged to have been made at Charlotte, in Mecklenburg county, on the 20th of May, 1775. It is to be regretted, however, that in simply reciting this evidence he accompanies it with no critical analysis whatsoever. When such a critical analysis is made, it will be found that *every one* of the witnesses whom he produces is not so much a witness to the authenticity of the resolutions of May 20th, as to that of the resolutions of May 31st. The testimony which they give is “positive and direct” in its affirmance of the resolutions of May 31st, as being the series which was really in the minds of these witnesses when they were called, some of them forty-four years and some of them fifty-five years after 1775, to bear their testimony in behalf of the Mecklenburg declaration. What makes their testimony the more valuable and decisive to this effect is the fact that when they gave in their written evidence the resolutions of May 31st had not yet been recovered in print. The discovery of this series was first announced in 1838 by Peter Force. Yet so profound was the impression which had been made on the Mecklenburg mind by the resolutions of May 31st, even after they had been lost to sight and had been overlaid by the Alexander reminiscences, that *every one* of the witnesses summoned to sustain the authenticity of the declaration alleged to have been made on the 20th of May, is found (where he recalls any associated facts at all) to have identified his most striking recollections with some feature *peculiar to the resolutions of May 31st*. Even after their memories had been scraped to make room for the Alexander version of the declaration, the remembered facts of the meeting and proceedings of May 31, 1775, are seen perpetually “showing through,” as in a palimpsest. In the composite photograph made on their minds by the old facts and by the new legend, it is the old facts of the meeting held on the 31st of May which will keep reasserting their predominance. The lesson is so curious, and at the same time so honorable to the candor of these witnesses, that, at the risk of some prolixity, I pro-

ceed to make a detailed analysis of *all* the evidence given by the Mecklenburg fathers when they were summoned in 1819 and 1830 to tell what they knew about the declaration of independence alleged to have been made on the 20th of May, 1775. To the facts and to the testimony.

John McKnitt Alexander himself, the author of the Mecklenburg recollections, shows by the text of the fourth and fifth resolutions of his series, and by the accompanying historical note, that he was endeavoring to recall the proceedings of May 31st. He says that the meeting declared the defeasance of all officers, civil and military, then holding under the crown. This is what was done at the meeting of May 31st. He says that the meeting then proceeded to reinstate every military officer of the county in his former command, and *to appoint every member of the delegation who was present a civil officer for the county!* This would have left nothing to be done at the meeting of May 31st. That meeting, we know, provided that *the people should elect their own officers, both civil and military.* The unhistorical nature of Alexander's recollections, even where he is honestly groping for the truth, is set by these facts in the clearest possible light.

It is conceded on all hands that the Mecklenburg manifesto of May, 1775, whatever may have been its tenor, was sent by express to the continental congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. Captain James Jack rode express as its bearer, and he testifies that he allowed the resolutions to be publicly read in open court at Salisbury, the county seat of Rowan, the neighboring county of Mecklenburg. This was early in June, 1775, for Captain Jack testifies that he passed through Salisbury early in June, when on his way to Philadelphia. He further testifies that he heard of only one person in Salisbury who disapproved of the resolutions. This fact ascertains the tenor of the resolutions, for the people of Rowan, at a public meeting held in Salisbury on the 1st of June, had just reaffirmed their loyalty to the British crown, and had formally invoked their brethren of Mecklenburg to unite with them in praying that the two counties "might be allowed to have their chartered rights as British subjects, *with the present House of Hanover in legal succession.*"* The absurdity of such a prayer in case Mecklenburg had "declared independence" on the 20th of May, or the absurdity of supposing that such a "declaration," if made, had not reached the adjoining county of Rowan on the 1st of June, is too apparent to call for remark. Moreover, the royal governor of North Carolina, in a letter under date of June 30, 1775, transmitting to Lord Dartmouth a newspaper copy of certain resolutions, which, as adopted by

* Wheeler: *Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 365.

"the Committee of Mecklenburg," "surpass," he says, "all the horrid and treasonable publications" of that time, reports that the "said resolves" were sent off by express to the congress at Philadelphia "*as soon as they were passed in the committee.*" Before Mr. Bancroft had discovered, in the British state paper office, a newspaper copy of the resolutions of May 31st, it was common to suppose that the governor must have had the declaration of May 20th in his mind, and that when Captain Jack found himself in Salisbury, in the month of June, 1775, he was carrying the declaration of May 20th to Philadelphia. An express rider carrying to Philadelphia a copy of important proceedings had at a meeting in Charlotte on the 20th of May, and arriving in Salisbury, forty miles from Charlotte, *early in the month of June*, would move "the inextinguishable laughter of the gods" in Homer. Yet the humor of this comical situation never dawns on the mind of an orthodox believer in the authenticity of the Mecklenburg declaration of independence at Charlotte Town on the 20th of May, 1775! Let us pass to other witnesses.

Alphonso Alexander, Amos Alexander, and J. McKnitt unite in testifying that they had frequently heard William S. Alexander say that he met Captain Jack in Philadelphia on the day that "General Washington left Philadelphia to take command of the northern army." This was the 23d of June, 1775. Captain Jack was then in Philadelphia as the bearer of the Mecklenburg resolutions. We have already inferred the date of these resolutions, but, in further evidence, it is to be added that *a few days after June 23d* the resolutions of *May 31st* are found to have been published in the northern newspapers. The inference is easy. They were the resolutions which Jack brought.

Francis Cummins, another of the witnesses, testifies that he "cannot keep the dates," but that Captain Jack brought back to the Mecklenburgers the "thanks" of congress for their zeal, while advising patience "till congress should take the measures thought to be best." As the congress at that time was sedulously and honestly bent on a policy of reconciliation, it is plain that a declaration of independence would have startled the assembly from its propriety instead of eliciting "thanks." But such a message was entirely in keeping with the resolutions of May 31st.

General Joseph Graham testifies that among the "reasons" offered for declaring independence was one alleging that "the king or ministry had, by proclamation or some edict, declared the colonies out of the protection of the British crown." Now, this is the very sum and substance of the preamble of the resolutions adopted on the 31st of May. No such "reason" is formulated in the alleged series of May 20th.

The Rev. Humphrey Hunter testifies that, in connection with the resolutions, "a set of laws and regulations for the government of a standing committee of Public Safety was enacted and acknowledged." This was the formal work of the meeting held on the 31st of May.

George Graham, William Hutchinson, Jonas Clark, and Robert Robinson unite in averring that, at the time of the Mecklenburg declaration, "a Committee of Safety for the county were elected, who were clothed with civil and military power" for the trial of disaffected persons. The ordinances to this effect were adopted at the meeting of May 31st.

John Simeson testifies that the same committee which made the declaration (whatever it was) "appointed three men to secure all the military stores for the county's use—Thomas Polk, John Phifer, and Joseph Kennedy." This is a very accurate reminiscence of the precise terms of the 20th resolution in the series of May 31st. Simeson, in the lapse of time—forty-five years—had simply added one member too many to the military committee. He was right as to Thomas Polk and Joseph Kennedy. No such committee is named in the resolutions of May 20th.

Isaac Alexander certifies that Dr. Ephraim Brevard was the secretary of the meeting which passed the declaration. Dr. Ephraim Brevard is the recorded secretary of the meeting held on the 31st of May.

John Davidson certifies that, at the meeting which he attended, Dr. Ephraim Brevard was appointed "to give us a sketch of the declaration of independence, which he did." It is known that Dr. Ephraim Brevard drafted the resolutions of May 31st.

This completes the roll-call of all the witnesses summoned in this historical inquest, except two—Samuel Wilson and James Johnson, who testify to no particular facts at all in connection with the alleged declaration.

In the mere matter of the competing dates—May 20th or May 31st—the great preponderance of the testimony of these witnesses is against fixing the date at May 20th. Captain Jack, Samuel Wilson, and James Johnson will only say that the meeting was held "in May;" John Simeson, that it was held "towards the close of May;" John Davidson, that the declaration was made "twelve months before that of congress;" and Francis Cummins, that it was made "before July 4, 1776." Alphonso Alexander, Amos Alexander, and J. McKnitt represent that they have heard it said that Captain Jack bore a declaration made on May 20th. George Graham, William Hutchinson, Jonas Clark, and Robert Robinson testify to the date of May 20th only on their "best recollection and belief"—a testimony rendered at a time when the series of May 31st had not been yet resuscitated from the oblivion into which it had fallen.

In the disputed matter of the secretaryship of the meeting which passed the "Declaration," the testimony is still more emphatic against the accuracy of the Alexander reminiscences. Alexander says, in the historical note accompanying the supposed resolutions of May 20th, that *he* was the sole secretary of that meeting. Dr. Ephraim Brevard is the recorded secretary of the meeting which passed the resolutions of May 31st. Now, among all these witnesses, there is only one who confirms the recollection of John McKnitt Alexander on this point. Six witnesses name Ephraim Brevard as the secretary, and one witness names them both in this relation.

That, among the witnesses specially called to substantiate the alleged declaration of May 20th, there should be this preponderance of testimony in favor of the resolutions of May 31st—first, on the score of *obiter dicta* dropped in these testifications; secondly, on the score of the dates; and, thirdly, on the score of the disputed secretaryship—is a very surprising fact. But the fact, for being surprising, only attests the more strongly the reality of the manifesto they were "feeling after" in a darkness which had been rendered visible by the publication of "J. McKnitt" in 1819. Beset as they were with "leading questions," honestly put and honestly answered after a discussion arose as to the genuineness and authenticity of the "declaration," they are found throwing the weight of their testimony on the side of the resolutions of May 31st—that is, when their testimony is carefully weighed instead of being idly counted by tale.

Of these resolutions it need not be said that they are very wise and very magnanimous declarations—but they are not a declaration of independence. It is easy, however, to perceive how they might have been transfigured into such a supposed declaration, when, the record-books of Mecklenburg having been burnt, they were seen through the prismatic glass of John McKnitt Alexander's imperfect memory, and came to be blended in that memory with scraps from Richard Henry Lee's resolution of July 2, 1776, and with a single but most familiar passage in Jefferson's draft of the Declaration of our National Independence.

It remains to say that we are not left on this question to mere inferences drawn from documentary evidence in order to affirm more positively that it was the resolutions of May 31st which Captain Jack carried to the continental congress at Philadelphia in the month of June, 1775. We have proof to this effect which is *positive, direct, and cogent*. As has been already said, Mr. Brancroft found THESE resolutions in the British state paper office, and we have the certificate* of Sir Thomas Duffers

* For a copy of this certificate I am indebted to my friend, Daniel R. Goodloe, Esq., of North Carolina.

Hardy, deputy keeper of the records, that "no copy of the declaration of the 20th of May, 1775, though searched for several times" has ever been found in that office. It is therefore the resolutions of May 31st that Governor Martin must have transmitted when he wrote to Lord Dartmouth under date of June 30, 1775: "A copy of THESE resolves, I am informed, was sent off by express to the congress at Philadelphia as soon as they were passed." *

But the contemporaneous evidence does not end here. It has been seen that the resolutions of May 31st enacted regulations for the civil government of Mecklenburg county, only "until the provincial congress should provide otherwise, *or until the legislative body of Great Britain resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America.*" If, then, the Mecklenburg patriots passed a declaration of independence on the 20th of May, they recanted it ten days afterward. Is it worth while to tax them with this infirmity of purpose on the strength of J. McKnitt Alexander's reminiscences?

Nor is this all. The prime movers of the alleged declaration of May 20th are said to have been Colonel Thomas Polk and John McKnitt Alexander. Waightstill Avery and John Phifer are numbered among the putative "signers" of the "Declaration" of May 20th. Now, these four men were members of the North Carolina provincial congress, which met at Hillsborough on the 20th of August, 1775. As members of that congress, these Mecklenburg patriots, in common with their associates, all signed a "Test of Loyalty and Patriotism" which commenced with "professing allegiance to the king and acknowledging the constitutional executive power of government." Who wishes to believe that the men who plighted their honor to such a profession had signed a declaration of independence on the 20th of May preceding, and had then, for the "maintenance" of that declaration, "solemnly pledged to each other their mutual co-operation, their lives, their fortunes, and their most sacred honor"? Yet this is the pledge they then made, according to the reminiscences of John McKnitt Alexander. Are those reminiscences worth more than the "sacred honor" of these men?

* In the last number of this magazine, Mr. Wm. Harden, librarian of the Georgia historical society, calls attention to the fact that, in a letter dated June 20, 1775. Sir James Wright, the royal governor of Georgia, transmitted to the earl of Dartmouth certain "extraordinary resolves of the people of Charlotte Town, Mecklenburg County." Mr. Harden thinks the letter may be an "addition to the authorities cited by General Wilcox." It is indeed a very valuable "addition." but it works by subtraction from his "authorities." Mr. Bancroft found that the "extraordinary resolves" transmitted by Governor Wright were those of May 31, 1775. He found them with the original letter transmitting them.

Nor is this all. On the 8th of September, 1775, these same delegates from Mecklenburg united with their colleagues of the provincial congress in the unanimous adoption of an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which they said: "We have been told that independence is our object; that we seek to shake off all connection with the parent state. *Cruel suggestion! Do not all our professions, all our actions contradict this?*" Could the men from Mecklenburg have said this in September, 1775, if they had joined in a declaration of independence on the 20th of May, 1775? They were Christian men, and they fervently searched the very intents of their hearts in disclaiming disloyalty to the British crown. They said in the same address: "We again declare and *we invoke the Almighty Being who searches the recesses of the human heart and knows our most secret intentions*, that it is our *earnest wish and prayer* to be restored with the other colonies to that state in which we and they were placed before the year 1763."

But the language which they hold in this address is entirely consistent with the resolutions of May 31st. The address continues: "Whenever we have departed from the forms of the constitution, our own safety and self-preservation have dictated the expedient. . . . As soon as the cause of our fears and apprehensions is removed, *with joy will we return these powers to their regular channels*; and such institutions, formed from mere necessity, shall end with the necessity which created them." This is a declaration in which the upholders of the resolutions of May 31st could have joined with entire candor and honor.

It is common to allege that the declaration of May 20th was made subject to the control of congress, and that, after congress refused to approve the act, the members from Mecklenburg could candidly say in September, that "all their professions and actions" made the charge of aiming at independence a "cruel suggestion." The plea is submitted without comment.

When a tradition like the Mecklenburg *mythus*, confessed by its framer to be drawn from "recollections," can be shown at the threshold to be improbable, and not only improbable but incredible, and not only incredible but morally impossible, and yet can find ready believers and zealous champions, we should not be surprised at any amount of facility betrayed in the acceptance of statements which make for the alleged declaration, or at any amount of skepticism displayed in the rejection of statements which make against it. The student of history must make his account with this psychological trait at a thousand points. It is not at all peculiar to Mecklenburg or to North Carolina. But a few illus-

trations of this psychological peculiarity spring naturally out of the present discussion.

When General Wilcox writes that in my *North American Review* article I reasoned myself into the belief that the Mecklenburg declaration was a "fraud," he had before him the words in which that allegation was pronounced unnecessary. Yet nobody will suspect General Wilcox of any intentional misstatement. An orthodox disciple who prefers to have more faith in the authenticity of the Mecklenburg declaration than the author of the recollections concerning it was willing to avow, should not be expected to measure the force of human language when he writes on this topic.

It was long a current tradition of the Brevard family, in North Carolina, after the popular symbolism of the alleged declaration of independence had prevailed over the more prosaic text of the resolutions of May 31st, that their ancestor in writing the "declaration" had been inspired by the "Westminster Confession of Faith." For merely reproducing this tradition, on the published authority of a member of the Brevard family, I have been charged by my friend, the late Governor William A. Graham, with making an "unfounded statement." The charge was not only harsh, as coming from one of the most candid of men, but was also not a little adventurous; for there are very few men who can afford to make their ignorance the boundary of other men's knowledge. Governor Graham did not know, of course, at the time of his writing, that I had in my hands, and still have in my hands, private proof, as well as published proof, from a member of the Brevard family, affirming the literal accuracy of my statement.*

General Wilcox hastens to believe that the reason why Williamson makes no mention of the Mecklenburg declaration in his history was that he "stopped his narrative at 1770." This stoppage of his narrative has not, however, prevented Williamson from recording the discovery of "a subterranean wall in Rowan county" as late as 1794, and from giving the abbreviated statistics of the cotton crop for 1811! The descendants of John McKnitt Alexander were not so easily pacified on this subject. Joseph Wallis, a grandson of the said Alexander, tells us that he saw his father stamp on Williamson's book, on receiving a copy of it, because it made no mention of the "Declaration."† Yet there was an excellent

* See *National Intelligencer*, November 6, 1857. Also, *The True Witness* (a Presbyterian newspaper of New Orleans), May 26, 1860.

Cf. MS. letter from the Rev. R. E. Sherrill, of Sherman, Texas, writing to me from his personal knowledge of the tradition, as derived from a niece of Dr. Ephraim Brevard.

† See *The National Intelligencer*, August 12, 1857.

reason why the book should have contained no hint of the "Declaration;" for it appears from the full and proper certificate of John McKnitt Alexander that Dr. Williamson was favored with a copy of the "records and papers" on this subject *before they had been burnt!*

Governor Graham in his centennial address lays much emphasis on the fact that General Jackson had in his possession a copy of the Mecklenburg declaration of May 20th, "printed on satin and in a gilt frame." The origin of this "satin copy" was admitted to be unknown, but, from the large space given to it in his address, Governor Graham evidently held it to be of some circumstantial value, at least as showing the faith of General Jackson in the premises. Scarcely had Governor Graham sent to me a copy of his address when I was placed in correspondence with the printer, Colonel Heiskell, of Knoxville, Tenn., who had put that satin copy to the press! "Yes," he said, "I set it myself *in 1825, or about that year*. You can see our imprint plainly enough on the fac-simile copy: 'Heiskell & Brown, printers.'"* This fac-simile was published in the *New York Herald* of May 20, 1875, as being the oldest copy of the declaration "yet discovered in print," and as probably dating about the year 1800!

General Wilcox points with satisfaction to the fact that excellent historians, like Hildreth, Washington Irving, Jones, Wheeler, and others have lent credit to the authenticity of the Mecklenburg declaration. But these historians must be confronted with such *critical* students of history as Bancroft and the late Peter Force, who both remit this story to the limbo of unauthenticated tradition. In the monumental work of Winsor—the *Narrative and Critical History of America*—it is frankly stated, after a brief *résumé* of the controversy, that the opinion of "students" is generally adverse to the authenticity of the alleged declaration.† It is simply as such a student that I have borne a humble part in this discussion, inspired to the task, I hope, by the love of historic truth, and certainly inspired with a profound veneration for the patriotic men of Mecklenburg, who first struck the key-note of political and civil reconstruction in 1775.



* A full account of this "satin copy" is given by the printer of it in the Knoxville (Tenn.) daily *Press and Herald* of May 23, 1875.

† Winsor: *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. vi., p. 236.

DU PONT DE NEMOURS

The Du Pont family have long been known as the great powder manufacturers of the country. Their works at Wilmington, Delaware, and their branches and business in other places, have given them a commercial reputation hardly equaled in any other calling. During the long period from the beginning of the century down to our own time in which the successive generations of the Du Ponts have carried on their works, many members of the family have gained distinction by their services in the army and navy. In the war of 1812 they were represented, and in the war for the Union Admiral Du Pont and Colonel Henry Du Pont were both men of mark.* As a rule, however, it may be said that the Du Ponts have been a singularly modest race, and even of those still active in business few know the great knowledge or the still greater measure of success that has rewarded their industry. Their firm name, "Du Pont de Nemours," still keeps alive the name of the founder of the family long settled in this country, and an exhaustive memoir of him by G. Schelle, recently published in Paris by Guillaumin, while giving most space to his services as a political economist, also tells the story of his life in a way that cannot fail to interest all who know the name so honorably borne by his descendants in our own day and generation.

Born in Paris, December 18th, 1739, the scion of an old Huguenot family of Rouen, carefully educated by his mother, he was noted already in his twelfth year for his knowledge, tried to get employment in the engineer corps of the army, in the navy, studied medicine, wrote verses and tragedies, drew plans of fortifications, and at twenty submitted to Choiseul a plan for encouraging agriculture, establishing domestic free trade, suppressing taxes, and remodeling the financial system of France. At twenty-three he married for love, and the next year, in 1743, on the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, made his first appearance as the author of a pamphlet showing how to adjust national income and expenditure. Voltaire and Voisenon, Quesnay and Mirabeau, all approved the efforts of the young publicist and economist. He took his place at once among the growing school of the French economists, and his next book was dedicated to Madame de Pompadour, who died just before the book reached the pub-

* A fine portrait of Admiral Du Pont was published in this magazine in October, 1885 [Vol. XIV., 329].

lic, thus depriving the young author and his fellow economists of the strong support her influence had given them. It is characteristic of the man that he refused to withdraw the dedication, thus attesting his independence and honesty. He was for a short time the editor of the *Journal of Agriculture*, the organ of the school of economists to which he belonged, the physiocrats, and earnestly advocated in it many important reforms in French local and national finances and administration. He continued to urge them in a succession of pamphlets and books, which were heartily praised by Turgot and other great authorities. A follower of Quesnay, he advanced from theories to practice, and successfully introduced reforms that anticipated many of the changes finally adopted after the French revolution, and the awful sacrifice of life and treasure in the great wars of Napoleon, thus pointing the way to real national economy. He was then as ever, in the language of Madame de Stael, the most chivalric champion of liberty in France, and successively urged the abolition of slavery, the repeal of the game laws, liberty of the press, relief from the laws controlling labor, suppression of the harsh system of taxation and the feudal services still in force, reform in public charity, a change in the revenue laws, free trade in grain, the abolition of all the internal taxes that prevented the growth of trade and commerce in France, the repeal of the monopolies that enabled the French East and West Indies Companies to crush the colonies of France—all of these were among the subjects of his fertile pen, his acute intelligence, his exhaustless energy.

He found more prompt recognition abroad than at home, and Gustavas Vasa, of Sweden, and the Margrave of Baden, regularly employed him to assist them in governing their kingdoms on the economical basis proposed by him for France. Franklin especially commended Du Pont's economic tables prepared to give the people of Baden some notion of the general rules urged by him as economic truths. A very full statement, examination and discussion of his economic principles may be found in the pages of Schelle's account of him, for Schelle is more of a critic than of a biographer. Du Pont, the man, however, is of more interest than his writings. He had left Paris to live in Baden, and had left Baden to become tutor in the family of the Polish Prince, Czartoryski, when Turgot, made one of the French ministry, recalled him to France, and made him inspector general of manufactures.

From this time, 1774-5, he became an important authority, making real reforms in local, national, and even international commercial relations, and preventing injury being done by the numerous experiments that were then being tried in France and elsewhere. He worked with the

foremost men of France for its economic and political regeneration, but when he was turned out of office, he found amusement in writing a comedy about Joseph II. of Austria, and a French version of the *Orlando Furioso*, a work completed in 1815 on his second voyage to the United States. Poetry was always a resource for him in exile or adverse circumstances. Out of office he was the correspondent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the King of Sweden, the Margrave of Baden, keeping them advised of current events in politics, science, literature and art. Part of his leisure he devoted to studying medicine. Himself the purest and most devoted of husbands, he spent time and infinite trouble in trying to regulate the disastrous career of Mirabeau, who was false to every domestic tie and to every claim of friendship. Returning to office under Necker, he devoted himself to the administration of local finances and other important questions, patent rights, port duties, relief of special taxes, and then, after friendly correspondence with the leading English economists, conducted the official negotiations for the definitive Treaty of Peace of 1782.

He was so inimical to England that he did his best to prolong hostilities, in order that France should find some substantial compensation for the sacrifices made in its support of the colonies in their struggle for independence. He was the real author of the Treaty of 1786 between France and England, which practically threw open the colonial ports of the British dominion to French industries. He corresponded with Franklin on the best way of gaining a foothold in the United States for the products of France. He strove hard to regulate the tariff of France and those of its neighbors, so as to enlarge the market for his countrymen. His efforts were just about to be crowned with success when the French revolution intervened, and the European wars and the despotism of Napoleon shut France up in the close corner from which it is only slowly emerging to take its proper place, designated for it a century ago, as one of the great trading communities of the world. Du Pont took an active part in the Constituent Assembly of 1787, trying to secure the adoption of his old plan of provincial and municipal legislatures, and of new reforms, political and financial, including the abolition of those internal local taxes that weighed so heavily on the growth of industry. As far back as 1762 Du Pont had prepared the plan which he now urged as a remedy for many of the existing and confessed evils in French local government. When the subject of a Constitution for France was under discussion, he was one of the foremost to point to that of the United States as giving the best promise of a successful solution of the difficult problem of government. In the Assembly he was active on the floor, industrious in a dozen committees,

and a recognized leader of the popular party of moderate liberals, taking his place with Lafayette, Siéyès, Trudaine, Talleyrand. Mirabeau quarreled with him, Marat insulted him, Robespierre threatened him, but he was everywhere recognized as a sound authority on questions of finance, although it was in vain that he strove to bring the legislation on the subject within the bounds of economical reason.

His warnings were soon realized, but too late to apply the remedies that he had prescribed in advance. Elected to the presidency of the Assembly, he lost his important post in the financial administration, and forced to earn his living, he established a printing office and opened a book store. He and his son joined in the last effort to protect the king, who thanked him for being found as usual where he was most wanted. His life was only saved by being hidden and disguised, until he was finally imprisoned, but shortly after released. Well satisfied of the defects of the new constitution, he sturdily supported it, and, elected to the Council of Ancients, resisted the arbitrary pretensions of the Council of Five Hundred and the Directory. Founding a journal, supported by the best men around him, both by pen and voice, he sought to secure sound financial legislation, and to prevent unwise and mischievous laws.

Once more arrested, he owed his safety to Madame de Stael, and under pressure, resolved to go to the United States, where his eldest son had been established for some time. He tried to establish a banking and commercial business in New York, but that failed, mainly from his patriotic efforts to supply the French fleet in the West Indies. He was heartily welcomed in the United States, where he found Jefferson, then vice-president, and many others who had known him in France.

His book on education was written after very careful study of the question in his new home. He left it to return to France to try to urge his claim on the French government for the money lost in his effort to send provisions to the troops in the West Indies, but he was unsuccessful. Thus at sixty years of age he was without means and without employment.

He was three years secretary and for three years more president of the Chamber of Commerce, and worked faithfully in many societies for the relief of the poor, a subject that was always near his heart. He labored to effect Jefferson's purpose of securing Louisiana by purchase from Napoleon; he published the works of his great master, Turgot; he read scientific papers before the Institute; and in 1807 was glad to accept the post of sub-librarian at the Arsenal, occupying his leisure in charitable work and philosophical discussions. In 1814, at seventy-five, he joined the National Guard to resist the allies. The Bourbons restored, he was made secretary

of the Provisional Government and a member of the Council of State, but on the return of Napoleon from Elba he again took refuge in the United States, preferring exile to the tyranny that threatened France.

He joined his sons at their home near Wilmington, Delaware, dying there on the 7th August, 1817, in his seventy-seventh year. His death was heard in France with great respect for his long, honorable, and patriotic services. His name is borne in the country of his adoption by a succession of men who have proved themselves worthy of such a progenitor. He had two sons. The elder, Victor, after a good training in the government service at home, was sent, in 1787, to the United States as secretary of legation for the first French minister. Franklin welcomed him, and gave a good account of his promise of future excellence. In 1798 he was sent as consul to Charleston, but returned to France, where he met his father and brother on their way to the United States. Joining them, he began in New York the banking house which soon failed, and then went to Wilmington, Delaware, where his brother, Irénée, had already established his powder factory. He died in 1827, after a very honorable and successful mercantile career, leaving a large family.

The second son, Irénée, was a godson of Turgot, had helped his father in his printing, had stood by his side in defending the king, and had shared his imprisonment. On his arrival in the United States he found the need of a domestic supply of good gunpowder, returned to France to study its manufacture, then came to the United States again, began work at Wilmington, Delaware, and slowly built up a business, which, in the hands of his sons and grandsons, has become one of the great industries of the country. He died in 1834. The mother of these sons was Mademoiselle Lédée de Rencourt, who was married to their father in 1762, and died in 1784. In 1794 Du Pont married Madame Poivre, who died in Paris in 1830.

The second son of Victor was Admiral Du Pont, one of the distinguished officers of the United States Navy. Of a later generation is Colonel Henry Du Pont, who graduated at West Point, and gained great honor by his services as a young artillery officer during the war of the rebellion. Other members of the family have been noted for their public spirit, but the marked feature of the whole family, and of every member of it, is the modesty with which they, one and all, avoid any public recognition of their many gifts and benefactions.

This characteristic modesty has perhaps prevented general acknowledgment of the merits of their distinguished ancestor in the country of his adoption, the home of his sons and of his descendants. His literary activity was such that the list of his works from 1763 to 1817 covers many

pages, there being a hundred and ten titles, some of them works of many volumes, ranging through all branches of economical science, over many purely literary subjects, and touching many important points in French government during his long connection with its administration.

A list of eight biographies shows that his countrymen appreciated his merits, and from 1818, when three sketches of him were published by Gerando and other economists, down to 1870, when Lavergne printed an account of his life and writings, he has been honored by the good opinion of the best men and minds of France. The last biography, that of G. Schelle, is of value as a contribution not only to our better knowledge of so notable and interesting a character as Du Pont de Nemours, but as an exhaustive account of the school of economists of which he was a shining light.* The man, however, was even better than his writings, and the story of his life is well worth telling.



* *Du Pont de Nemours and the Physiocratic School*, by G. Schelle. Paris, Guillaumin, 1888. 8vo, pp. 456, with Portrait.

GERMAN SOCIAL AND FAMILY LIFE

The origin of the Germanic race lies far back in the twilight of history. No authentic records of the earlier inhabitants of Germany exist. Before the time of Julius Cæsar, the Romans knew very little of the people who dwelt east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. The European Continent north of the Alps was for the most part one vast, mysterious forest. But the invasion of Gaul by the Roman armies developed the fact that the country beyond the Rhine was inhabited by a numerous people, given to agriculture—a race, say the Roman writers, “free from any foreign intermixture, as proved by their physiognomy; with fierce, blue eyes, deep-yellow hair, a robust frame and gigantic height; inured to cold and hunger, but not to thirst and heat; warlike, honest, faithful, friendly and unsuspicious toward friends, but toward enemies cunning and dissembling; scorning every restraint, considering independence as the most precious of all things, and therefore ready to give up life rather than liberty. . . . Valor was the grace of man, chastity the virtue of woman.”

Such were the aboriginal Germans. They had no towns or cities, but dwelt mostly in small communities, holding property in common. They were divided into over fifty tribes, of which the Alemanni, Suevi, Burgundians, Goths, Vandals and others figure conspicuously in ancient history. After Cæsar's victory over Ariovistus and his conquest of Gaul, the Roman armies overran much of the country, and established a line of fortified outposts from the Rhine to the Danube. The present city of Mayence on the Rhine was the headquarters of the army of Drusus, and to this day relics of the Drusus colony and garrison continue to be found there whenever a fresh excavation is made, insomuch that the city possesses a remarkably interesting museum of such antiquities, reflecting alike the customs, superstitions and vices of the Romans. The old city of Trèves, in the valley of the Moselle, possesses an immense Roman amphitheatre, and a great three-storied Roman gateway (*Porta Nigra*), rivaling in its stately dimensions any of the triumphal arches which survive imperial Rome.

At a place called Saalburg, on a spur of the Taunus mountains, twenty-five miles east of the Rhine, have been found, within recent years, the well-defined outlines of a fortified Roman camp, with parapets and

ditches, and stones all set, designating by their positions and chiseled numerals the camp boundaries of the legions. Here, too, in the adjacent wilderness, have been found entombed, in small earthen jars, the ashes of the dead who expired during the Roman occupation. I happened to be present upon an occasion when one of these jars was exhumed from the spot where it had lain for at least 1,500 years, and saw removed from it the little Roman coin placed there, in accordance with the ancient superstition, to pay the ferriage of the departed across the Stygian river.

Only a few years ago the remains of a Roman soldier in full armor were exhumed near Frankfort-on-the-Main, and in that, as in other parts of the Rhine Valley, Roman remains are from time to time still coming to light. Evidently the Romans came to Germany intending to stay there, and yet they were never more than occupants of the country, for no sooner did they undertake to assert by arms the rights of conquest than they were overwhelmingly defeated.

The political and social life of modern Germany bears the stamp of these ancient experiences and characteristics of the German people. The tribes into which the inhabitants of the country were originally divided perpetuated their distinctions through a long course of feudalities and petty despotisms until they crystallized into the existing German states. The tribal divisions are still traceable in differences of dialect, temperament, physiognomy and social and political customs. The German social estate is therefore a curious conglomerate, a multiform, many-hued, ever-changing mosaic, puzzling and misleading to the superficial student, and comprehensible only through close observation and prolonged and patient study. The sectional and local diversities of the people are endless, and nearly every important town or district has social customs and a form of language peculiar to itself. The province, district, and even city or town from which strangers come are often guessed with precision from their dialect, and dress and manners are likewise significant of provincial identity.

Hence it is that travelers and transient writers give such various and conflicting accounts of the German people. Flitting by rail from town to town, and sojourning mostly in hotels, ordinary tourists see nothing at all of the real social life of the Germans, and yet sometimes presume to tell us all about it. Out of their fragmentary knowledge and superficial impressions newspapers are supplied with flippant correspondence, and whole volumes of misinformation are written.

Generally, too, writers of this class know very little, if anything, of the German language, without a fair knowledge of which it is very difficult to

obtain anything like a correct understanding of the intellectual and social life of the people. Most educated Germans, it is true, speak English more or less fluently, and French is much spoken in social and diplomatic intercourse. But no language brings the stranger into such intimate relations with the people, and so reveals to him their modes of thought, action and feeling, as their native tongue.

To most adult Americans the German is a difficult language to learn, and not especially attractive. Macaulay is said to have mastered it in three months, which probably means that he acquired in that length of time a fair book knowledge of its grammatical principles. Charles V. called it "the language of horses," but in his day its euphonious and literary possibilities were but dimly realized. Wieland had not then written his "Oberon," almost every stanza of which is music itself; and Lessing, Schiller and Goethe had not given to the world their immortal verse.

The drolleries of the language—its oddities of grammatical construction—its curious compounding and dividing asunder of words—its arbitrary distinctions of gender—all these, together with the difficulties which American travelers and sojourners in Germany experience in assimilating the vernacular of the country, have been duly set forth by our leading American humorist, who has made out of them a very funny chapter of his "Tramp Abroad." The Germans heartily enjoy this mirth at their expense, and are otherwise well repaid for it in the amusement which is furnished them by the linguistic exploits of German-learning Englishmen and Americans. At the same time our Teutonic friends are extremely patient with us, and seldom appear to notice our mistakes. Out of the *débris* of our wrecked sentences and confused misplacements and misconceptions of words and idioms they will quietly gather our meaning, and, when our vocabulary and its power for grammatical mischief are exhausted, they will soothingly remark in good, plain English: "Why, how well you speak German! What excellent progress you have made!"

This considerate treatment of tyros in their language is not only something that we ought to be grateful for and reciprocate; it is also an illustration of what has been called the *politesse de cœur* of the Germans. Their friendly interest in everybody about them, even to strangers and aliens, is a noteworthy trait, amounting, almost, to a national characteristic. A stranger may travel all day with Englishmen, even in the same carriage or *coupé*, and never receive, in word or act, the slightest recognition of his existence. Quite otherwise in Germany. Both on joining and leaving us, our German fellow-travelers will not fail to salute us with their cheery *guten Tag*, and, if not repelled, they will not be apt to omit still further

evidences of their friendly attention. At an English dinner-party, a guest may find himself in a state of solemn isolation amidst strangers to whom he has not been introduced, whom he dare not approach, and by whom he is industriously ignored. The German usage is in pleasant contrast with this. No sooner does the unacquainted guest cross the threshold than the host or hostess takes pains to introduce him to the principal people present, who, in turn, exert themselves to make him feel thoroughly at home in their company.

This "politeness of the heart" finds expression on the most ordinary occasions and in all conditions of life. The servant who presents a glass of beer or a plate of food will accompany it with his good-natured *Gesundheit*, or *guten Appetit*, or *lass' es gut schmecken*; and even the maid who prepares one's bath will not omit her *wohl bekomme's* when all is ready. If you go out to a party or a concert, the *Diener* who helps you on with your overcoat, or into your carriage, will be sure to wish you *viel Vergnügen*, and when you go away on a journey, full many a *glückliche Reise* will follow you. The stranger who sits down at a public table salutes those near him, and when he rises to go away does the same, adding his *gesegnete Mahlzeit* to those with whom he has held conversation. If a gentleman helps a lady to wine at the table, he takes care to pour a little first into his own glass, so that, if any particles of cork or dust should adhere to the mouth of the bottle, he will get them, and not she.

Men seldom wear their hats in their places of business, and customers coming into a business office remove theirs. On leaving such a place it is usual to salute the proprietors and their assistants, particularly when either or both happen to be ladies, as a large majority of the sales-people are. If a customer asks for his *Rechnung*, it is sure to be indorsed *auf Wunsch*, and when it comes back receipted after payment, it will as surely be superscribed *Eine schöne Empfehlung*, or *Herr — lässt schön danken*.

How much these little phrases and attentions, which cost nothing, soften the jolts and smooth down the asperities of human experience, need not be stated. They embellish life, make it seem worth living, and help us immensely to feel that we are, after all, of some account in the world.

Hand-shaking is not so common in Germany as with us, and is seldom indiscriminately practiced. The universal mode of salutation on the part of men is that of lifting the hat. Ladies receive the first recognition instead of giving it, and strangers must make first calls instead of being first called upon. The uses of the card in calling and exchanging compliments are considered with much nicety, and are so regulated as to express plainly and yet with delicacy the unwritten laws of social intercourse. Both

desire and disinclination for nearer acquaintance are carefully indicated by cards, compliments are conveyed by them, and congratulations exchanged. When death occurs, card messengers remind the bereaved of the sympathetic remembrances of their acquaintances. Visits of condolence are not made unless by near relatives and friends, nor are the bereaved obliged to make public exposure of their grief. The remains of the deceased are often followed to the tomb by empty carriages only, not even the afflicted family accompanying them should the weather be inclement.

The customs and ceremonies attending betrothal and marriage differ widely from ours. Prior to the *Verlobung*, or betrothal, the intercourse of young unmarried people can, as a rule, only take place in the presence or by the express consent of their parents, and German ladies have often explained to me their astonishment that in America, as they had heard, young ladies not betrothed were permitted to receive and accompany young gentlemen without parental attendance. Betrothal, indeed, is often the first stage of real acquaintance, the intercourse of the contracting parties before that being of a comparatively formal character. The *Verlobung* is generally considered a more important act than the *Trauung*, or marriage, and the breaking off of an engagement causes more scandal than a divorce. After engagement, the parties engaged are *Braut* and *Bräutigam*, but cease to be such after marriage. Once engaged, they may accompany each other when and where they like, and on social occasions are treated much the same as husband and wife.

By imperial law, a man becomes qualified to contract marriage when twenty, and a girl when sixteen years of age, but a man may not marry without the consent of his father or other guardian until he is twenty-five, nor a girl until she is twenty-four. Whether a marriage contracted without the consent of guardians is valid or not, is a matter regulated by the legislation of the different states.

It is a sort of unwritten law—a sequence of actual statutes now abolished—that a man should not marry until he has some visible and reliable means of supporting a family. Parents are also careful to have their children mated with those of equal social station, and it is worthy of remark that rank and position are more highly considered in a matrimonial way than wealth, although that is a matter by no means despised. Some years ago a distinguished Heidelberg professor wrote a book which aimed to prove that the daughters of wealthy men of business are destined, in the order of Nature, to marry lawyers and civil-service officials, and that the daughters born of such marriages are destined to marry business-men with a view to acquiring wealth wherewith to endow their daughters, in

turn, for marriage into the civil service. Thus the business, or middle, class would provide wealth, and the official class social distinction, and the balance would be preserved.

The arrangement of the *dot*, or marriage portion, prior to betrothal, is something that must not be neglected, and its amount for each of the contracting parties is settled in advance by their parents.

The marriage ceremony is usually performed twice—once after the civil and once after the religious form—but only the civil contract is valid in law. By imperial statute of February 6, 1875, "marriage is to be concluded in the presence of two witnesses by the betrothed persons severally declaring their agreement, when asked by the proper officer, whether they announce their intention of uniting in marriage with each other, and by his thereupon proclaiming that they are both legally married." The same law forbids any clergyman or other minister of religion to execute these functions, or to act as a substitute for the civil officer. The civil ceremony, therefore, takes precedence in the order of time as in that of legal importance. First, however, there must be a publication of the bans at least two weeks before the contract is signed, and this precaution, together with the parental restraints, has a wholesome effect in preventing hasty and ill-considered marriages.

Many of the traditional usages attending the marriage ceremony, particularly among the peasantry, are very curious, but the etiquette of weddings is not eccentric. German etiquette in general is a system of social customs which has grown up with the people, and which is adapted to promote as well as protect social intercourse. It may be added that, in the best German society, people are not received very much on trust. They must prove their quality before obtaining favor. Vulgar wealth is not admitted to the circle of the intellectual and refined, and civil and military position carries with it infinitely more social privilege than money, simply because the process by which alone such position can be reached in Germany is itself a guaranty of merit. Artists, actors, musicians, and scientific and literary people of distinction, or of passably good professional standing, are constantly invited to the tables of noblemen and millionaires.

It has been said that behavior at the table is the best test of manners, and that a fine dinner is the crowning exponent of civilized life. However this may be, a dinner-party in the refined circles of Germany is certainly one of the most characteristic and charming illustrations of the social life of the people. Formal invitations to dinner are generally given upon an engraved card, with date and hour in writing, and must be accepted or

declined without delay. They may be sent through the post, or, as is more customary, delivered by special messenger. The hour fixed is intended to be exact, and guests are expected to be punctual to the minute. I shall not forget the first invitation of this kind which I received, for I happened to be about ten minutes late, and my worthy host greeted me with a good-natured reprimand by saying that he had begun to grow anxious about me lest something had happened to me.

At the precise hour appointed the company proceeds to the table, the host escorting the most distinguished lady guest. The seating is managed diplomatically so as to bring congenial people together, and much attention is given to table decoration, for which purpose, in every season, flowers are liberally used. The dinner is served *à la Russe*, but the finest meats are sometimes brought in and shown to the guests before being carved.

When the dinner is concluded the ladies are escorted to the *salon*, and the gentlemen withdraw to the smoking-room. Thus an opportunity is given to the former to discuss the latest fashions, and to the latter to exchange opinions concerning affairs on the *bourse*. In the smoking-room *café noir* is served, and also cognac and other cordials. After the gentlemen have finished their cigars and coffee, they return to the *salon*, and spend the remainder of the evening with the ladies.

The recipient of dinner courtesies is expected to acknowledge them within a reasonable time by a return call, which may be made by card, but there is no strict debit and credit system of reciprocation of social favors. People are often invited again and again without any return of the compliment being asked or thought of.

The Germans are a music-loving people, and this fact has much to do with their social customs and enjoyments. Musical composition almost amounts to a national industry, and of musical clubs and societies there is no end. Nearly every large city has at least one orchestra of sixty or seventy performers, which in any country where musicians of such training and skill were less common would be famous. Many plain business-men—merchants, bankers, and others—are really excellent vocalists, pianists, or violinists.

The people are passionately fond of the opera and the drama, both of which are supported, in part, by public subsidies. The usual hour for beginning theatrical performances is 6 o'clock P.M., and they seldom continue later than 9 or half-past. Ladies, as well as gentlemen, leave their wraps and headwear in the *Garderobe* before entering the auditorium—an arrangement which enables the masculine part of the audience to see the stage whatever fashion may prevail in ladies' bonnets.

German theatrical audiences are models of decorum. This is due, in part, to strict regulations and police surveillance, but it is still more a result of popular habit and training. During a fine concert or opera no one may be admitted until an interval occurs, and while the music is in progress all other sound is absolutely hushed. There is not a cough, not a movement, not a discordant noise. The applause, when deserved, is hearty and prolonged, but is always timely and decorous.

Nor is the pleasure derived from music by any means exclusive with those who can pay for fine operas and concerts. It is the fireside recreation of the people, and humble is the home where it is not enjoyed. For the public recreation excellent concerts are provided at the parks and gardens, and are accessible to all. In the city of Frankfort-on-the-Main, there are two public gardens at which orchestral concerts of high merit are given afternoon and evening nearly every day of the year. At the *Palmengarten*, which is one of the loveliest spots in Europe, a Thursday afternoon performance is given, especially for ladies and children, and on such occasions the elegant music-hall is always crowded. The ladies bring their crochet-work and gossip over their coffee, and the little folks enjoy the games provided for them, or stroll amidst the fountains and flowers.

The Germans delight in open-air life. Every house of any pretensions has its garden, if only a few square feet of sodded space, where the family may sit and enjoy the fresh air and the sunlight and shade. They abhor anything like a draft in-doors, and keep their houses shut tight, but think nothing of sitting for hours in the family garden, and taking their meals there whenever the weather will at all permit. Gardens, parks and promenades for general recreation are provided in every considerable town, and, by low fares and frequent trains, the railways afford on Sundays and holidays the most ample facilities possible for excursions to the country.

The fashionable hour for promenading is from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. At 1 everybody sits down to dinner. The banks close at that hour, and remain closed until 4 P.M. The *bourse* is open for business from 12 o'clock noon until 1 P.M., and a second time later in the afternoon.

Dinner and supper are the principal meals. A German breakfast consists of *Zwiebacken* or *Bröschens* and coffee, with perhaps boiled eggs. Supper is taken at 7 or 8 o'clock, or postponed until after the theatre. Laborers have four or five *Essens* a day, and most business-men lunch between meals.

Wine and beer drinking is universal, but no more temperate people exists than the Germans. During a sojourn of several years among them, I do not remember to have seen half a dozen persons intoxicated. During

a festal occasion lasting three or four days, which brought thirty thousand strangers to Frankfort, not over seven or eight persons, it was stated, were arrested for disorderly conduct.

Drunkenness is more disgraceful than it is in this country. Men do not go into a "saloon" and stand up before a "bar" and drink themselves drunk. What Americans call "treating" is unknown. Each one pays for what he gets, as an honest man should, and expects his friends and companions to do the same. People who take refreshments at a restaurant or beer garden sit down by the tables and eat and drink leisurely. The popular beverages, as a rule, are mild, pure and wholesome, and a dinner, however humble, is not a dinner in Germany without beer or wine. Yet the people are not given to nervousness or inebriety, and have comparatively little stomach-ache, so far as I have been able to notice.

At the same time it should be stated that the traffic in all kinds of alcoholic beverages is strictly regulated by law. The license system, or its equivalent, is the prevailing one, though different laws as to the traffic prevail in the different states and provinces. A broad distinction is drawn between the establishments which traffic only in beer and wine and those which also sell spirituous liquors. New establishments of either kind can only be opened by police permission, and then only upon a showing of reasonable public demand for the business. Disorderly and immoral places may be suppressed by police fiat, and it should be noted that the tenure of office of the police authorities does not depend, directly or indirectly, upon what Americans would call the "saloon vote." Indeed, we may almost say that the saloon does not exist in Germany—at least, not in our sense of the word.

German housekeeping methods differ materially from the American. In the first place, the houses are differently constructed and furnished from ours. An American visiting Germany once remarked to me that it seemed very odd to him to see houses "with the front door in the rear." The French system of *étages*, or flats, is common in cities, and the choice part of the house is not the *rez-de-chaussée*, or first floor, but what we call the second. This is in Germany the *erster Stock*, or first story, and between it and the lower floor, or *parterre*, there sometimes intervenes a narrow story called the *entresol*. Each floor is complete in itself for all the purposes of housekeeping, with a permanent kitchen-range built to stay. Cellar space and garden privileges are apportioned to the different families occupying the *étages*, and their servants colonize in the attic. In point of convenience and comfort, New York and Philadelphia have greatly improved upon the German flat system.

In the more expensive dwellings parquet floors are laid, and these are waxed and burnished until smooth as glass. In more unpretentious homes the floors are painted and varnished. Carpets covering the entire floor are seldom seen; artistic squares, or *Vorlage*, being used instead. Living-rooms are heated by *Kachelöfen*, or porcelain stoves, and wood is the prevailing fuel. The coal is inferior to ours, and is drenched with water before being laid upon the fire.

Madame, whatever her social station, carries the keys, and personally supervises the servants. Ladies of the highest birth and education understand all the details of housekeeping, and are not above taking a practical interest in what is going on in the kitchen. They are trained to this in the cooking, sewing, and boarding schools—a kind of education which vastly contributes both to the comfort and the economy of German home life.

Children are trained to obey. Insubordination in the family or the school is treated much the same as insubordination in the army. The little German maid no sooner learns to talk than she begins to knit, sew, and embroider, and make herself otherwise useful in the house. If her parents have any means at all, a thoroughly ornamental as well as practical education is within her reach. In short, she grows up to be an accomplished and contented mistress of a house—a real helpmeet—knowing how to cook, sew, sing, dance, embroider, take care of children, and write and speak in two or three languages.

Her little brother, as soon as he is six years old, starts for school, and education is a serious matter with him from that time on until he finishes the gymnasium. He has little time for play except on stated holidays, and woe betide him if he does not give diligent attention to the tasks set for him outside of school hours. Besides the "three R's," he must learn Latin, Greek, French, English, German, higher mathematics, natural science, geography, and history. The course of the gymnasium is equivalent to that of an American college, and when he is through with that he may go to the university. Then, if he passes the *Examen*, he must serve one year in the army, and, if he does not pass it, three years. After that he goes into the public service or a profession, or learns and finally inherits the business of his father.

The ideal German home is a model of order, cleanliness, comfort, and loving domestic harmony. The women, as a rule, are quite contented with home and its duties, and leave the cares of state and the rugged work of reform to the men. Yet the sphere of woman is by no means exclusively domestic. The pursuits of literature, the fine arts, and business, are all freely opened to her.

The Germans believe in recreation for the family and by the family. Parents and children sit together in the public gardens listening to the concerts, visit together the theatre and the opera, and unite in family excursions and tours. What one enjoys they all enjoy, so far as their means go, except that, by the custom of the country, the head of the family is allowed to spend a certain part of his time with his *Verein*, or club. I once asked a German married lady whether or not she liked to have her husband visit nearly every evening, as he did, a club to which I belonged, and she assured me that she preferred to have him do so, "for," said she, "this brightens him up, and makes him a better companion for me than he would be were I to insist upon his spending all his leisure at home. Then, too," she added reflectively, "I might get a little tired of him if he were about the house too much."

One of the most attractive features of German home life is its faithful observance of family anniversaries. Few things contribute more to make the home circle delightful than this. The little child—and the full-grown one as well—counts the days, the hours almost, until its *Geburtstag* comes round. And when the day arrives it is sure to be observed in a way to make the honored one feel that it is a good thing to be born into the world, a good thing to have a home and loving parents, friends, brothers and sisters. The house is dressed *en fête*, cards of congratulation with flowers and other gifts come in from all round the circle of acquaintance, tapers are lighted denoting the number of years the happy one has finished, and a family dinner and reunion crown the festivities.

I once had the happiness to be invited to spend a few days with a friend at his summer villa on the Rhine, and when we went down the first time to dinner we found the table garnished with flowers, and the chairs upon which my good friend and his wife were to sit wreathed with roses and lilies. It was their wedding anniversary, and their children had done this to signify their loving remembrance of the day. How beautiful it was, and how happy we all were, albeit the place of him who was chief in that delightful circle was soon afterwards forever vacant!

But the noblest of all family anniversaries is the German Christmas. It is not a single holiday, as with us, but a cluster of two or three together, and the quaint old legends and traditional observances—domestic, social and religious—connected with it are many and beautiful. What visions of happy faces and what echoes of sweet cathedral chimes haunt my recollection as I think of them! In many parts of Germany Christmas is called "The Children's Festival," and such it is; but it is a festival at which all are children, whether old or young.

Should German habits and customs be adopted by Americans? To some extent they should be. After ten centuries of experience, the Germans have arrived at certain fixed conclusions as to what is best for them in the conditions under which they live, and, so far as the conditions of our life are the same, those conclusions are equally wise for us.

It is the misfortune of our people that they have not yet learned how to enjoy life in the present as it is their privilege to do. The Germans are adepts at this. They act upon the Horatian admonition, *carpe diem*. They have a proverb, *Bequemlichkeit geht dem Deutschen über Alles*—with the German, comfort goes before everything—and this is a key to their domestic and social life. They believe, with Renan, that “sunshine is a fine thing, life an excellent gift, and the land of the living a very pleasant place to sojourn in,” and they do not see why they should not enjoy these things as much as they innocently can.

Too much of our social life is mere pretension; it glitters, but it is not gold. The real contact of noble and congenial minds is not there. The social life of Germany, on the other hand, is realistic, and repels shams. It seeks out and holds fast the genuine good, true and beautiful. It shows us, moreover, as in a mirror, that real happiness is not at a distance, but near at hand, waiting for and inviting us to reach out and grasp it.

Alma E. Lu

THRILLING ADVENTURE OF A KENTUCKY PIONEER

The story of bold exploit and thrilling adventure in the early history of Kentucky has unique interest, inasmuch as the pioneers were not lured to that wilderness by illusive gold-mines or mania for discovery and conquest, but found their attraction in the rich lands and the hunter's luxury of wild game. These pioneers were a different race of men from the Spanish adventurers of the South, the French explorers of the lakes and rivers of the Northwest, and the refugees from religious persecution of some parts of the Atlantic coast.

One day in October, 1779, two well-loaded boats might have been seen working their way up the Ohio river from New Orleans, laden with stores or provisions obtained from the Spaniards for the use of the garrison at Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh). They had passed the bend in the river, where not even a solitary block-house or log cabin then marked the site of Cincinnati—Ohio's queenly city of to-day. Here the Licking river comes in from the Kentucky side, and they would soon reach a sand-bar which stretched a considerable distance along the northern bank of the river until at the mouth of the Little Miami it formed on the other side. They were on the watch for this obstruction, knowing something of its perils, and presently encountered the strong current against them, from the high waters of the tributary at this point, dashing directly across the path of the Ohio. But what startled them far more than its turbulent waters were the numerous canoes and rafts it bore upon its bosom, swarming with Indians. Major Rogers, who was in command of this little squadron of two keel-boats, glanced over his slender force of seventy men in all, and knew they were greatly outnumbered by the enemy, but the white settlers of the frontier were accustomed to these inequalities. Plans were quickly formed. Drawing the boats noiselessly up to the Kentucky shore behind the sand-bar, the crew from each landed and followed their brave leader through the willows and thick bushes which covered it at this point. They thought to have met and surprised the Indians as they landed, but they themselves had been watched, and the Indians they saw were only a small part of those who were really there. The boatmen had almost reached the point of their expected triumph when the wild yells of the savages seemed to rise from the ground behind them and on every side, and the merciless and apparently numberless foe rushed to the

attack, first with guns and then with tomahawks. The slaughter was fearful. Forty-five, with their brave leader, fell at the first onslaught; the rest tried to get back to their boats, but the five men who had been left in charge of them, seeing no possible hope save for their own safety, had fled in one boat, while the Indians had taken possession of the other. Nothing, therefore, was left but to fight their desperate way through the enemy or die in the attempt. Some few escaped and made their way through the forests to Harrodsburg, leaving their dead and dying comrades on the ground. Captain Benham, second in authority under Major Rogers, passed unscathed in the first fire, and succeeded in fighting his way into the deep woods through the savage assailants, when a ball pierced him, and he fell to the ground, helpless. There could be no escape now, he thought; his scalp was doomed to decorate some Indian warrior's belt and wigwam.

He lay perfectly still, however, expecting every moment to feel the cold edge of the tomahawk. But he heard the quick, stealthy step of the savages near him—over him—beyond him—and knew that in their eager pursuit of the rest they had passed him by. He believed they would surely come back for their trophies, and raised his head on his hand and looked around for some place of refuge and safety. Near him was a newly fallen tree with the thick foliage still unwithered. That would make an excellent hiding-place if he could only reach it. This he managed to do, and, although the effort of crawling had caused him intense suffering, he was thankful to feel how well he was concealed; and as the sound of pursued and pursuers died in the distance he began to indulge a hope of escape at least from the death that had seemed so near and certain. The next day the Indians returned to the battle-ground, as was their custom, to strip and scalp their enemies, and to bury their own dead.

Poor Captain Benham had already begun to anticipate the slow death by famine that would necessarily be his fate, and yet it was better, he thought, than to fall into the hands of the Indians. So he let them do their bloody work all around him and go off to their boats with their trophies of victory, leaving him undiscovered and alone. It was a poor chance for life, surely, with nothing to eat, not even a drink of water, and unable to move without intense agony from his wound. The evening of the second day came. At last there was some slight noise, a movement as of something living, near him. It was a raccoon in a tree not far off. He had his gun, he would shoot it, though how he was to get it when killed, he could not tell.

He shot; it fell! At the same instant a human cry startled him, for

it was within a few yards of him, and although it sounded like some one in distress, he had very little doubt it was an Indian's device to find out his hiding-place. So he kept perfectly still and quiet, with gun reloaded and ready for use whenever an enemy should come in sight. A second time the voice was heard and much nearer. Still Captain Benham dared not answer, and was thinking to himself how wonderfully the Indian could imitate the white man's voice and tones, when a third halloo was followed by a low exclamation of impatience, perplexity, and distress, too unlike an Indian to be other than a Kentuckian. He did answer now. Strange to say, the new man had come out of the same battle with both arms broken, and had, like his fellow sufferer, eluded the eyes of the Indians, but, being unable to use his gun, was utterly at a loss how to get anything to eat. He and Captain Benham immediately formed a compact or partnership, similar to that between the blind man and the lame sailor, and it would be a hard case if one pair of hands and one pair of feet could not find food for two. So they would both watch for the game. Captain Benham, who could load and fire his gun, would shoot it, while his friend, whose name was John Watson, having the free use of his feet, would go after it and *kick* it up to his companion. In the same way wood and brush were brought within reach of Captain Benham, who was thus enabled to prepare and cook the game and feed Watson with a share of it. He also played surgeon for the two, dressing all the wounds, his own and his companion's, being obliged to use for that purpose the shirts they wore. Their greatest difficulty was to procure water, but, as "necessity is the mother of invention," they even contrived to accomplish this. Captain Benham took his hat or cap, made of some animal's skin, and placed the rim between the teeth of his colleague, who, seizing it with a firm grip, trotted down to the river, and, wading in far enough to dip up some water in the cap, trotted back again to his friend with its contents, and gave it up to him to be used as needed. Before Captain Benham was able to get about, he found he had killed and scared off all the game within reach of his gun. Here again John Watson's feet came into requisition, to hunt up a flock of wild turkeys, for instance, and drive them past. Thus they helped each other along for several weeks until their wounds had so far healed as to permit them to travel a little each day, thereby reaching in course of time the mouth of the Licking. They put up a small shed and anxiously watched and waited for a passing boat, on either river, that would convey them to the fort at the falls of the Ohio. For a month or more they watched in vain. Finally, however, the desire of their hearts appeared, in a small flat-boat moving leisurely down the Ohio. But their difficulties were not yet

over. It had become a favorite method of decoy among the Indians to place one or two of their number on the bank, either disguised in white men's clothing or concealed among the bushes, to utter pitiful cries of distress and beg to be taken on board and saved from the Indians, while a number of the savages would be lying in ambush to shoot or seize the unwitting boat's crew as soon as they should approach the shore.

No wonder the whites had learned to be suspicious of signals of distress, and our two comrades were driven almost to desperation when they saw the boat, instead of heeding their appeal, determinedly pushing toward the other shore and making past them with all possible speed. This was terrible! Deserted by their own people, in perpetual and imminent danger from the Indians, for this was one of their favorite haunts, and winter coming, what would become of them if left to meet the cold weather here in their defenseless and helpless state? Captain Benham was only hobbling about on rude crutches of his own construction, and Watson was barely able to feed himself a little with one hand. But when they were in the agony of despair, seeing the boat had passed them by a full half-mile, they espied a canoe put off from its stern and cautiously approach the shore where they stood. Its inmates were evidently very suspicious, used every precaution against surprise, and could only be convinced after much parley that it was a genuine case of distress, but in the end were induced to take the poor fellows on board. They had very few clothes left by this time. In all these six weeks of suffering and hardship, it had been a question of *living*, not of *looks*. However, when they reached Fort Nelson, at the falls of the Ohio, where Louisville now stands, they were kindly cared for, and soon recovered entirely.

Captain Benham, after the country had become more thickly settled, went back and bought the very land on which this terrible battle was fought. Here he built his home and spent the later years of his life. His son was subsequently a distinguished member of the Kentucky bar, and a resident of Louisville. His granddaughter married the well-known writer and journalist, George D. Prentice.

Annie E. Wilson

MINOR TOPICS

COLONEL HENRY BEEKMAN LIVINGSTON

The following letter written from Canada in October, 1775, by Captain (later Colonel) Henry Beekman Livingston to his father, Judge Robert R. Livingston of Clermont, contains information of much value. The Mr. (Captain, later Colonel) James Livingston referred to, and of whom some interesting particulars are given by Mr. Schuyler in the January number of the *Magazine of American History*, 1889, was a cousin of Henry Beekman Livingston. Both were descended from the Rev. (Mess.) John Livingston, to whom Charles II. swore allegiance to the Scottish covenant—Henry Beekman Livingston of Clermont through Robert, the youngest child of the Rev. John, who was the first emigrant of that ilk and the first proprietor of the Livingston manor, James, through Robert "the nephew," son of the James who was one of the oldest children of the Rev. John.

But there was another and nearer relationship; the mother of Colonel Henry, Mrs. Robert R. Livingston, was the only child of Colonel Henry Beekman, by his wife Janet, daughter of Robert "the nephew." John, the father of Colonel James Livingston, was a son of the same Robert. Few of the colonels of the Revolution saw harder service or were more actively engaged in the field than Henry Beekman Livingston or James Livingston, and yet their lives remain unwritten. The several allusions to General Richard Montgomery greatly add to the value of this letter. As stated therein, the refusal of the vanguard to advance compelled the general to retreat, but he not only found means to bring the same men back, but to march them around the dreaded ramparts of St. John's. This is an example of how he trained the troops that presently conquered Montreal and followed where the Bayard of America found death on the heights of Quebec.

It was not necessary for him, in parting from his Janet, to whisper, "You shall never have cause to blush for your Montgomery."

Nothing relating to the General lacks interest. I therefore add a line found in a letter written by his mother-in-law, dated Claremount, March 29, 1774: "Janet and Montgomery, who is one of the tenderest of men," etc., etc.

[THE LETTER]

"Canada, Camp before St. John's, 6th October 1775

"Dear Sir

"I just rec'd Your Letter. Your illness gives me great unesincss. I hope it will be of no duration. With Yours I rec'd a letter from Robert, Dated 20 Sep': he tells me nothing new. After you left me at Albany, we marched to Fort George

in three Days, Where I was obliged to stop till Col^l Gates, who commanded there, would please let us cross the Lake, which was in about three Days : we had a Favourable passage across, being but one Night by the way : the next morning we came to Ticonderoga ; as soon as we came there, I waited upon Col^l Hinman, Commanding Officer at that Place and begged leave to be permitted to proceed with the first Boats for the Army, then at Il, au Noix ; this I obtained for myself but not for my Company, there not being a sufficiency of Boats to carry them off—I therefore took my departure and Ordered my Lieut^{nts} to Follow, the first opportunity. when I came down I found all in Health at the Army except gen^l Schuyler. A party of them, about 500, had been sent down the Lake as far as we now are, under the Command of General M^r [Montgomery] : they were attacked upon their Landing by a Party of Indians, who were beat off by our People with the loss of about 9 killed & wounded ; the Enemy had 15 their Number Killed upon the spot and some wounded—our People intrenched themselves in two places, about a Mile apart, along the Banks of the River Sorrel (this part of the Lake takes that Name :) the next morning they went back to the Isle, having made the discoveries they thought necessary—All this happened before I came down. When I came there, Col^l Ritzma was detached with a Party of Picked men, to take Possession of Lapree, a Village about 15 Miles the other side St. John's, in order to cut off all Communication between Canada and that Place, from his own and a Connecticut Reg^{mt} : Gen^l Montgomery followed with another Party, consisting the same Number, to see us safely landed ; (I obtained Leave to come in Character of Aid-de-Camp to Col^l Ritzma, upon this Occasion, as my Company was not yet come ;) we Landed safely, at the upper Breastworks, about a mile from this we now Occupy. and Marched them within 200 Yards of this Place, where was another Breastwork, a Flanking Party having been sent out from the Front to scour the Woods. While we were coming down, we who were in Front Found ourselves deserted of a sudden by Nine tenths of our Party ; upon going back to learn the cause we found they had been affrighted by our Flanking Party, who came suddenly out of the woods upon them in order to join us. the Panick was so great that it was with difficulty we prevailed upon them to proceed on their March : we had not advanced a 100 yards farther, before we were attacked with musketry a little a Head of us & some Cohorns thrown from a Boat upon the Water. Our men were again Affrighted & retreated with great precipitation, except about 30 who enter'd the Breastworks, where they found some Indians, Soldiers, and French, about 15 in number, who they Fired upon ; an Indian and a Frenchman was killed of their Number, the rest made their Escape. next Day the Gen^l, who came to see us Land safely, was obliged to proceed upon his way Back with us all to the Isle, not being able to prevail upon the Detachment to go forward. however a Few Days after he brought down the same detachment, (having first made peace with the Indians) that they might have an Opportunity of retrieving their

Honour : this they Effected : after staying a Day or two to compleat our Breast-works Gen^l M^r March Round St John's with this Party and as he came out of the Woods, popped very unexpectedly upon a Body of about 400 of the Enemy, who attacked him with Field Pieces, but he Obliged them to retreat into the Fort : this they did in good Order, Carrying their Field Pieces with them, the Loss trifling on both Sides. the Gen^l having effected his Purpose, ordered a Party to intrench themselves about 2 miles below St John's, upon the only two Roads that lead from that Place to the inhabited parts of Canada, Another Party was dispatched to Lapararee and Allen was sent into the Country to see what Number of Canadians would Join and take arms under him : he engaged about Eighty and very imprudently marched with them to attack Montreal ; they were Attacked near that City by 100 Regulars and some Tories, about 50 ; Allen and 20 of his men were taken Prisoners, the rest ran away. Our Party at Lapararee were more successful, having intercepted a Large Quantity of Wine, Rum and Cloathing, that were for the relief of the Garrison. Our Parties in the Country have taken about [illegible] Prisoners, they are sent to Hartford. 200 Canadians have joined us and intrenched themselves Strongly, on the East side the River Sorrel, Opposite St John's at about 500 Yards Distant from it.

"Mr. James Livingston has been exceedingly active, he had several skirmishes with the Enemy, since we came down and before. We have now Nine Hundred men the Other Side St John's strongly intrenched, about a Thousand on this side at the Main Camp in the same situation—we have a Mortar Redoubt, about 200 yards from them, and a 2 Gun Battery about $\frac{1}{2}$ a Mile from them, they bear upon the Fort and the Vessels of"

End of fourth page.

The rest of the letter is missing. Capital letters in the above are given as in the original. Both in their usage and non-usage the writer appears to have been guided by a purpose.

MATURIN L. DELAFIELD

NEW YORK CITY.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

IMPRESSIONS OF WASHINGTON

From a letter from Chief-Justice Sir William Dunkin to his nephew Robert Henry Dunkin, Esq., of Philadelphia, dated "Calcutta, India, April 20, 1797." Never before published.

[Contributed by Rev. Maunsell Van Rensselaer, D.D.]

"I never felt myself so interested about a great man I never saw, as I have long felt for your Mr. Washington. Surely there must be too much gratitude in Americans, too much discrimination of character, too much of well-founded judgment, to suffer any competition to be successful against him. Many great, many good men there may certainly be found amongst you ; but a man so tried in difficulties of awful danger, so successful in surmounting them, so firm and yet so unassuming in the plenitude of power, I believe, and all who reflect must believe, is hardly, if at all, to be found in America or in any other quarter of the globe."

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON

CHANCELLOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

THE FIRST UNITED STATES SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

[Contributed by Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth]

To His Excellency, Thomas M'Kean, President of Congress :

Clermont, Manor of Livingston

25th Aug. 1781

Sir,

I was yesterday favored with your letter of the 11th inst. inclosing a resolution of Congress appointing me Secretary of Foreign Affairs. I feel myself extremely honored by this mark of their attention, and by the obliging manner in which your Excellency has communicated it.

I am too conscious of my own insufficiency and too solicitous for the welfare of my country, not to wish, that the choice of Congress had fallen upon some person better qualified to fulfil the duties of that important Department.—Though I agree in sentiment with your Excellency on the expediency of filling this place as soon as possible, & am sorry to interpose the smallest delay, yet, I feel myself embarrassed in coming to a determination, from not having seen the act of Congress constituting the office, nor do I know how far the Secretary of Foreign Affairs is to be consulted in the appointment of an interpreter, Secretary, and such clerks as he may find necessary, tho his reputation may depend on their discretion and fidelity; nor what provision is made for defraying the necessary expenses of the Department. When Your Excellency shall do me the honor to communicate the resolution of Congress on these subjects, I shall, without delay inform you of my determination to accept or decline the office, and in either case, I shall retain a grateful sense of the honor that Congress have done me by the appointment,

I have the honor to be, Sir,
with great respect & esteem
Your Excellency's
most obedient humble servant
Rob^t R. Livingston

[SECOND LETTER]

To His Excellency, Thomas M'Kean, President of Congress:

Office of Foreign Affairs
Philadelphia, 29th October 1782.

Sir,

I have the honor to enclose for the inspection of Congress a letter from Mr. Harrison — So much of it as relates to the state of his accounts has been sent to the office of Finance — As this subject has before been strongly insisted upon by Mr. Jay, I doubt not that Mr. Morris will pay every attention to it which the means in his hands will permit.

Mr. Harrison is so well spoken of by Mr. Jay & has manifested on many occasions a watchfull attention to the welfare of the United States & discovered such disinterestedness in every transaction which related to them, that I cannot but hope that Congress will think him worthy of public notice. Should they be of opinion that it would be improper to appoint him consul at a time when he could not be received in a public character, & when an attempt to display it might draw upon the United States new indignities, yet it would give me pleasure to be enabled to assure him from Congress that they entertain a just sense of his services & that

they wish him to continue to act under the authority he has received from Mr. Jay, till the politics of Spain shall render it proper to vest him with more ample powers. This earnest of the favor of Congress, would stimulate him to merit further marks of their confidence.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
with the greatest respect & esteem
Your Excellency's
Most obedient humble servant
Rob^t R. Livingston

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF ANDREW JACKSON

[Contributed by General Marcus J. Wright]

Headquarters 7. M. District,
New Orleans, 22d Feb., 1815.

Sir :

It gave me great pain to learn that Ft. Bowyer had surrendered to the enemy without being fired upon. I had calculated most confidently that that post would not have fallen but after the most gallant resistance.

Admiral Cochrane has enclosed me the copy of a bulletin published in a London paper, announcing that a treaty of peace had on the 24th December last, been signed at Ghent by our commissioners and those of Grt. Britain ; but as it does not appear that hostilities are to cease until the treaty shall be signed by the Price Regent & the President, & it becomes us to exercise all our former vigilance & industry. I have little doubt, if he attempts Mobile, as probably he will, that I shall receive a good account of him. It will be glorious to wipe away the stain which I am fearful the American Army has sustained.

Nothing is wanting to insure you success, but a belief inspired into your troops that they will be victorious ; and such a disposition of them as I am satisfied you will make. I have enclosed the bulletin forwarded by Admiral Cochrane to Genl. McIntosh with a request that he hand it you.

Very respectfully,
Andrew Jackson,
Major Genl. Comdg.

Genl. James Winchester, Commanding
Mobile, M. T.

NOTES

THE NEGRO—Of the eighteen millions of the southern people, seven millions are colored and of a race only twenty-five years emancipated from slavery and less than three hundred years out of the abject barbarism of the dark continent. Apart from moral and political considerations, every impartial observer must realize that, in the period before 1860, the negro made greater progress toward civilization than any people known to history in a time so brief. He learned the three fundamental conditions of modern life—steady and persistent work, and the language and religion of the foremost people of Christendom. . . . Every year a larger number of the negroes are becoming independent land-owners, living in comfortable homes, in good family life, getting the elements of knowledge. . . . The southern negro now owns from one to two hundred million dollars—the fruit of his first generation of freedom. . . . The negro is doing with fair success everything his critics insist he cannot do, and his ability for industrial development is nowhere better appreciated than among the leading experts and wisest economists of the states that know him best. Perhaps it will turn out that the greatest advantage to the negro is that he is the latest comer on the threshold of modern civilization. — *Industrial Education in the South*.

WASHINGTON AT BRANDYWINE—*Editor Magazine of American History*: The following incident from Gilmore's *Rear-Guard of the Revolution* was related by

a British officer in a letter to a friend in England: "A rebel officer, remarkable by a huzzar dress, passed toward our army, within a hundred yards of my right flank, not perceiving us. He was followed by another, dressed in dark green and blue, mounted on a bay horse, with a remarkably high cocked hat. I ordered three good shots to steal near to and fire at them; but, the idea disgusting me, I recalled the order. The huzzar, in returning, made a circuit, but the other passed within a hundred yards of us, upon which I advanced from the wood toward him. Upon calling he stopped; but, after looking at me, he proceeded. I again drew his attention and made signs to him to stop, leveling my piece at him, but he slowly cantered away. As I was within that distance at which, in the quickest firing, I could have lodged half a dozen balls in and about him before he was out of my reach, I had only to determine; but it was not pleasant to fire at the back of an unoffending individual who was acquitting himself very coolly of his duty, so I let him alone." On the next day the officer learned from some captured officers that Washington had been all that morning in the position indicated, dressed as described, and attended by only a French officer in huzzar uniform. The writer adds, "I am not sorry I did not know at the time who it was."

J. A. STETSON, JR.

AN INTERESTING RELIC—The Historical Society of Wisconsin has just received the most valuable memorial that

it has ever acquired or ever can acquire. It is a silver ostensorium, or vessel in which the sacred wafer is exhibited to the people at mass in the Roman Catholic church. It is fifteen inches high and elaborately wrought. This ostensorium was, as appears from an inscription on its base, presented to the St. Francis Xavier mission at Depere, in 1686, by Nicolas Perrot, then French commander for the western country, having his headquarters at Depere. He had three or four forts strung along the upper Mississippi, on both sides of the river, from Dubuque to the mouth of the St. Croix, and was a valiant Indian fighter, having been a hardy *coureur de bois* in the Wisconsin wilds as early as 1669.

In 1802, the ostensorium was unearthed in Green Bay, five miles distant from the old St. Francis Xavier mission, by workmen digging a cellar. The mission house was burned by Indians in 1687, and it is supposed that the priest in charge saved this sacred vessel, and for safety buried it where it was accidentally found nearly a century and a half later. When dug up in 1802, it was placed in the cupboard of the Grignon dwelling, and used by traveling missionaries to celebrate mass in an upper room. In 1823, it became one of the vessels of the first Catholic church, built that year in Green Bay. When that church was burned in 1828, the ostensorium was taken to Depere; but in 1838 it was redeemed by the then Green Bay priest, Father Bonduel, for its weight in silver, and taken back to Green Bay. It has ever since been in the possession of the bishop of that diocese. The old ostensorium is briefly noticed in

Vol. III. of the Wisconsin Historical Collections, and described at some length in Vol. VIII. It is pictured, from photographs taken in Madison, in Vol. IV. of Windsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, where there is also a description compiled from the Wisconsin account.

This venerable relic was by express permission of Archbishop Heiss, exhibited by Prof. James D. Butler, who represented the State Historical Society and the commonwealth at the Marietta centennial last July; and it was seen that in the great hall which contained such a quantity of relics of white men's presence west of the Alleghanies, the Wisconsin ostensorium outranked them all by nearly one hundred years. And indeed this is not strange, when it comes to be considered that 1681 is the date of the oldest tombstone at Plymouth, on the hill above the rock where the Pilgrim Fathers landed. Wisconsin thus has a relic as old, wanting five years, attesting the presence of European settlers within her borders. It is a memorial as indubitably genuine as the Massachusetts gravestone, and more wonderful for many reasons. It has been deposited for exhibition in the vault of the Historical Society by the kindness of Bishop Katzer, of Green Bay, and the consent of Archbishop Heiss, of Milwaukee. The officers of the society will keep it under a glass case, and a sight of the grand old relic will no doubt be asked for by thousands of historical enthusiasts in the years to come. It is Wisconsin's oldest monument made by civilized hands.

MADISON, WIS.

R. G. THWAITE

QUERIES

REMARKABLE MONARCH—Will some reader of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY* inform me the name of the monarch who ruled the American colonies before the Revolution, of whom it was recorded in rhyme that "he never said a foolish thing, and never did a wise one"?

WILMOT

THE MOUND-BUILDERS [xxi. 142]—Will the author of the article on the "Mound-Builders," in the February number, since he has treated of the presumed source from whence the Mound-

Builders and the Indians came, throw some light on the problem of who the people were that made use of the paleolithic implements which have been found in New Jersey, Minnesota, and Ohio? They antedate the works of the Mound-Builders, and, it would seem, they ought to be taken into consideration before we can satisfactorily determine the relation which the Mound-Builders bore to the inhabitants of this continent at the time of discovery by Europeans.

M. H. SAVILLE

BOSTON, MASS.

REPLIES

THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION [xxi. 31; xxi. 168]—In 1859, while residing in Raleigh, North Carolina, I was present in the House of Delegates while a debate was going on upon some railroad bill. Governor Morehead, who was a supporter of the measure, had been taunted with being a Virginian. In reply, he closed an eloquent speech in the following words: "It has been charged, Mr. Speaker, that I am proud of my Virginian birth and ancestry. I am proud to have been born in a state which has given birth to a Washington, a Jefferson, a Madison, and a Monroe. But I am still more proud to be the adopted citizen of a state in which *Liberty herself was born!*"

A. N. LEWIS

WESTPORT, CONN.

THE OLDEST STATUE IN THE WORLD [xx. 158, 250; xxi. 168]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Is not

your correspondent mistaken in saying that the oldest statue known is in the Louvre? I am very certain that I saw the statue he refers to, in 1882, in the British Museum, just as he describes it, and said to be of the time of 3000 B.C., making it now about 4,900 years old.

W. A. MITCHELL

BROOKLYN, N.Y., February 11, 1889.

THE OLDEST STATUE IN THE WORLD [xx. 158, 250; xxi. 168]—In the narrative of his travels in the East, Charles Dudley Warner describes a remarkable statue in the museum of antiquities at Boolak, Egypt, discovered by Marietta Bey, the great French Egyptologist, at Memphis: "This image is one meter and ten centimeters high—a little over three feet. It stands erect, holding a staff. This statue is of wood and supposed to be 6,000 years old."

A. B. GRANDISON

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

A stated meeting of the society was held in the hall on Tuesday evening, February 5, the Hon. John A. King presiding. The librarian reported that since the previous meeting, a file of the *Richmond Whig*, from its foundation in 1824 to the end of 1888, when the publication ceased, had been added to the society's collections, through the liberality of several members. The paper of the evening, entitled "New York City in 1789," was read by Mr. Thomas E. V. Smith, and described the manner and dress of the citizens, their local government, courts, churches, civil and social societies, occupations and amusements, with notices of persons prominent in official or private life, and concluded with a brief description of the ceremony of President Washington's inauguration. The thanks of the society were voted Mr. Smith, and a copy of his paper was requested for the archives. The society then adjourned.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The

regular quarterly meeting of this society was held on the evening of January 15, Vice-President Gen. A. C. McClurg in the chair. After a series of interesting reports had been presented by the different officers, Edward G. Mason read to an appreciative audience an interesting and instructive paper, entitled, "Some of the First Citizens of Chicago," for which, on motion of Mr. S. H. Kerfoot, the cordial thanks of the society were tendered, and a copy requested for publication.

WESTPORT (CONNECTICUT) HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

This society was organized February 2, 1889, and the following officers elected: President, Mr. Horace Staples; vice-presidents, Mr. W. J. Jennings, Mr. Landon Ketchum, Rev. J. E. Coley; treasurer, L. T. Day, M.D.; secretary, Rev. A. N. Lewis. Monthly meetings are held, and papers read. At the next meeting, Rev. J. E. Coley will read a paper upon the "Early Indian Names of Saugatuck."

ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular monthly meeting January 4, 1889, at the house of Gilman H. Perkins. An interesting paper was read by George Moss: "Three Episodes in the History of the Genesee Valley." The Hon. Henry E. Rochester read an important contribution to the bibliography of the "One Hundred Acre Tract." At its meeting February 1, Professor Morey presented a plan for gathering the data of the history of the city of Rochester, and Western New York, which will busy the members of the historical society for a year at least, and result doubtless in a collection of papers of great importance. The following is a brief outline of the proposed scheme:

Political records, by Charles E. Fitch; ecclesiastical records, by Rev. Dr. Anstice; educational records, by Professor Gilmore; commercial records, by J. Y. McClintock; social records, by John H. Rochester; literary records, by Mrs. Jane Marsh Parker; vital statistics, by Dr. E. V. Stoddard; physical geography, by Karl Gilbert, of Washington; miscel-

laneous, including topographical maps, surveys, etc., meteorological observations and records. Interviews with old residents regarding the early history of Rochester and vicinity. Under the last-named head it is proposed to secure the reminiscences of such residents as Schuyler Moses, and Mrs. Mary B. Allen King.

Another feature of this society is the question box, calling out much interesting discussion of local historical topics.

The society is yet without any published documents, but hopes before long to be able to exchange with other societies.

The Hon. Henry E. Rochester presented a paper at the latest meeting, entitled, "History and Description of the Genesee River and Western New York," showing much research and bringing new facts to light.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

—The regular fortnightly meeting was held February 5 in the cabinet, President Gammell in the chair. Hon. William P. Sheffield, of Newport, addressed the society on "The Early Settlement of Rhode Island, and the Causes which led thereto." Of Coddington he said: "In the time of James the First and Charles the First there lived in Lincolnshire one William Coddington, gentle born, well educated and talented. While in the old country this man opposed the levying of ship money and the other taxes. He was much persecuted at the time, and came to Boston in 1630. He joined there Governor Winthrop, with whom he was at first in close relations. Coddington sat as one of the magistrates

in the conviction of Roger Williams. In 1634 Ann Hutchinson, a most extraordinary character, came to Boston with her husband. She was a follower of Cotton and went at once to attend the church of the Rev. Dr. Wilson. She was a devout woman and a most enthusiastic student of theology. She established meetings of women at her house on week-days, like the present Bible-classes, and they talked over the sermon of the previous Sunday. It was not long before the woman had the whole church in her way of thinking, which, as it happened, was directly opposed to Dr. Wilson, who was an enemy of Cotton. The consequence was that Ann Hutchinson was put upon trial for heresy and questioned by all the clergymen of the colony. She stood her ground nobly, and was supported to the last by Coddington. The trial came November 10, and the woman was banished. Out of these complications grew a heated election, in which Coddington took the side opposed to Winthrop, who had favored Wilson in the prosecution of Mrs. Hutchinson, and was defeated. Coddington and the Hutchinsons departed together from the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and arrived in Rhode Island before March 7, 1638."

WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

The thirty-sixth annual meeting of this society was held on Friday, January 3. Secretary Reuben G. Thwaites submitted an able and interesting report in behalf of the executive committee, showing great progress in the affairs of the society. He was present last April at the unearthing of the supposed ruins of Nicholas Perrot's old wintering fort, built near the

village of Trempealeau, on the banks of the Upper Mississippi, in 1685. The relics of this find have been placed in the society's museum.

The annual address by Frederick J. Turner, A.M., of Portage, entitled "The Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin," was read by Secretary Thwaites, in the absence of the author. The address was very suggestive and scholarly.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY has held its usual semi-monthly meetings in the hall of the Berkeley Lyceum. On Friday, January 18, Mr. James R. Gilmore read an interesting paper on "Old Times beyond the Alleghanies." At the meeting on the first of February, the Rev. Charles Payson Mallory delivered an address on the "Ancient Families of Bohemia Manor, their Homes and their Graves." Several new members have been elected, and some valuable books have been added to the library.

LINNÆAN SCIENTIFIC AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LANCASTER, PA.—This society held its annual meeting on Saturday, January 26, 1889, and the president, Hon. J. P. Wickersham, LL.D., occupied the chair. The reports of the curators, secretary, librarian, and treasurer, for the year 1888, were read and filed. During the year 43 donations had been made to the museum, and 99 to the library. S. S. Rathvon then read an interesting paper on the capture recently within the county limits of a specimen of the *Lynx Canadensis*, which is a very rare occurrence. Mr. John K. Small

read a list of the recent additions to and corrections in the nomenclature of the county flora. S. M. Sener read a highly interesting article on an old Indian deed from the sachems of the Six Nations to Thomas and Richard Penn, executed November 5, 1768, and recorded at Lancaster, in the recorder's office, in Record Book 26, pp. 68-72. This deed is for the sale to the Penns of all the land in the province not included in the grants of August 2, 1749, and October 23, 1758. The local interest in the deed consists in the release by the sachems of 500 acres located in Connestoego Manor, in Lancaster county, and the subsequent release for the same tract by the descendants of Sohoes, on May 20, 1775, to John Penn, proprietor. The two deeds are signed by nine sachems, who made totems as their signatures. The descendants of Sohoes were the survivors of the Indians who had been massacred by the Paxton boys in the old jail at Lancaster. The following officers were elected: president, J. P. Wickersham, LL.D.; vice-presidents, J. S. Stahr, Ph.D., and C. A. Heinitsh; recording secretary, S. M. Sener; corresponding secretary, Mrs. E. Eby; treasurer, S. S. Rathvon, Ph.D.; librarian, Mrs. L. D. Zell.

THE MINISINK VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY is a new institution, having only just received its name on the seventh of the present month. The officers will be elected at a meeting to be held Feb. 22. An interesting paper was read Feb. 7, by Dr. W. L. Cuddeback, on the "Old Highways in Deer Park." The paper for Feb. 22 will be read by J. M. Allerton on the "Lakes in the Town of Deer Park."

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

Mr. Gladstone says the England and the America of the present are probably the two strongest nations in the world. But he does not think there is any danger that America will ever grow into a reflection or repetition of England. The relationship between the two is unique in history. There is no parallel in all the records of the world to the case of that prolific British mother, who has sent forth her innumerable children to be the founders of half a dozen empires. "Among these children there is one whose place in the world's eye and in history is superlative; it is the American Republic. She is the eldest born. She has, taking the capacity of her land into view as well as its mere measurement, a natural lease for the greatest continuous empire ever established by man. The development which the Republic has effected has been unexampled in its rapidity and force." Mr. Gladstone goes on further to state in round numbers the annual income of England, which has been reached at a surprising rate of progress, and adds: "But while we have been advancing with this portentous rapidity, America is passing us by as if in a canter."

It seems to be gradually dawning upon the American mind that the coming celebration of Washington's inauguration in 1789, in New York city, on the 30th of April next, is not a local affair. New York does not often put her shoulder to the wheel in the matter of a celebration of any sort, but the greatest national event on record occurred within her water boundaries, and having become alive to its importance, and with becoming self-respect and enthusiasm, she has undertaken to lead in its commemoration on a scale of great magnitude, and in a manner befitting an occasion so sublime and impressive. England as well as all the other powers of the earth are watching these preparations with an interest that is only equaled by profound admiration. If the New York committees are judicious in all their movements, and the stupendous structure is strong in all its parts, this centennial of the birth of the American Republic will be the grandest celebration in human history.

One of the great prospective benefits to the country of this coming centennial of the beginning of government, is its educating properties. It would astonish even New York herself to learn that not one out of every twenty-five of her inhabitants of the present generation was aware until the recent outbreak of enthusiastic preparation, that New York was the first capital of the nation. What sort of instruction has been going on in our schools may be partly surmised from the singular fact that even so celebrated an author and scholar as the Yale professor, who has won world-wide distinction through his *Outlines of Universal History*, states therein, in black and white, that the seat of government of the United States was first at Philadelphia and then in Washington. Intelligent and educated ladies and gentlemen have, within the last six months, given forcible expression to their surprise on learning that the first president of the United States was inaugurated in New York! History and geography will both be better known and understood in the years to come.

History is a voice forever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. Opinions alter, manners change, creeds rise and fall, but the moral law is written on the tablets of eternity. History teaches us that we should expect little, for what we expect will not come to pass. The address of history is less to the understanding than to the higher emotions. We learn in it to sympathize with what is great and good; we learn to hate what is base. In the companionship of the illustrious natures who have shaped the fortunes of the world we escape from the littlenesses which cling to the round of common life, and our minds are tuned into a higher and nobler key. History when it concerns our own country is the more bright and attractive from the facility with which we can touch the particular links that connect us with the charmed past.

Some one has recently remarked that "the growth of the great author depends upon the existence of many common authors. He is the fruit of the literary movement of his age." Complaints are made that the constant reprints from English writers have deluged the country with English books and with foreign ideas. It is said that America is not sufficiently American; that its authors should deal more with the sentiments, thoughts, and purposes which maintain the American character. But are the people blameless? Should they not love their own land sufficiently to assist in the development of the sense of nationality? We are reminded just here of William Ellery Channing's comments on the need of an original literature. He says: "We rejoice in the increasing intellectual connection between this country and the old world. But the more we receive from other countries, the greater the need of an original literature. A people into whose minds the thoughts of foreigners are poured perpetually, needs an energy within itself to resist, to modify this mighty influence. The true sovereigns of a country are those who determine its mind, its mode of thinking, its tastes, its principles; and we cannot consent to lodge this sovereignty in the hands of strangers. We need a literature to counteract, and to use wisely the literature which we import. We are more and more a reading people. Books are already among the most powerful influences here. Shall America be only an echo of what is thought and written under the aristocracies beyond the ocean?"

The following incident, from an authentic source, is worthy of being traced in letters of gold. During the war a beautiful and spirited Virginia belle, whose brother—a Confederate soldier—had been taken prisoner by the Union forces, was desirous of obtaining a pass which would enable her to visit him. Francis P. Blair agreed to secure for the lady an audience with the President, but warned his young and rather impulsive friend to be very prudent and not let a word escape her which would betray her Southern sympathies. They were ushered into the presence of Mr. Lincoln, and their object and wishes stated. The tall, grave President bent down to the petite maiden, and, looking searchingly into her face, said: "You are loyal, of course?" Her bright eyes flashed. She hesitated a moment, and then, with a face eloquent with emotion and honest as his own, she replied, "Yes, loyal to the heart's core—to Virginia!" Mr. Lincoln kept his intent gaze upon her for a moment longer and then went to his desk, wrote a line or two, and handed her the paper. With a bow the interview terminated. Once outside, the extreme vexation of Mr. Blair found vent in reproachful words. "Now, you have done it!" he said. "Didn't I warn you to be very careful? You have only yourself to blame." The young lady made no reply, but opened the paper. It contained these words:

"Pass Miss —; she is an honest girl and can be trusted.

A. LINCOLN."

BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY OF DELAWARE, 1609-1888.

By J. THOMAS SCHARF, A.M., LL.D. In 2 volumes. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 1346. Philadelphia: L. J. Richards & Co. 1888.

These two superb and handsomely printed volumes embrace a vast amount of valuable information. They form the most thorough and satisfactory work yet achieved by Dr. Scharf. Delaware hitherto has probably had fewer collated and connected records of her early days than any of the states. The Swedish and Dutch settlers in early times carried away or destroyed the greater part of their chronicles, and the succeeding English kept their records very much in connection with those of the neighboring colonies. Delaware did not approach a condition of embryo statehood until she reached legislative semi-independence in 1704. But intelligent research and patient determination on the part of the author have produced a tolerably connected narrative of the events of her colonial epoch. The local description of the political and geographical divisions of the state is very complete. Local writers have apparently been permitted to tell their own stories, thus swelling the dimensions of the work to a considerable extent, none the less valuable, however, to future historians. The work contains nearly three hundred illustrations, some of which are of priceless value, and the mechanical execution of every feature of the letter-press and engravings is to be commended. "Delaware under William Penn" forms a very unique chapter. The manners and customs of the early inhabitants are also pleasant reading, and we find some curious pictures of "Early costumes and head-dresses," from 1776 to 1876. "Delaware during the Revolution" is, however, the most interesting portion of the volume, and it gives us in full many hitherto half-known facts about Delaware's leading families. The portrait of Colonel John Read, the father of George Read, the signer, is one of the finest in the first volume. He was the ancestor of the Delaware branch of the Read family in this country, a wealthy and public-spirited Southern planter, the fifth in descent from Thomas Read, lord of the manors of Barton Court and Beeton in England. Charles Reade, the novelist, says: "In the civil wars of the seventeenth century the family declared for the crown, and its then chief, Sir Compton Read, was, for his services, one of the first baronets created by Charles II. after the Restoration. A younger son of the family went over to Ireland during the same troubles," and Colonel John Read of the portrait was his son. Other portraits of the Read family, including the sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of the above, with the pictures of their handsome old homes,

still in existence, add greatly to the interest. Portraits of Caesar Rodney, Thomas McKean, John Dickinson, and other important characters also appear. From the Revolution to the war of 1812-15, the chapter is very full, and we are here brought into an acquaintance with the Bayards. The civil war has elaborate treatment, and one of the finest portraits in this connection is that of Rear Admiral Du Pont, fifty years of whose life was dedicated to honor and usefulness in the United States navy. Internal improvements, education, the newspaper press, the medical profession, and the bench and the bar, are in turn reviewed. The second volume is devoted chiefly to the history of the counties and towns, and general industries.

THE CHAD BROWN MEMORIAL, consisting of **GENEALOGICAL MEMOIRS** of a portion of the descendants of Chad and Elizabeth Brown, with an appendix containing sketches of other early Rhode Island settlers, 1638-1888. Compiled by a descendant. 8vo, pp. 173. Limited edition. Printed for the family. Brooklyn. N. Y.

The grandsons of John Brown, the oldest son of Chad Brown, founded Brown University, at first called the College of Rhode Island. On the 14th of May, 1770, the corner-stone of University Hall was laid, the first, and for many years the only building of this institution. The Brown family seem to have had an exceptionally good record. John Carter Brown was one of its enlightened members, whose collection of rare and costly books, from a great diversity of sources, has been widely known. He graduated from Brown University in the class of 1816, and spent much of his early life in travel. The author of this work says: "His tastes were simple, and his spirit that of genuine modesty without self-seeking or arrogance. Though possessed of firm convictions, he was always tolerant of dissent on the part of others." The work is not strictly genealogical in its character; there are biographical and historical paragraphs to be found on nearly every page. The author says: "It is believed that few similar works contain an equal number of names illustrious for the service their possessors rendered to the times in which they lived, and for the provision they made with reference to the welfare of future generations." The work has been well and faithfully compiled, and is an important contribution to American history.

NEW AMSTERDAM, NEW ORANGE, NEW YORK. With chronological data. By

CHARLES W. DARLING. 8vo pamphlet, pp. 43. Privately printed. 1889.

The historical notes in this little brochure refer mainly to the germ of the city of New York when its name was New Amsterdam, and its buildings chiefly trading and fishing huts. The data have been gathered from several published works, and are uneven in value. The chronological data are excellent. The frontispiece embraces the exquisite reproductions of the miniature portraits of George and Martha Washington, by Robertson, which appeared in this magazine in April last.

AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1607-1885. By CHARLES F. RICHARDSON. Complete in two volumes. Vol. II., American Poetry and Fiction. 8vo, pp. 456. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1889.

We are glad to welcome the second volume of Professor Richardson's able study of American literature, and find the promises made in his first volume abundantly realized. His task has been most difficult and delicate, "that of estimating the rank and analyzing the achievements of American authors," and his mode of treatment has evidently been governed partly by his sympathies. He possesses the art of brightening dull passages, and his style is always clear, forcible, and interesting. His method of criticism, however, is variable. He opens with a description of early verse-making in America, which forms one of his very best chapters. He says: "Toward the close of the eighteenth century the storm-center of American poetry seemed to move southward, hovering, for a time, over Yale college and Connecticut." He describes Timothy Dwight's *Conquest of Canaan*, a Poem in Eleven Books, and says: "Dr. Dwight's trig little epic, in its strong leather covers, was found in many a meager book-case in the early days of the republic. If its qualities are those of industry and occasional stiff merit rather than genius, and if it is no longer read, can we say anything better of the verse of the great Doctor Johnson himself? This poem and Dr. Dwight's historico-didactic pastoral called *Greenfield Hill*, showed that Americans were feebly gaining a little in metrical skill, though originality seemed as far off as ever. Dr. Dwight, who was as modest as he was learned, fairly measured the success and the failure of himself and his fellows by the frank motto from Pope on the title-page of *The Conquest of Canaan* :

"Fired, at first sight, with what the muse imparts,
In fearless youth we tempt the height of arts."

The chief poets of our day occupy the larger space, and Professor Richardson's critical estimate of their skill in production seems to be very

nearly that fixed by public opinion. He is gentle in his criticisms as a rule, and it is always obvious that he aims to be just. The work is charmingly readable, and so suggestive and instructive that it will be prized as it deserves.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JUDGE CALEB WALLACE. [Filson Club Publications, Number 4.] By WILLIAM H. WHITSITT. Square 8vo, pp. 151. Louisville: John P. Morton and Company. 1888.

The Filson Club, composed of prominent citizens of Kentucky who are interested in the preservation of the early history and pioneer traditions of their state, has already through the excellence of its work taken high rank among institutions of the kind in this country. It was organized in Louisville about four years ago. Its first publication was appropriately a sketch of the life and writings of John Filson, from whom the club was named, prepared by the first president of the club, the eminent scholar, Reuben T. Durrett. The work before us is an exhaustive sketch of one of the judges of the Kentucky court of appeals, Hon. Caleb Wallace, who was prominently connected with many of the important events of the pioneer period of Kentucky's history. The author shows him to have been an important factor in religious movements, and a power in the establishment of colleges and schools in the state. Judge Wallace was descended from the clan of Wallace in Scotland. His ancestor in this country, Peter Wallace, was one of the earlier settlers of what was called "the back parts of Virginia." The subject of this work was born in 1742, and when twenty-five years old sought for a learned education, and was prepared for college at the school in Elizabethtown of which Rev. James Caldwell was the principal. In the college of New Jersey to which he was subsequently admitted he was the pupil of Rev. Dr. Witherspoon. He entered the ministry prior to the Revolution, in which he continued for twelve years. His career is traced by Mr. Whitsitt with detail and precision. As a jurist and civilian, Judge Wallace proved one of the most able and useful men in the state of Kentucky. The genealogical notices in the work are exceedingly timely and valuable. The author has evidently had access to the best authorities, and every page of the volume reveals the most careful and painstaking research. It is printed in a sumptuous manner on elegant paper.

ANNALS OF THE VAN RENSSELAERS

in the United States, specially as they relate to the family of Killian K. Van Rensselaer. By Rev. MAUNSELL VAN RENSSELAER, D.D.,

LL.D. 8vo, pp. 240. Albany: Charles Van Benthuysen & Sons. 1888.

The branch of the Van Rensselaer family, of which this volume treats, has never before been so well and carefully traced. The history of the settlement of Rensselaerswyck, and the original founder of the estate, naturally falls into its pages, and sketches of the various members of the family in this country are introduced as generation after generation are passed in review. Killian K. Van Rensselaer, whose particular family and descendants form the greater part of the volume, was a member of the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth congresses. He was born in the old family mansion at Greenbush in 1763, and entered Yale College under the presidency of Dr. Ezra Stiles, during the war of the Revolution. The death of his father prevented his returning to college after his junior year, and General Philip Schuyler, whose wife was the young collegian's own cousin, made him his private secretary. His career was one of peculiar interest, and the biographical and historical setting which is given to it by the scholarly author renders the work one of general historic importance. It is a model book of its kind.

SOME RECORDS OF THE DYER FAMILY. Compiled by CORNELIA C. JOY-DYER. 12mo, pp. 130. Printed for private circulation. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The fresh interest awakened of late in genealogical studies has produced many informing and valuable genealogical publications. Among these the little work before us deals chiefly with the family of William and Mary Dyer and their descendants. Mary Dyer will be remembered in connection with the persecution of the Quakers in Massachusetts where, in 1659, at the time of that wild fanaticism on the part of "the heretics," as they were called, and the frenzied bigotry of the Puritans, she was publicly executed in Boston. Biographical sketches are given by the author of many eminent members of the Dyer family, such as Hon. Elisha Dyer, ex-Governor of Rhode Island, Dr. Charles Volney Dyer, of Chicago, and Rev. Heman Dyer, D.D., of New York city.

CHILDREN'S STORIES OF THE GREAT SCIENTISTS. By HENRIETTA CHRISTIAN

WRIGHT. With portraits. 12mo, pp. 350. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1888.

This work opens with the story of "Galileo and the Wonders of the Telescope, 1564-1642," and the boy who has any inventive faculties will read every line of it with intense interest. The portrait of Sir Isaac Newton and the account of his discovery follow; but Dr. Franklin's experiments with electricity will take precedence in almost every child-mind. We wish the chapter had been longer, and the details of Dr. Franklin's remarkable studies and experiences given with more fullness. The fifth chapter is entitled "Charles Linnæus and the Story of the Flowers, 1707-1778." These researches were first undertaken as an aid to the study of medicine. All the Linné family were passionately fond of botany, taking their name even from the great linden-tree which towered far above the houses in their native village. "Charles, or Carl, as he was called, studied the secrets of bud and leaf and perfect flower with such eagerness that, before he was eight years old, all the four hundred different plants in his father's collection were perfectly familiar to him, and he could understand the interesting talks about their nature and properties; and the father took care that the knowledge thus gained should be of the most accurate and practical character. Charles had memory exercises given him in which he was required to describe the compositions and properties of certain plants, and this careful training of eye and ear was no doubt the foundation of that wonderful power of observation for which he was so celebrated later on." "William Herschell and the Story of the Stars" forms an excellent chapter, and there are few of our growing youth who will not read with interest and exceeding great profit Chapter IX. on "Humboldt and Nature in the New World." Then, again, the records of civilized nations can hardly point to a time when man had not yet learned to tame and bend to his will the beasts which seemed only created for his use. Thus a fascination hangs about "Louis Agassiz and the Story of the Animal Kingdom, 1807-1874." We are here told how the songs of birds, their twitterings, scoldings, changes of position, habits, and instincts attracted the boy-naturalist when a child, and we learn that his life as a man was one of ceaseless activity. Miss Wright writes in a graphic, animated style, and every page is pleasantly readable.

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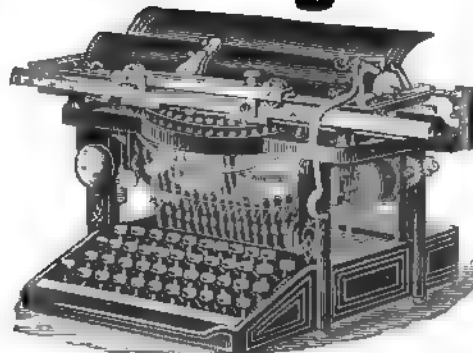
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Increase in Assets,	\$7,275,301 68
Surplus at four per cent.,	\$7,940,063 63
Increase in Surplus,	\$1,645,622 11
Policies in force,	158,369
Increase during year,	17,426
Policies written,	32,606
Increase during year,	10,301
Risks assumed,	\$103,214,261 32
Increase during year,	33,750,792 95
Risks in force,	482,125,184 36
Increase during year,	54,496,251 85
Receipts from all sources,	26,215,932 52
Increase during year,	3,096,010 06
Paid Policy-holders,	14,727,550 22

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Bonds and Mortgages,	\$49,617,874 02
United States and other securities,	48,610,704 14
Real Estate and Loans on collateral,	21,786,125 34
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,813,277 60
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit, etc.,	3,248,172 46
	\$126,082,153 56

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,681,420	\$351,789,285	\$4,743,771
1885	46,507,139	368,981,441	5,012,684
1886	56,832,719	393,809,203	5,643,568
1887	69,457,468	427,628,933	6,294,442
1888	103,214,261	482,125,184	7,940,063

NEW YORK, January 23, 1889.

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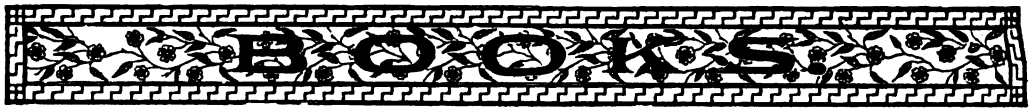
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George Washington

[From the original painting in possession of General J. Watts de Peyster.]

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WASHINGTON AND SOME OF HIS CONTEMPORARIES

THE nearer we approach our great national jubilee, the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the American republic, the nearer Washington and his contemporaries come to our homes, our firesides, and our hearts. There never was a time in our country's history when the principal actors in the scenes of 1789 occupied so conspicuous a place in the public mind as to-day, or when their lineage, attainments, experiences, and general characteristics were studied with such genuine enthusiasm and satisfactory results. Washington has become much more to us under the new light than the hero of our victories—in war and in peace—he is a familiar personal friend and benefactor. His name is upon every lip, his deeds are recited over and over again in every periodical, and his career furnishes a theme for orators on millions of platforms. His spoken words, his written letters, and his varied movements are all invested with a new significance. He seems almost to be approaching New York in the flesh to retake the oath which has echoed through a century.

Of those remarkable statesmen who awaited his coming in April, 1789, Senator John Langdon held the most interesting position. Chosen president of the senate while yet there was neither President nor Vice-President qualified for duty, he was really the first acting President of the United States. When the votes were counted by the new body of legislators, he wrote the official letter conveying the information to Washington of his election, and Charles Thompson delivered it in person to the President-elect at Mount Vernon. The letter was as follows:

Sir

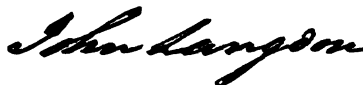
New York, April 6, 1789

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency the information of your unanimous election to the office of President of the United States of America. Suffer me, sir, to indulge the hope that so auspicious a mark of public confidence will meet with your approbation, and be considered as a pledge of the affection and support you are to expect from a free and enlightened people.

I am Sir with sentiments of Respect Your Obedient servant

General Washington Mount Vernon

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M^{rs}
Mount Vernon April 14. 1789.

Sir;

I had the honor to receive your Official communication, by the hands of M^r Secretary Thompson, about one o'clock this day. - Having concluded to obey the important & flattering call of my Country, and having been impressed with an idea of the expediency of my being with Congress at as early a period as possible; I propose to commence my journey on Thursday morning which will be the day after to-morrow.

I have the honor to be
with sentiments of esteem
to

Your most obed^t serv^t

The Hon^{ble}

M^r Langdon Esq.

G^o Washington

[Engraved from the original in possession of Mr. John Erving, of New York.]

Washington's reply to Mr. Langdon, also his letter written from Philadelphia while on his journey to New York, are presented in *fac-simile* through the courtesy of their present owner, Mr. John Erving, the great-grandson of John Langdon.

John Langdon was a man of fine presence, large and admirably well

Philadelphia April 20
1789

Gentlemen

Upon my alighting in this City, I received your communication of the 17th with the resolutions of the two Houses which accompanied it and in answer thereto have been to inform you that having been anxious both houses must be to proceed to business I shall continue my journey with as much dispatch as possible. - To morrow evening I purpose to be at Trenton - the night following at Brunswick and hope to have the pleasure of meeting you at Elizabethtown point on Thursday at 12 o'clock

With the greatest respect &
assurances I have the honor to be
Dear Sir
Y^r most Obedt^t Serv^t
John Langdon. &c. *Edw. Washington*

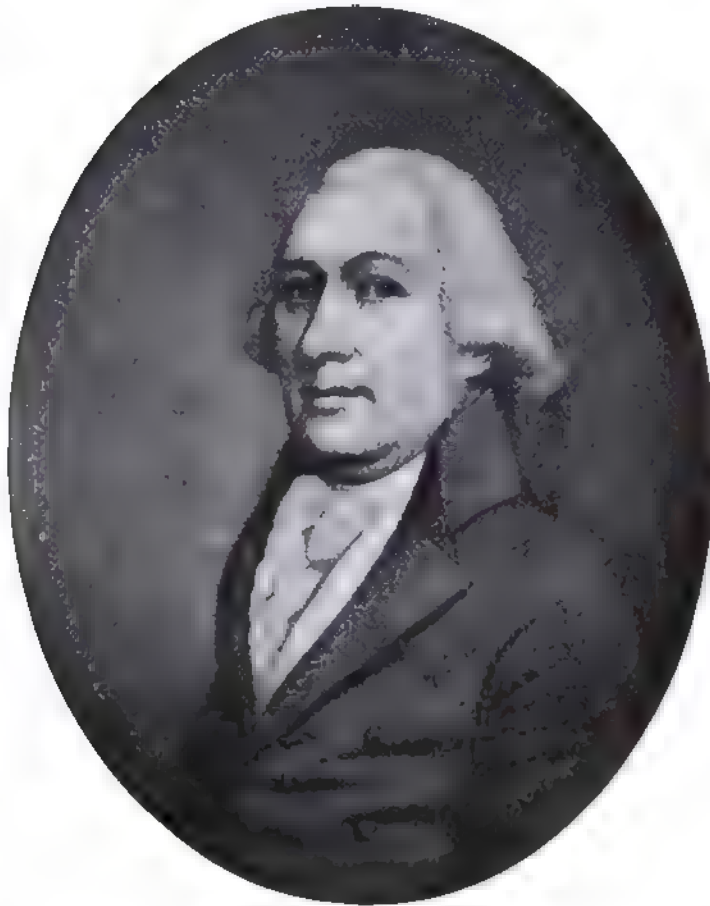
[Engraved from the original in possession of Mr. John Erving, of New York.]

proportioned, though not so large as Washington, with a fresh but not very fair complexion, clear blue eyes, and a strong, straight, English nose. He was a splendid looking man, not so handsome or imposing as his elder brother Woodbury, the ancestor of the New York Langdons, but with an

ample share of that personal beauty for which the Langdons in more generations than one have been celebrated. His gentlemanly breeding was so perfect withal that it is said he passed through forty years of political life without the tradition of a personal quarrel. His politeness was irresistible, and socially he was one of the most charming men of his generation. He was in his fiftieth year when he entered the first senate under the constitution. Fourteen years before this, in 1775, he was a delegate to the continental congress, and was the second time elected in January, 1776, together with William Whipple and Josiah Bartlett. Thus there were three members, and they were instructed that any one of them in the absence of the other was to have full power to represent the colony of New Hampshire, "and not more than two of them should attend at one time." Langdon was delegated to another service by congress, and through absence missed having his name immortalized in the celebrated document of the Declaration of Independence, but his colleagues were among the signers.

Langdon, as a navy agent, aided the patriots very materially, and built among other vessels the *Ranger*, in which Jones started on his dashing career. He was one of the most active of men, and became a resolute leader in the revolutionary party. He was speaker of the New Hampshire Assembly during the dark days of 1777, when Burgoyne was working his way down from the north, and means being wanted to equip a New Hampshire regiment to go out and meet him, Speaker Langdon rose from his chair and addressed the house as follows: "Gentlemen: I have three thousand dollars in hard money: I will pledge my plate for three thousand more: I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which shall be sold for the most it will bring. These are at the service of the state. If we succeed in defending our firesides and our homes, I may be remunerated; if we do not, the property will be of no value to me. Our old friend Stark, who so nobly maintained the honor of our state at Bunker Hill, may be safely entrusted with the conduct of the enterprise, and we will check the progress of Burgoyne." New Hampshire's sons were quickly on the wing, inspired by the presence of mind and confidence of Langdon, who went with them and participated in the Bennington battle—which exercised such a potent influence on the subsequent fortunes of the war. Langdon commanded a company of volunteers at Saratoga and at Rhode Island. He was also, at one time and another, in almost every sort of service for congress and the cause, without notoriety or remuneration.

Washington seems to have had his measure and regarded him with high respect, as indicated by the following letters:



John Langdon

[From the portrait in possession of the family.]

Mount Vernon, April 2^d 1788

Sir :

Your favor of the 28th of February came regularly to hand. The conduct of New Hampshire respecting the proposed government, was a matter of surprise in this, and I believe in every other part of the United States ; for her local situation, unconnected with other circumstances, was supposed to be a sufficient inducement to the people of that state to adopt a general government which promises more energy and security than the one under which we have hitherto lived ; and especially as it holds out advantages to the smaller states equal, at least, to their most sanguine expectations. Circumstanced as your

convention was, an adjournment was certainly prudent, but it happened very mal-apropos for this state, because the current information from that quarter would have justified the expectation of an unanimity in the convention, whereas an account so opposite to every former one having arrived at the very time when the Elections were carrying on here, gave an opportunity to the opponents of the proposed constitution to hold up to the people an idea of its not having been so generally approved of in other states as they had been taught to believe, and of consequence prepared them to receive active impressions, unfriendly to the government, and tending to influence their votes in favor of anti-federal characters.

However I do not yet despair of its adoption here, notwithstanding the unjust and uncandid representations which have been made by the opponents to influence the minds of the people and prejudice them against it.

With great esteem and regard

I am sir, Yr most obed. hble. servt

G^o Washington

The Honble. John Langdon.

Mount Vernon July 20th 1788

Sir :

I had the satisfaction to receive regularly your favor of the 21st ulto. announcing the adoption of the Federal government by the Convention of New Hampshire. You will already have been informed, through the ordinary channels of communication, that the same event took effect in this state a few days afterwards. And I am happy to say, that so far as I have been able to learn, a spirit of harmony and acquiescence obtained among the large and respectable minority in as great a degree as could possibly have been expected. If we may calculate upon rectitude in the views and prudence in the conduct of the leading characters throughout the state, accompanied by industry and honesty in the ways of the people, we may assuredly anticipate a new era : and, perhaps, we shall not deceive ourselves by expecting a more happy one than hath before appeared on this chequered scene of existence. But we ought not to be too sanguine, or to expect that we shall be entirely exempted from the ills which fall to the lot of humanity.

With congratulations to your excellency on your elevation to the Chief Magistracy of your state, and with sentiments of consideration and respect, I remain,

Sir, your Excellency's

most obed. hbl. ser

G^o Washington

His Excellency John Langdon Esqr.

John Langdon, as will be observed, was chosen governor of New Hampshire in 1788, and in all his subsequent public life was usually spoken of as Governor Langdon. His correspondence with the great men of his time embraces letters from nearly all those best known to history, many of which are exceedingly novel and interesting. Langdon was a Jeffersonian in politics, but he does not appear to have alienated his friends through his differing opinions. On one occasion, he took Hamilton home with him in his carriage, and as the horses dashed along he turned and said, "Sir,

you are riding with one of your staunchest political enemies." "Sir," replied Secretary Hamilton, throwing his hat to the floor of the carriage, "I see an honest man." Among the letters to which reference has been made are the following :

New York June 16. 1795

Dear Sir :

Will you allow me the liberty of introducing to your civilities Mr. De Liancourt and the Gentleman who accompanies him, Mr. Guillemand, a young Englishman who is mentioned to me as a man of sense information and worth. I take it for granted you made Mr. De Liancourt's acquaintance at Philadelphia and that you know his character.

Your politeness and hospitality are destined to be taxed. I will make no apology for doing it in this instance; but knowing how much you are exposed I shall be as discreet as possible in my intrusions

With great Consideration and Regard

I have the honor to be Dear Sir

Your Obed. serv

John Langdon Esquire

A. Hamilton.

Philadelphia September 6th 1796

Dear Sir .

Permit me to recommend to your civilities General Waltersloff, Governor of the Island of St Croix ; a Gentleman of real merit, possessing all the requisites to render an acquaintance with him valuable. He is accompanied by my particular friend Doctor Stevens. They are upon an excursion through the Northern States.

With esteem and regard I have the honor to be D. Sir

Your Obed. Servt

John Langdon Esq.
Portsmouth.

A Hamilton

Some illustrative and entertaining reminiscences appear in some letters written by Ex-President John Adams to Langdon, in 1812, from which the following extracts are made :

Quincy Feb. 27th, 1812

Dear Sir :

Though I have read with regret, the account of your declining a re-election as governor of New Hampshire, I am not surprised at it, nor can you be censured for it. Men who have run so long a career in public Life as yours, ought to be permitted to retire, when their deliberate judgement requires it. . . . I will now state candidly all I can recollect or ever could recollect of the conversation that was alluded to by yourself and Mr. John Taylor of Virginia.

A President is imprisoned : he is shackled ; he is gagged : he cannot say a word in Print, in his own defence : if he does the cry instantly resounds through the world, that he is ambitious, that he is avaricious, that he is seeking popularity ; that his principles are mean and selfish : his motives are his own glory. . . . I was always at my Post at the hour of adjournment of the senate. You was the most punctual of the senators, and

John Taylor met us oftener at the hour than any other member. Taylor was an eternal talker. The greatest Talker I ever knew excepting I name George the third ; and he had much more order, fire and fluency than his majesty. We were all frank and social enough. Taylor's perpetual Topick was the French Revolution. There was no end to his enthusiastic admiration of the French Revolution ; nor his panegyrics of the principal characters, then predominating. . . . He admired almost to adoration the constitution under which Robspierre and Barrere then acted.

Here I ventured to put in a word now and then. I said "that constitution cannot last. It cannot hold France together." "Why ! What alteration is necessary ?" asked Taylor. "A more permanent executive and senate will be indispensable" said I. "What, hereditary ?" he asked. "Hereditary, or at least for life" said I. "I do not believe it," said Taylor. "Nor I neither," said Langdon. I replied, "Gentlemen you and I too, shall live to see you alter, and acknowledge the alterations of your opinions." "What," said Taylor, with a quickness and vivacity which convinced me that he was upon the Catch, "and our own Constitution too ?" I was piqued at this insolence, this sophistry, this Jesuitism, and answered him "Yes" and turned upon my heel and went away. He and Tench Cox laid their heads together to publish to the world, that I had declared my opinion for an hereditary executive and senate in the United States, than which nothing was farther from the truth. When I said "Yes" I meant only that he would alter his opinion of our Constitution, to which he was supposed to be hostile ; at least it was believed that he was very uneasy under it, and disconnected with it.

Had I known when you were in Boston, I should either have called upon you, or at least sent a request to see you at Quincy . . . with the best wishes for every Felicity to you and yours, I remain, your

Friend and Servant

John Adams.

His excellency John Langdon
of Portsmouth, N. H.

John Langdon was thirty-eight years of age when he married, but his bride, Miss Elizabeth Sherburne, was only sweet sixteen. It proved, however, a very happy match. The lady was connected with some of New England's best families, was amiable and lovely, with highly cultivated tastes and great maturity and force of character. Langdon's New Hampshire home, over which she presided with queenly dignity, became henceforward the seat of the most generous hospitalities. Coming to New York with her husband in 1789, Mrs. Langdon soon became a favorite in the select circle about the President and Mrs. Washington. She is mentioned in history as at the celebrated ball given in honor of Washington the week following his inauguration ; and also among the leading ladies who paid their respects to Mrs. Washington immediately on her arrival in New York. The next day Mr. and Mrs. Langdon dined at the President's table *en famille*. One of the priceless relics of that period, a little later on, is an original dinner invitation-card of Washington's, which has been handed

along through the generations, and is now tenderly preserved by Mr. John Erving, through whose generous permission it is given in *fac-simile* to our readers. In this connection it is of historic interest to note that, while Mr. Erving is the great-grandson of John Langdon, the wife of Mr. Erving is the great-granddaughter of Judge William Patterson, senator to the first congress from New Jersey, and the granddaughter of Stephen Van Rensselaer the patroon, who was also present at the inauguration of Washington a hundred years ago. Thus the children of Mr. and Mrs. Erving are trebly associated, as it were, with the sublime event about to be commemorated. Some of the rich and surpassingly beautiful dresses of Mrs. John Langdon, worn

*The President of the United States
and M.^r Washington, request the Pleasure of
Mr. and Mrs. Langdon's
Company to Dine, on Thursday next, at 4 o'Clock.
1st Feb'y. 1793.*

An answer is requested.

by her at the entertainments in Washington's honor in 1789, are extant in possession of the family of another great-grandson, the Rev. Alfred L. Elwyn, of Philadelphia.

General Philip Schuyler and Rufus King entered the senate shortly after, not prior to, the inauguration of Washington. Schuyler was fresh from the state legislature, where he had been an important factor in bringing about the grand results of which James Madison said: "Nothing has excited more admiration in the world than the manner in which free governments have been established in America, for it was the first instance from the creation of the world that free inhabitants have been seen deliberating on a form of government, and selecting such of their citizens as possessed their confidence, to determine upon and give effect to it." Schuyler was then fifty-six years of age, one year younger

than Washington. One of his daughters was the wife of the great financier Hamilton, first secretary of the treasury, and another daughter, Margaret, was the wife of Stephen Van Rensselaer, the young patroon from Albany, then a member of the state legislature, holding its sessions in New York city. Van Rensselaer was scarcely twenty-five, a model of masculine beauty and courtly manners. In 1790 he was elected to the state senate, and continuing to reside in the metropolis was in the charmed circle that frequented Mrs. Hamilton's pretty parlors. He is more than once mentioned in Washington's note-book as present at the Presidential dinner-table by special invitation. He was an interesting character from the fact that he belonged in a certain sense to two opposite political systems. He was born a British subject (in 1764), and his direct legacies were the teachings and traditions of a feudal aristocracy that had a legalized and legitimate growth, together with a landed property immense for any country, and yet America did not contain a more conscientious republican than he. His first wife died early leaving one son, Stephen, and he subsequently married for his second wife Cornelia Patterson, only daughter of Governor William Patterson, of New Jersey (afterward justice of the supreme court), who was the New Jersey senator in 1789, conspicuous in connection with the reception of the President-elect, and at the inauguration of Washington in New York.

The journey of Washington through New Jersey, in April, 1789, which is about to be commemorated by that state in a superb and fitting manner, was a triumphal procession from first to last. How vividly the illustrious Washington must have recalled the events of 1776—one of the most romantic and remarkable years for its sequence of civil wonders in the history of the world—may be imagined. His depressing retreat through that state, flying before the British in the chilly November days, must have come to his mind in pictures of living colors, his camps dissolving, many of the men having engaged to serve only until December 1st and refusing to re-enlist, the mass of the population of New Jersey in a panic, hiding their blankets and woolen stockings instead of responding to the appeals of congress to furnish them to the freezing soldiers—and themselves flying to the dazzling, warmly clad, successful Englishmen for protection; and Pennsylvania so nearly paralyzed by anarchy and profitless disputes that little help could be expected from that quarter.

• New Jersey did not relish being a parade-ground for the hostile armies. With less of foreign commerce and inland traffic to employ her youth than many of the other provinces, she had always courted government offices and the naval and military service of England. Many of her sons had

been educated in Europe, involving associations which often resulted in marriages into foreign families; while similar unions had occurred between the officers of the royal regiments sent to America and the daughters of New Jersey. Thus personal happiness was jeopardized on every hand. Even the governor of that state, the son of Dr. Franklin, espoused the cause of the enemy. In Washington's own immediate family, at this distressing juncture, officers were criticising each other, and making the character and military conduct of their commander-in-chief the subject of disparaging comments. How surprised was New Jersey, as well as the rest of the world, at the new turn in the game of war! What a Christmas night was that of 1776! The weather excessively cold, the wind high, the Delaware river full of ice, and the current rapid. Let us not fail to admire the moral and intellectual power of the chief who, under such circumstances, commanded the movement by which a feeble army started at three o'clock in the afternoon with eighteen field-pieces for Trenton. It was four in the morning of the 26th before the party had accomplished the perilous crossing of the Delaware, and then marched nine miles in a driving snow-storm. We all know the result. The whole scheme was ingenious, and it was executed with remarkable vigor. To the startled senses of the British it was as if some energetic apparition had risen from the dead. It was a victory that caused an immediate revolution in public sentiment throughout the suffering state, and turned the wheel of American destiny into a new light. Lord Germain said: "Our hopes were blasted by that unhappy affair at Trenton." When, a few days later, the twin achievement at Princeton excited astonishment everywhere, and it was seen that an army supposed to be on the verge of annihilation had actually, in such an incredibly short time, dislodged the flower of the British soldiery from every position it had taken, save two, in the whole of the state of New Jersey, Washington's sagacity, intrepidity, and generalship were universally applauded both by friend and foe.

New Jersey gave beautiful expression to her love and gratitude and appreciation one hundred years ago, and nowhere was it of so touching and notable a character as at the *bridge of Trenton*. The scene has been more than once described, and yet the following, from the "Recollections" of Washington Parke Custis, will be read with interest: "That was indeed classic ground. It was there, on the frozen surface, that, in 1776, was achieved the glorious event which restored the fast-failing fortunes of liberty, and gave to her drooping eagles a renewed and bolder flight. . . . The President-elect alighted from his carriage, and approached the bridge uncovered. Upon it the ladies had caused to be erected an arch, which



WASHINGTON AT THE BRIDGE OF TRENTON IN APRIL, 1780, ON HIS WAY TO NEW YORK
(Facsimile of a quaint old print, characteristic of the condition of art at the time it was made.)

they adorned with laurel leaves and flowers from the forests and their hot-houses, and the first spring contributions from their gardens. Upon the crown of the arch, in large letters, formed of leaves and flowers, were the words 'December 26, 1776,' and on the sweep beneath was the sentence, also formed of flowers, 'The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters.' As Washington passed under the triumphal arch, a cherub, in the form of a young girl, perched amid the foliage that covered it, crowned him with laurel which will never fade, while the sweetest minstrelsy from human lips filled the air as the hero trod on the way of flowers. Washington then shed tears—tears of the deepest emotion. The merit of these appropriate and classical decorations is due to the late Mrs. Stockton, of Princeton, a lady of superior literary acquirements and refined taste. She was familiarly called the *duchess*, from her elegance and dignity of manners."

It is further stated in these "Recollections" that on one side of the way were stationed a troop of little girls, dressed in white, each bearing a basket of flowers, and on the other side a row of young ladies similarly attired and equipped, and behind them the married ladies. As Washington approached, the little girls began to strew flowers in the road, and the whole company united in singing the ode written for the occasion by Governor Howell:

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more,
Welcome to this grateful shore.
Now no mercenary foe
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arm did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers.
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers—
Strew your Hero's way with flowers."

It is to the everlasting credit of those most nearly concerned that a portion of the triumphal arch erected a century ago has been preserved, and is to form the basis of a similar tribute of honor to our first President on the 29th of April next. President Harrison is expected to pass under it on his way to New York.

George Clinton, who had been governor of New York since 1777, was one of the most conspicuous figures among the great men of 1789. He was fifty years old, a specimen of strong individuality, iron will, and great boldness as well as decision of character. He presided over the

convention to ratify the Constitution, the adoption of which he opposed, not deeming it sufficiently clear in favor of state sovereignty. He thought, in the language of Patrick Henry, "It has an awful squinting; it squints towards monarchy; your President may easily become king." Nor was he convinced by such arguments as those of Fisher Ames, who said: "The state government is a beautiful structure. It is situated, however, on the naked beach. The union is the dyke to fence out the flood." But he was too sagacious to countenance the secession of New York, and was believed to have at the last privately advised one of the opponents to vote with the Federalists, which decided the burning question. He was Vice-President of the United States from 1804 to 1812. He was warmly attached to Washington, and in official affairs they were in almost daily conference while the seat of government remained in New York.

James Duane, the first mayor of the city after the revolution, from 1784-1789, was of the same age as Governor Clinton. The incumbent of the office of mayor was then a much more important individual than at the present time; in every assemblage he was accorded an honorable place, and treated with distinguished consideration. Duane was a genuine statesman, of great elegance of manners, had been a delegate to the continental congress, and, as a jurist of high reputation, the mayor's court under his administration acquired a business and an authority scarcely contemplated by the statutes creating it. It became the favorite and really the most important forum, when litigation was more brisk than any other department of industry, through the disturbance which the war had caused in every man's affairs. Losses through the suspension of rents, damages by the loyalist tenantry, the destruction and removal of records and consequent indistinctness of titles, the processes of confiscation of estates, the swift mutation in the relative value of money, property of all kinds, and securities, produced the most intricate and troublesome of legal questions. Richard Varick was the city recorder during the same eventful period, and by virtue of his office the mayor's judicial colleague. Varick, who had been a member of Washington's military family, and enjoyed the perfect confidence of our first President, succeeded Duane as mayor of the city in the autumn of 1789, and held the office twelve years. The wife of Mayor Duane was the daughter of Robert Livingston, third proprietor of Livingston manor, and had spent the greater part of the seven years' war at the old manor-house of her father. She was an accomplished woman, the first cousin of Mrs. John Jay, and also of Lady Kitty Duer and Lady Mary Watts. She was one of the social stars of the Washingtonian era, and present at the great Washington ball of May 7, 1789, and also at

the magnificent *fête* given by the French minister the following week. Her dresses worn on these historic occasions are preserved by her descendants, and nothing more beautiful has ever since been seen in New York. The material was imported, a quality of silk not within reach of our present ladies of fashion, covered with bouquets of flowers in the brightest and most enduring of colors, embroidered apparently by hand. The style in which they are made is charmingly unique, and not so very different from the fashions of to-day. It is sincerely hoped these dresses will be worn at the coming centennial ball in New York on April 29, 1889, by descendants of Mrs. Duane.

Rufus King was a native of Maine, but as a member of the old congress he had for some time resided in New York. He was thirty-four years of age in 1789, and described by Brissot de Warville as "passing for the most eloquent man in the United States." He had been in the convention that framed the constitution, and his vigorous oratory and rare combination of personal and intellectual endowments made him a prominent figure. He was remarkably well informed, and a model of courtly refinement. He was rich by inheritance as well as studiously inclined, possessed a large library, and wrote with ease. Washington held him in such high esteem that he offered him the secretaryship of the department of state, which was declined, but he accepted the post of minister to England, where he remained six years. His wife was the only daughter of the eminent New York merchant John Alsop. They were married in 1786, and their residence was henceforward in Mr. Alsop's house, corner of Maiden Lane and William Street. Mrs. King was a bright, clever woman, remarkable for personal beauty—face oval, with a clear brunette complexion, delicately formed features, expressive blue eyes, black hair, and exquisite teeth; her motions were all grace, her bearing gracious, her voice musical, and her education exceptional. The frequency with which her name is found among the dinner guests of President and Mrs. Washington indicates that she was a special favorite with them.

Washington was a member, in full communion, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was for many years before and after the revolution a vestryman in Truro parish, Virginia. He was always a strict observer of the Sabbath, and invariably attended divine service once a day when within reach of a place of worship. His respect for the clergy as a body was evidenced by his public entertainments given to it, the same as to the corps legislative and diplomatic. In an old number of the London *New Monthly Magazine*, an English writer describes a visit to Washington in 1789, which will bear repeating: "A servant, well-looking and well-dressed,

received the visitants at the door, and by him they were delivered over to an officer of the United States service, who ushered them into the drawing-room, in which Mrs. Washington and several ladies were seated. There was nothing remarkable in the person of the lady of the President; she was matronly and kind, with perfect good-breeding; she at once entered into easy conversation, asked how long we had been in America, how we liked the country, and such other familiar questions. In a few minutes the general was in the room; it was not necessary to announce his name, for his peculiar appearance, his firm forehead, Roman nose, his height and figure, could not be mistaken by any one who had seen a full-length picture of him, and yet no picture accurately resembled him in the minute traits of his person. His features, however, were so marked by prominent characteristics, which appear in all likenesses of him, that a stranger could not be mistaken in the man. He was dignified in his manners, and had an air of benignity which his visitant did not expect, being rather prepared for sternness of countenance. After an introduction by Mrs. Washington, he entered into conversation. His manner was full of affability. He asked how I liked the country, the city of New York, talked of the infant institutions of America, and the advantages she offered by her intercourse for benefitting other nations. He was grave in manner but perfectly easy. His dress was of purple satin. In every movement there was a polite gracefulness equal to any met with in the most polished individuals in Europe, and his smile was extraordinarily attractive. There was an expression in his face that no painter has ever succeeded in taking. No man could be better formed for command. Neither with the general nor with Mrs. Washington was there the slightest restraint of ceremony. The house of Washington was in Broadway, and the street-front was handsome. The drawing-room was lofty and spacious, but the furniture was not beyond that found in dwellings of opulent Americans in general, and might be called plain for its situation. The upper end of the room had glass doors, which opened upon a balcony, commanding an extensive view of the Hudson river, interspersed with islands, and the opposite shore."

Among those who participated in the reception of our first President-elect was Samuel Osgood, first commissioner of the United States treasury; he had served in that capacity since the early part of the year 1785. When he received his appointment, the bonds required were so heavy that he was about to decline rather than ask his friends to become security; but the legislature of Massachusetts came forward in a body and offered to be his bondsmen, an honor never accorded to any other private individual. When the departments of the new government were organized,



MRS. RUFUS KING.

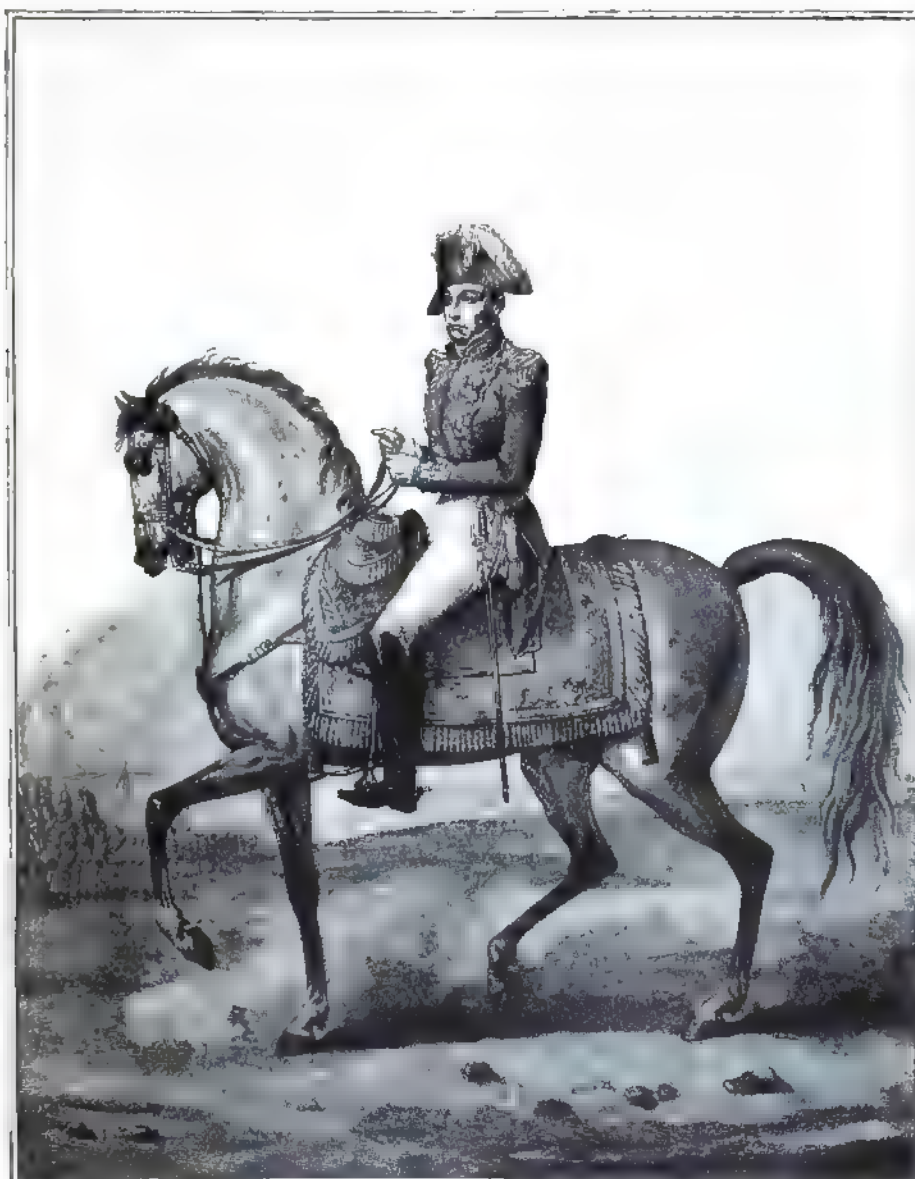
(From a painting by Trumbull.)

Washington made him the first postmaster-general, a post which he resigned when the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia, and although of Massachusetts birth he continued to reside in New York, holding from time to time positions of great trust. He was distinguished for integrity, piety, and public spirit, also for scientific and literary attainments, wrote several volumes on religious subjects, and was the author of a work on chronology. He left a very modest autobiography, which, through the courtesy of his granddaughter, is now given to the public for the first time on another page of this magazine. When he first came to New York he was a widower and kept bachelor's hall with Rufus King;

but he lost his heart on meeting the beautiful widow of Walter Franklin, whom he married in 1786—the same year of Rufus King's marriage. It was their house in Franklin Square that was occupied as the first presidential residence, to which reference has heretofore been made. Osgood resided for a time in a house adjoining that of the President, a double flight of steps leading up to the same broad platform upon which the two front doors opened, and Mrs. Osgood, as related to her daughters in after years, often stood by her window as Washington went out for a drive, and observed him take out his immaculate handkerchief to test the work of his groom, and if a speck of dust was discovered upon his horses they were sent immediately back to the stables.

Washington continued to correspond with Lafayette, who was made commander-in-chief of the National Guards of France in July, 1789. But the sympathies of our first President were not in the direction of the peculiar sense of equality that was maddening the French mind. The masses could never quite understand how little the French revolution, the most gigantic and appalling illustration of the natural depravity of the human race in the annals of the world, resembled in its principles our own conflict for independence. Washington was sincerely attached to Lafayette, but he trembled in view of the probable effects of his latest interpretation of "liberty." The more sensible and astute American intellect could not keep abreast in such an unbridled canter. Lafayette wrote to Washington in 1792, just prior to his own arrest and imprisonment: "I wish we had an elective senate, a more independent set of judges, and a more energetic administration; but the people must be taught the advantages of a firm government before they reconcile it to their ideas of freedom, and can distinguish it from the arbitrary systems which they have just got over. You see, my dear general, I am not an enthusiast for every part of our constitution, although I love its principles, which are the same as those of the United States, except the hereditary character of the president of the executive, which I think suitable to our circumstances. But I hate everything like despotism and aristocracy, and I cannot help wishing the American and French principles were in the heart and on the lips of the American ambassador in France. This I mention *to you alone*." The last clause referred to Gouverneur Morris, whose counter-revolutionary principles were not acceptable to Lafayette. But it was not very long after this before news reached New York that Gouverneur Morris had interposed, at the risk of his life, to save Madame de Lafayette from a horrible fate.

Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between the early



LAFAYETTE, AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NATIONAL GUARDS OF FRANCE, 1789.

[From a French print]



GEORGE WASHINGTON AND HIS FIRST DISAPPOINTMENT IN NOT GOING TO SEA
[From an old trial]

life of Washington and that of Lafayette. We all know how the former was bred in every manly activity, and in the very atmosphere of liberty in its best sense. He was developed evenly. On the other hand, Lafayette was schooled in all the prerequisites of an aristocrat, and when the swift change came, the balance-wheel was insufficient, and he narrowly escaped destruction. The story of Washington's boyhood, hatchet and all, is worthy of our respect. If he had gone to sea as a midshipman at the age of fourteen, when the proposition is said to have been seriously entertained, the beginnings of our country might have been founded on a very different basis. It was at a time when the successes of the English navy excited great enthusiasm, and it should be remembered that Washington's elder brother, Lawrence, served under Admiral Vernon against Carthagera. Mrs. Washington's brother, in London, dissuaded her from giving her consent to the departure of her boy, and the quaint print on opposite page illustrates the imaginary scene, although the most picturesque tradition would have had the young George wearing a midshipman's uniform instead of being dressed by the artist in the clothes of a man of fifty. George Washington Parke Custis says that the mother of Washington prepared him for the distinguished parts he was destined to perform by teaching him first to obey—thus he was the better prepared to command. She was high toned, with great will power, ruling her own household like a queen. She is said to have been of medium size, with a very pleasing countenance. Betty, the sister of Washington, who married Colonel Fielding Lewis, was a majestic-looking woman, and so strikingly like the "Father of his Country" that it was a matter of frolic for the young people to throw a cloak around her, and place a military hat upon her head. As remarked on another page of the current number of this magazine, Howell Lewis, the eldest son of Mrs. Betty Washington Lewis, became a great favorite with our first President. In that connection, the letter on the following page in *fac-simile*, from Washington to his sister concerning this nephew, written in 1792 from Philadelphia, is exceedingly interesting.

It seems that Washington always reverted to the scenes of his early life with tender interest and special satisfaction. He was a soldier in his tastes and in his aspirations from his cradle. His favorite amusement in childhood was playing "soldier," and having a mimic war. We know how he could hunt foxes, and something of his genius for surveying, at the age of fifteen; he was but seventeen when he was commissioned surveyor of Culpeper County, in which work he was a singular success, considering his age. What he wrote about his experiences in the wilderness at that time

Philadelphia April 8th 1792.

My dear Sister;

If your son Howell is living with you, and not usefully employed in your own affairs; - and should incline to spend a few months with me, as a writer in my office (if he is fit for it) I will allow him at the rate of three hundred dollars a year, provided he is diligent in discharging the duties of it from breakfast until dinner - Sundays excepted. -

This sum will be punctually paid him and I am particular in declaring beforehand what I require, and what he may expect, that there may be no disappointment, or false expectation, on either side. - He will live in the family in the same manner his brother Robert did. - If the offer is acceptable he must hold himself in readiness to come on immediately upon my giving him notice. -

I take it for granted that he writes a fair & legible hand, otherwise he would not answer my purpose; as it is for records, letters, and other papers I want him. - That I may be able to judge of his fitness let him acknowledge the receipt of this letter with his own hand, and say whether he will accept the offer here made him, or not. - If he does, & I find him qualified for the office, he goes in his in his letter I will immediately direct him to come on which he must do without a moment's delay, or I shall be obliged to provide another instead of him. -

Mr. Washington waits with me in best wishes, and love for you and yours and I am - My dear Sister

Your most affect^d Brother
G. Washington

Mr. Lewis.

[Fac-simile of the original, in possession of Mr. Howell Lewis Lovell, Covington, Kentucky, the great-grandson of Mrs. Betty Washington Lewis.]

is pleasant reading now. For instance, on March 15, 1748, he records: "Worked hard till night and then returned. After supper we were lighted into a room, and I, not being so good a woodsman as the rest, stripped myself very orderly, and went into the bed, as they called it, when to my surprise I found it to be nothing but a little straw matted together, without a sheet or anything else, but only one threadbare blanket. . . . I was glad to get up and put on my clothes, and lie as my companions did. Had we not been very tired, I am sure we should not have slept much that night. I made a promise to sleep so no more, choosing rather to sleep in the open air before a fire." Doubtless these rough exposures, fatigues, and expedients were the very best preparation he could have had for military life in a new country. And they must have enlarged his ideas of the condition and geography of the earth. Long years afterward he writes to his step-grandson, Washington Parke Custis, while at Princeton College, on the subject of his studies and general education: "I do not hear you mention anything of *geography* or mathematics as parts of your study; both these are necessary branches of useful knowledge. Nor ought you to let your knowledge of the Latin language and grammatical rules escape you. And the French language is now so universal, and so necessary with foreigners, or in a foreign country, that I think you would be injudicious not to make yourself master of it."

Washington's rich fund of information was a marvel to those who knew him best, but these glimpses along the line of his life-journey explain much of the mystery, and reveal the fact that he cultivated the talent of observation on all occasions and possessed a most retentive memory. His fondness for field-sports and horses, together with his natural industry in varied directions and his subsequent discipline, rounded his physical and mental faculties into great symmetry. And thus we find him on the 30th of April, 1789, standing in all the grandeur of his magnificent stature upon the highest pedestal of honor the world has ever known, surrounded by the contemporary greatness of the American continent, and solemnly making the promise which was to start the complex machinery of a government—a special creation—capable of holding forty-two republics in one solid and prosperous whole.

Martha J Lamb

THE DE PEYSTER PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

The full-length military portrait, cabinet size, owned by my deceased father, Frederick de Peyster, LL.D., president of the New York Historical Society, is an interesting souvenir, now for the first time engraved. It was originally presented by John Quincy Adams to Carlo Giuseppe Guglielmo Botta, of Italy, author of the "History of American Independence," and my father purchased it of the Botta family, with full credentials of authenticity, Professor Vincenzo Botta, of New York, being the guarantee of the correctness of its chain of title. This picture is now in my possession, with the correspondence establishing its historic associations. The painting is an oval, on copper, twenty-eight and three-quarters by twenty-one and one-half inches in size. The figure of Washington is naturally drawn, standing beside a spirited dark-bay horse, with black mane and tail, holding his cocked hat in his left hand, which rests on the croup of the horse, while leaning with his right elbow on the chase of a cannon. The horse has what is known as a flag tail, which is so unusual that it is doubtless the representation of a favorite animal. On the left of the picture are tents and a group of continental soldiers, and on the right a cannon in battery, muzzle to the front; and in the lower right-hand corner is a rock with an inscription not very legible, but which appears to read, "Washington, President of the United States, chosen by 3,000,000 independent votes." In the right rear is a white building with a cupola, which may represent the original federal capital. The height of Washington's figure is fifteen inches, and the face is two and one-half inches long by one and three-quarters broad. The whole picture is very carefully painted. In order to preserve as accurately as possible the features of Washington, the figures and objects on either side of him are necessarily omitted in the engraving—which forms the frontispiece to the present number of this magazine. Peale painted an elaborate background for another portrait of Washington in uniform in 1784, of which he himself writes, "These figures seem to tell the story at first sight."



THE ROMANCE OF ADELE HUGO

TRUTH MORE THRILLING THAN FICTION

Mr. Robert Motton, the stipendiary magistrate of Halifax, was for a long time a prominent lawyer in active practice in Halifax, Nova Scotia. He was chiefly distinguished as a criminal lawyer, and many stirring incidents of real life have marked his long professional career. One dramatic story, owing to its superior historic interest, is worthy of being made public.

One morning in the year 1866 Mr. Motton was seated in his law office as usual, when his clerk announced a visitor waiting to see him. On being shown in, Mr. Motton observed a tall lady, apparently young, and closely veiled. After the usual salutations she was invited to a seat. Upon her lifting her veil a remarkably handsome face was revealed, complexion dark, a Roman nose, jet-black hair inclined to be wavy, and eyes of piercing brightness which would burst into flame at the first touch of passion.

After a little preliminary conversation, Mr. Motton discovered that his interesting client had called to consult him professionally upon a matter of considerable delicacy. Halifax, as is generally known, is a garrison town—now the only garrison town in Canada. At that time there were some regiments of British regulars stationed there, together with detachments of artillery and engineers. One of these regiments was the Sixteenth, of the line, which had been ordered to Halifax toward the end of 1861, on the occasion of the threatened difficulty between Great Britain and the United States over the *Trent* affair. One of the officers of that regiment was a certain Lieutenant Albert Andrew Pinsen, of the second battalion. It was in relation to this young officer that the tall and veiled lady had called to consult Mr. Motton.

Before proceeding with the object of her visit, it may be well to make the reader acquainted with the young lady. She gave her name as Miss Lewly, and that was the name by which she was known in Halifax. But her real name was Adèle Hugo, and she was the favorite daughter of the great French poet and patriot, Victor Hugo. This narrative might not be without passing interest in the case of any young woman, but it derives its chief importance from being associated with the daughter of one of the greatest of modern poets, whose works have thrilled five continents, whose poetry has almost revolutionized literature, and whose genius was

employed with terrible force in the service of his country—of liberty and equality. The incidents of this story are identified with the great man himself, and arose in great measure from the accidents of his fortune.

It will be recollected that the famous *coup d'état* took place in Paris on December 2d, 1851. Victor Hugo was one of the first persons proscribed by Louis Napoleon. He had persistently resisted the attempts of Bonaparte and his adherents to destroy the republic and re-establish the empire, and was consequently especially obnoxious to the new ruler. He first took refuge with his family in Belgium. Political pressure secured his expulsion from that country, and he then took up a residence in the island of Jersey, and finally settled down in Guernsey, everywhere fulminating against the emperor until the fall of the empire in 1870.

Mademoiselle Hugo made known the object of her visit to her lawyer in something like the following statement: While her family was living at Brussels, during the exile, a wealthy English family was residing there named Pinsen. The Hugo and Pinsen families became acquainted, and after a time intimate—sufficiently intimate, at all events, for a love affair to spring up between young Pinsen and Mademoiselle Adèle. There are no means of knowing how sincere or fervent was the affection on the part of the young man, but no doubt remains as to the intensity of passion on the part of the young lady. Mademoiselle Adèle Hugo became perfectly infatuated with Pinsen, madly, blindly in love. At that time, although Victor Hugo had a recognized place in literature, had been made a member of the chamber of peers by Louis Philippe, and, on the re-establishment of the republic in 1848, had been honored by the people of Paris with a seat in the Constituent Assembly—he was, nevertheless, then poor and in exile. *Les Misérables*, the great work which established his fame and secured his fortune, did not appear until two or three years after this. In consequence, it will not seem remarkable that the Pinsens discouraged this love affair. The English are the best match-makers in the world, and money is never left out of the account.

The exact date of this courtship cannot now be accurately fixed, but it was probably about 1860-'61. There is a strong presumption of mutual attachment. Mademoiselle Hugo was handsome, of accomplished manners, unusual talents and fiery temperament. The lovers became engaged, and in spite of the opposition of Pinsen's family, they went through the form of a secret marriage. Young Pinsen about this time went to England. He either rejoined his regiment, from which he was temporarily absent, or else purchased a commission as lieutenant. Mr. Motton's recollection is that he then bought a commission and entered the

army for the first time, but some of the officers of the regiment, who formerly served with Pinsen, give their impression that he was transferred from another regiment to the Sixteenth in 1861.

The matter is not of great importance. It is sufficient to know that Pinsen left Brussels for England, and on leaving his lady-love he promised, with every token of sincerity and honor, that she should join him in England, and that the marriage, which had been secret in Brussels, should be publicly celebrated in an English church. Just at this point—probably December, 1861—his regiment was ordered to Halifax, and Lieutenant Pinsen wrote to Mademoiselle Hugo informing her of this fact, and asking her to join him in London, have their marriage duly celebrated, and go together to Halifax.

When this proposition was received, it was duly discussed in the Hugo family circle. Victor Hugo would not entertain the idea. He demanded that Lieutenant Pinsen should come to Brussels and marry his daughter there. Madame Hugo agreed with this; but Adèle was infatuated, and her fiery spirit would not accept this wise paternal counsel. She insisted upon going to London at all hazards, and even in defiance of all social rules. When it was found that the impetuous girl was determined to have her way, her mother at length acquiesced so far as to accompany her to London.

On their arrival they found, to their mortification and chagrin, that Lieutenant Pinsen had sailed with his regiment for Halifax, and without leaving any message or satisfactory explanation; indeed, the circumstances gave indubitable evidence of desertion. Adèle and her mother had no other course than to return at once to Brussels.

But the unhappy girl was madly in love; she belonged to that class of intense natures which are led away by passion, and she could not rest content apart from her lover. Clandestinely she left Brussels and took passage on board a steamer, said to be the *Great Eastern*, for New York. On her arrival there, she started for Halifax, where she assumed the name of Miss Lewly. Alas! for her fond dreams of a happy reunion with the man in whom all her ardent and unconquerable affections were centred. She found him indifferent; she resorted to every means to secure his regard, but her love was spurned. All her time and attention were devoted to him; she sent notes to him daily, but without effect. It would not be just to regard Pinsen's conduct as the result of base heartlessness; it may be that the importunities of the frenzied girl had produced a reaction in his mind and heart. It may be, also, that he saw evidences of that lack of mental equipoise which has sadly enough developed into

permanent and hopeless insanity. It is the fact, at all events, that he entirely repulsed his former sweetheart, and refused to renew the intimacy and regard of those halcyon days when they talked of love in Brussels.

The story of her residence in Halifax is a very sad one. She remained three or four years, during which she was chiefly engaged in dogging her lover by night and by day, but without success. She had at least two lodging-places during her stay, the first being with a Mrs. Saunders. She sent frequent letters to Pinsen, and received quite a number in return, brought by his servant. From those who knew her intimately, some painfully interesting particulars can be gleaned of her life. She was eccentric to a remarkable degree. In going out of the house she was invariably closely veiled. Sometimes at night she used to disguise herself in male apparel, and walk through the streets wearing a tall hat and flourishing a delicate cane. The details of her life, for the year and a half she boarded at Mrs. Saunders's, were published nearly two years ago in one of the Halifax papers. When she first arrived in Halifax, she stopped at the Halifax Hotel, and through the agency of a French cook there, she secured lodgings at Mrs. Saunders's. She hired a room in the house, which she furnished herself, and was to board herself. According to the landlady she ate but little, and did very little cooking; her chief diet was bread and butter and chocolate. The Saunders, under the belief that she was poor, used often to furnish her with meals.

Her employment was writing; her handwriting was most beautiful—like copper-plate impressions. She soon had great masses of manuscript. Mr. Motton mentions that she used to bring large bundles of beautifully written manuscript to his office, and offered it to him, saying: "Publish this some time, and you will create a great sensation, and make a fortune." Unfortunately Mr. Motton had not much interest in literary matters at that time, and feeling, no doubt, that his fair client's mind was not well balanced, did not accept the offer. Some literary interest might have surrounded her stories at this sad period of her life. She once told Mr. Motton, after he became aware of her identity, that her father used to tell her that she wrote better than he did, and with more power.

This writing, from day to day in her room, with an occasional visit from Pinsen during the first year or two, and a walk every day, was the sole occupation of Adèle Hugo for the three years or more that she lived in Halifax. She took no care of her room, and utterly neglected her person and clothing. For a time, after her arrival, Pinsen visited her at times, and during this period she kept up appearances in dress; but after he discontinued his visits, she fell into a sort of melancholy condition,

confining herself to her room, pacing the floor at night, and neglecting her personal appearance. When she came to Mrs. Saunders's, she had a large quantity of clothing, many silks, velvets, and ball-dresses, but they are described as being then somewhat faded and worn. She took no care to renew her clothing, and soon began to be destitute, especially in her under-clothing and linen.

For a long time the Saunders family were entirely ignorant of the history of their strange lodger. She was a profound mystery to them, and all attempts to ascertain the true story of her life were fruitless. She received many letters and sent many, but they were all written in French, and the addresses were quite unfamiliar to the good people with whom she was staying. Her identity was discovered quite accidentally. Mr. Saunders used to wait at dinners given by the best people in town, and on one occasion the French cook in the service of Sir Hastings Doyle, who was then commander-in-chief of the forces in British America, came to Saunders's house to inform him that he was to attend at a certain dinner to be given a few evenings subsequently. Some of Miss Lewly's letters were lying on the parlor table, waiting to be mailed. The cook, observing the address, said in surprise, "Why, who is sending this letter? This is directed to the greatest Frenchman of the day." The letter was addressed:

"VICECOMTE VICTOR HUGO,
Guernsey,
Great Britain."

After this, Mrs. Saunders was able to obtain the true story of her lodger, and she felt certain that so distinguished a man as her father would not care to have his daughter living comparatively destitute of the ordinary comforts of life. She accordingly took the liberty of sending him a letter detailing fully the present position and circumstances of his wandering child. This brought an immediate response from Victor Hugo, in which he thanked Mrs. Saunders most profusely for her kind interest in Adèle, requested her to make every necessary provision for her clothing, comfort and respectability, and assured her he would be only too happy to meet all expenditures. All bills were promptly paid by the poet. A number of letters were received by Mrs. Saunders from Victor Hugo, but not much importance was attached to them, beyond their subject-matter, by the recipients, and most of them were mislaid. When one of Mrs. Saunders's daughters grew up and was made acquainted with the story of the young lady, she began to search the house for Hugo's letters, and succeeded in finding two or three of them. All of these letters speak of Miss

Lewly as Madame Pinsen, and none of them speak of her as his daughter. He describes her as a lady of high position and influential relations, in whom he took a great interest.

One of these letters, which are now in possession of Mrs. Saunders, is as follows:

“BRUSSELS, *October 15th*, 1865.

“M. Hugo presents his best compliments to Mr. and Mrs. Saunders, and begs to inform them that a box full of winter clothes is being sent to the post to Miss Lewly, to be deposited in their house under the usual name of Madame Pinsen. M. Hugo has not forgotten the obliging kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Saunders, and trusts that under their good care the box will be delivered as quick as possible to the young lady.”

Another of the letters is as follows:

“GUERNSEY, *February 5th*, 1866.

“MY DEAR MRS. SAUNDERS:

“I am indeed exceedingly thankful to you for your kind note. Your information has been most welcome. . . . I hope Miss Lewly will at last be induced to come home to her own family. Her mother is very anxious to get her home, and has unfortunately been prevented by a serious indisposition from crossing over to Halifax. She intends doing so as soon as the spring will come. Until then be kind enough to give information which I will faithfully transmit to her friends, and for which they are extremely obliged to you. Tell me also, in your letter, how I can repay you for the stamps you are affixing to your letters. I can, indeed, very easily repay you for these trifling expenses, but never for your Christian kindness.”

It will now be easy to understand the purpose of Miss Hugo's visit to Mr. Motton's office. Wearied with a fruitless pursuit of her faithless and callous lover, and finding the time approaching when his regiment would be ordered away to another station, as a last resort, she went to consult with a lawyer to see, perchance, if there was any remedy in the law—if any means existed of compelling Pinsen to do justice alike to her affections and her honor. She had the agony to hear among the current gossip of the city, that Pinsen had become engaged to a lady in fashionable society, residing in Dartmouth—a town situate on the opposite side of Halifax harbor. It is, of course, impossible to report all that passed between attorney and client in the secrecy of the consulting-room. It is sufficient to say that the story of her relations with Pinsen was fully unfolded, and though the case did not present many points for the consideration of a lawyer, yet Mr. Motton was so far interested in her case as to send a letter to Pinsen. The circumstance of his relations with Mademoiselle Hugo becoming known to his Dartmouth friends, all social intercourse was at once terminated by the young lady and her family.

But really nothing of any consequence could be done by Mr. Motton.

A suit for breach of promise would have been an unsatisfactory remedy, and no legal evidence of a marriage which would be recognized in the courts in Nova Scotia was available. Mademoiselle Hugo used to speak of her wrongs to her lawyer with burning cheek and flashing eye. Her eyes he describes as being almost terrible in their fiery brightness when she was aroused. She repeatedly declared in passionate words that she was Pinsen's wife in the sight of Heaven, and that he should never marry another woman.

A word may be devoted to Lieutenant Pinsen. Several persons remember him well. He was never distinguished from the ordinary subaltern in a British regiment, except, perhaps, that he appears to have been rather more of a dandy. He was of average height, rather handsome, and decidedly stylish in appearance. He wore long mustaches, and took great pains to appear in most exquisite mode, and was essentially a ladies' man. Much has been reported concerning his subsequent life, but nothing sufficiently authentic to justify any definite statement. There seems little doubt, however, that he has since married—it is said—a lady of means. It has also been stated that he was seen by a former acquaintance under conditions which indicated that he was not in affluent circumstances. But nothing reliable can be given. It was known in his regiment as well as in the town that he was followed by a lady who claimed him as her own; but he stoutly denied all insinuations, and the romance was, to the public, merely a matter of passing curiosity.

As the time drew near for the Sixteenth Regiment to leave Halifax, the infatuated Adèle was keenly alert for the movements of her truant lover. Only one line of English steamers then called at Halifax, and these always came to Cunard's wharf. Every steamer day, filled with a vague fear that Pinsen would attempt to make his escape, she took a cab and her clothing and went to the wharf, there to wait and watch if Pinsen embarked for England, and ready in that case to follow him wherever he might go. This occurred several times, but he never took this means of leaving.

At length the regiment embarked for Barbadoes—the station to which it was ordered. Faithful to her mission, Adèle promptly followed and took up her residence in the little town where the garrison was stationed. She lodged with a Mrs. Chadderton. Here she devoted herself to writing, and walked in the streets in dowdy apparel and with an air and manner so eccentric that she was subjected to jests and ribaldry. In time she came to be associated with Captain Pinsen—who, it seems, had got his company—and was known to the people of the little town as Madame Pinsen.

The rest is easily told. After her sad sojourn in Halifax, Adèle Hugo wearied out her steadfast heart in Barbadoes. Many harrowing details of her life in both these places have been purposely withheld. The generous heart will never seek to draw the veil from the hidden depths of human grief and misfortune. An exile from home, friends and country—a poor unhappy waif in a lonely and comfortless world! With her beauty, her talents, and her family connections, she might have been an ornament of European society. But that all-powerful impulse of love, which has often enough turned and overturned the lives of men and the events of history, irresistibly bore her on to a life of unspeakable misery. Reason became dethroned, and she was finally immured in an insane asylum, where she still ekes out her blighted life. Her father, at his death, bequeathed her half his fortune—two million francs.

A sad, sad story! From the earliest ages until now the human heart, its affections and griefs, have absorbed the keenest interest of mankind. It is the old, old story that has thrilled the pages of romance, and created the numberless books of fiction which fill the world, and which it will continue to devour "as long as the heart hath passions, as long as life hath woes." The story becomes of profounder interest when it belongs to real life. Truth is, indeed, more wonderful, more dramatic, than fiction. As Carlyle expressively says: "Now and formerly and evermore, Romance exists, strictly speaking, in Reality alone. The thing that *is*, what can be so wonderful; what, especially to us that *are*, can have such significance?" The story of Adèle Hugo's blighted life will live as long as the works of her illustrious father. His genius will evoke the highest admiration, and her sorrows the deepest sympathy of mankind.

J. W. Langley

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA.

COMMERCE AND THE CONSTITUTION

It is interesting to note that the centenary of the founding of the United States government finds the national legislature with the same matter occupying its chief attention that stood first in the first session of the first congress here in New York, which is also the thing that was directly the most potent in bringing about the establishing of the government itself. Apart from matters incidental to the starting of the machinery of the new order of things, the attention of congress in the spring and summer of 1789 was given mainly to the making of a tariff law, and because of the absence of power to impose duties on imports was directly due the turning from the old continental organization to the movement which gave the new constitution and the government which started a century ago. The calling of the federal constitutional convention in 1787 was directly due to reasons purely commercial, and because of jealousies growing out of trade its work came near being undone a dozen times; of course, the political side of the time was always present in the background, and all sorts of things made themselves felt as the matter progressed, but yet the particular movement which resulted in the convention was until almost the last moment wholly from commerce. By "commerce" in those days was always meant foreign trade, but here is meant not only that but trade of all sorts. How should the states regulate trade with one another? What authority should the general government have in the matter? How should foreign trade be regulated? And, above all, how should the general government get the money it must have to exist?

These questions may seem simple enough now that they are answered, but they were no trifles when they first appeared. Each state inclined to be jealous of its own authority; it came somewhere near being true that each was disposed to insist upon its right to regulate foreign trade for itself, and of course any such thing meant entire dissolution or anarchy. If each state regulated its own duties with the outside world, it must of course protect itself against its neighbors, and, with trade restricted, intercourse of all sorts would fall off, and it would be hardly possible to keep up even a semblance of union. So much upon one hand, but upon the other, should the states fall away from each other, how could what had been gained by the revolution, the fruits of the great victory, be made to

amount to anything? So long as the war continued, the presence of the common enemy had kept these questions from making trouble, but the instant peace came their force began to appear, and leading men in all sections sought to find some satisfactory answer. It is curious to note that the most radical expressions in favor of state rights came from Rhode Island, the last state to adopt the constitution after it was made, and that New York was not far behind, while the strongest influence for union came from no less conservative a place than Virginia. In view of the situation, the making and adopting of our constitution seem little less than providential, and the story of the way it came about makes one of the most interesting chapters of American history.

Somebody in New Jersey evidently foresaw precisely the trouble which at last came when the original confederacy was formed, for among the objections from that state was one that the compact seemed to commit the regulating of commerce to "the several states within their separate jurisdiction in such a degree as may involve many difficulties and embarrassments, and be attended with injustice to some states of the union." But the continental congress refused to make any change, and the first trouble came to that body itself when it tried to provide money for the war. It had no power to levy duties on imports, there was no other way of raising much, and in 1781 the national legislature resolved that it should have the right of regulating commercial matters. The idea then was that the states should give congress the power to levy duties for a fixed term, generally given at fifteen years, and that thus the financial trouble of the moment would be overcome, while there would probably be a new order of things existing when the term expired. But nothing could be accomplished without the assent of the states, and they were slow to give the general government any larger powers, and did not move. Congress adopted a second resolution to the same purpose in 1783, and issued what Madison called a "compromising appeal" to the states to help out in the matter; and it was to this that the state of Rhode Island returned a refusal, because the duty would fall heaviest on commercial states and work injustice, as the collecting of them would introduce officers to the states unknown and unaccountable to them, and because congress itself was not accountable to the states. A committee drew an elaborate answer to all this, further appeals were made, and in February, 1786, it was ascertained that the most of the states had taken favorable action, and at last it appeared that all but New York had agreed to the plan nearly enough so that, with it in line, the levying could go on. The legislature of the empire state, however, passed an act reserving to the

state itself the power of levying imposts, the most urgent appeals from the general government failed to get any change, and the whole plan fell to the ground.

This struggling of congress for more power was all one side of the direct purpose in hand, but it was a part of the growth in the matter, and was accompanied by an awakening of popular intelligence and interest in government necessities. Meantime Massachusetts had taken action, which, although nothing came of it at the time, was significant. The legislature met in the summer of 1785, a message from Governor Bowdoin, calling attention to the fact that the community was unprosperous, importing heavily and exporting lightly, brought up the matter of federal power, and suggested that delegates be appointed by the states to meet in convention and settle and define the powers that congress ought to have. A resolution was accordingly adopted by the legislature declaring the articles of confederation inadequate—the first formal expression of the kind made—and asking congress to recommend such a convention as the governor indicated. But the resolution was never presented. Congress was at the time trying to get from the states a special power and in no mood to listen to the new proposition, and upon the suggestion of the facts by the Massachusetts delegates to the state government the resolution was annulled.

And then came in the handiwork of James Madison, which at last set the ball rolling. He went home to Virginia from congress when the war was ended and the presence of the British army no longer served to make the states hang together, thinking that he saw great danger of disruption, and when financial distress and attempts to start commerce were making all sorts of dangerous complications between the states themselves. He found that his own state was at some disadvantage in buying and selling, which he thought would be removed by general laws in the matter; there had been friction between Virginia and Maryland in regard to the commercial jurisdiction over the Potomac, from which a movement for a sort of treaty between a few states in the vicinity had come; and he was full of the idea acquired in congress of greater federal power. Accordingly, he went into the Virginia house of delegates in 1784, hoping to start some sort of a movement for a kind of national commercial convention, but soon found that that body had all its old prejudice against enlarging federal powers in any way, and he accomplished nothing. He persevered, however, and in 1786 had a resolution introduced by a member who had not been to congress—to avoid any appearance of federal influence—which ran thus:

"Resolved: That Edward Randolph, James Madison, jun., Walker Jones, St. George Tucker, Merriwether Smith, David Ross, William Ronald, and George Mason, Esq., be appointed commissioners who, or any five of whom, shall meet such commissioners as may be appointed by the other states in the union, at a time and place to be agreed on, to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to examine the relative situation and trade of the said states; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interests and their permanent harmony; and to report to the several states such an act relative to the great object as, when unanimously ratified by them, will enable the United States in congress assembled effectually to provide for the same; that the said commissioners shall immediately transmit to the several states copies of the preceding resolution, with a circular requesting concurrence therein and proposing time and place for the meeting aforesaid."

But when this was introduced Madison soon found such opposition to it that he suffered it to rest until the last day of the session, and then it was taken up and passed, as Madison wrote, by a general vote, "less, however, with some of its friends, from a confidence in the success of the experiment than from a hope that it might prove a step to a more complete and adequate provision for the wants of the confederacy." A meeting was accordingly called for September 2, 1786, at Annapolis, "avoiding the residence of congress and the large commercial cities as liable to suspicion of extraneous influence," but when the time came delegates appeared from only New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, with Virginia, making five states represented in all. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and North Carolina had appointed delegates, but none of them attended. The New York delegation was headed by Alexander Hamilton, who had from the first fought for extending federal power, and the indications of an awakening public opinion in the matter were such that the little convention took courage to do something more than merely adjourn. As Hamilton expressed it, they might not get another chance, and had best make the most of the opportunity given. Moreover, the New Jersey delegation had come instructed to act upon "commercial relations and other important matters," and that was the first suggestion of anything like a constitutional convention. The meeting caught the idea at once, and the resolutions adopted, drawn by Hamilton, indorsed it and advised a general appointing of delegates to meet in Philadelphia the next May, "to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the condition of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the union."

This resolution was of course reported to the five states represented. As a result of the action congress adopted a resolution declaring that

"experience hath proved that there are defects in the present confederation," and that it was expedient that a convention be held according to the Hamilton plan; and the states proceeded to elect delegates accordingly. Madison was active in the preliminary work. As it happened that Virginia was the first state to choose delegates, he arranged to have Washington head the list, and all possible pomp and circumstance given to the matter, and the work went on so that, from beginning with the necessities of trade, there was held at Philadelphia the great meeting to the result of which every good American is bound to point with pride.

R. A. Rutkins.

REMINISCENCES OF WASHINGTON CITY

An English friend described Washington as a higglety-pigglety sort of place with immense distances. When I first knew it, twenty-five years ago, this description was not very far out of the way. Its distances still remain, but the building movement of recent years has transformed a large quarter of the city into charming residences with tasteful, monumented squares, which in a measure redeem its disjointed and bald aspect. The social condition, too, has vastly changed by the introduction of wealth and fashion, entirely disconnected from that political magnetism which formerly drew to the capital its winter sojourners. The nine or ten huge public edifices, scattered among acres of comparatively insignificant structures, were formerly in keeping with its political aspect, for about as many really distinguished statesmen loomed up and dominated the average members of Congress, as the marble columned Treasury and Patent offices overshadowed the low storied brick buildings in their neighborhoods. As distance is brought into servitude by the rail, and time is throttled by the wire, Washington becomes less and less original and peculiar in its social organization, and disarms curiosity and criticism. As I remember "society" in former days it was deservedly called "queer," which was not remarkable considering that many of the Representatives and their families came from new states, or half organized territories reached only by weeks of slow travel, and for the first time in their lives mingled with a social element to which they were wholly unaccustomed. Thus the characters and toilets at evening assemblies presented a curious combination of discordant characteristics—from the wife of the newly elected M. C. from beyond the Rocky Mountains, who came to the ball at the precise hour named and to her astonishment found nobody in the room, to the hackneyed old politician who strolled in at midnight, chiefly for the supper—a commingling, loud-chatting, elbowing crowd, in every conceivable and inconceivable toilet, assembled nightly when Congress was in session, at the drawing rooms of cabinet secretaries, judges, senators, or members. There, one saw necks and shoulders sufficiently *décolletée* to have suited the frequenters of a Parisian mabille, or sufficiently high necked—perhaps in bombazine or calico—to suggest that the wearers had come out for an evening walk rather than for a dance in a ball room. I have seen bonnets having no possible relation to the costumes below them, whirling round

the room in the mazy or amazing waltz, the wearers being clearly of opinion that those who had come bare-headed and bare-necked knew nothing whatever of the usages of society. "At all events," as a lovely Western belle was once overheard to remark, "*we* don't go naked to parties down in Illinois."

But while foreign secretaries of legations, and the fops from the eastern cities laughed at these menagerie spectacles of social life at the capital, there was one view of the matter calculated to check ridicule, and awaken something akin to respectful admiration. When it was remembered that yonder "M. C." from some country district hundreds of miles away from supposed civilization who was dressed in a buttoned-up frock coat and a colored neck tie with gloves worn perhaps for the first time in his life, and whose wife rejoiced in a necklace of mock pearls as large as gooseberries, was elected to Congress not for his money or polished manners of which he had neither, but for his brains, the critic may well pause before laughing too loudly at the outer man, lest when it came to a comparison of their respective intellectual endowments the deficit should be found in himself.

Of late years, society manners and the observances of etiquette have so vastly improved that dinner and evening parties in Washington are in no way distinguished from entertainments elsewhere. The receptions at the White House still astonish foreigners with their curious mixture of characters and costumes not in keeping with the rigid requirements of European courts; but this very *mélange* is the most gratifying phase of the affair to him who regards the entertainment from the national point of view. I made the acquaintance of an eminent Scotch clergyman at a Presidential reception, who, when I was introduced, was leaning against the wall with folded arms absorbed in the contemplation of a scene in which he evidently found something of novelty. He remarked to me that in the course of his long life he had visited many countries, and witnessed many spectacles, but had never been so powerfully impressed with any social gathering as with that before him. "To look," said he, "upon this assemblage of well dressed and orderly people, invited here by a simple newspaper announcement—composed as it is of all classes of citizens; to see them file through the suite of rooms, each pausing to take the hand of the Chief Magistrate—and *not a policeman present*, is to my mind one of the most impressive illustrations of the grandeur of your political institutions."

The magnates of the senate chamber were then, Sumner, Oliver Morton, Fessenden, Wilson, Bayard, and John Sherman; and among the leading members of the House, Thaddeus Stevens, Blair, Washburn, Butler,

Reverdy Johnson, and Cox, were prominent. Of those who have passed away I knew Sumner, Fessenden, and Reverdy Johnson the most intimately, men differing very widely in personal character and attainments, but marked each by strong individuality. In personal appearance, and in the gift of oratory, Charles Sumner towered above his colleagues, and was held in high respect rather than by personal sympathy. Commanding and dignified, with a strong intellectual face, he was the observed of all observers, not only when he addressed the senate in clear, incisive, and pungent language—sometimes rather overloaded with classical ornamentation and illustration—but when sitting silently behind his desk inattentive to the debate around him. As an unrelenting abolitionist of the advance guard, Sumner rode his hobby with a masterly and fearless rein. Had he done so with a more generous regard for the political and social prejudices of his opponents he would have achieved an equal success in the cause he espoused, without exciting that bitter acrimony which rejoiced for years in the ruin and desolation of his opponents. Incapable of moderating his views or his actions when he had a political end to subserve, he lost that innate, silent, and penetrating power which only high and pure statesmanship wields when invective and oratory fail to convince. Such language as the anti-slavery senator often indulged in when debating that burning question was calculated to inflame the fires of hatred in the camp of the enemy, and to prevent utterly any approach to conciliation or peaceful settlement. Had Sumner vented his views in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris, as he did before public assemblies at home, he would have had as many duels, provided he outlived them, as Paul de Cassagnac. I recall a speech of his in the Cooper's Institute at New York, in which he denounced the Southern slaveholder as "a liar, a thief, an adulterer, and a murderer," dwelling upon each epithet with studied emphasis, and adding argument to prove the truth of the assertion. Although the orator won applause at the close of almost every period in his declamation, I noticed that these vituperative utterances were received in silence. When Brooks of South Carolina felled him to the floor in the senate chamber with his walking stick—a blow from which he never fully recovered—the act was less violently censured by Sumner's friends than it would have been had they not felt that the provocation was indeed great. But the principal impediment to the senator's political success was his personal egotism. But for this, his great talents and high patriotism would have carried him on a wave of popularity possibly to the White House.

I seldom visited Washington without calling upon or meeting Sumner, and his conversation was always interesting, and so far as political matters

went, instructive. His walls were hung with valuable engravings, and he was especially fond of calling attention to those which had been presented to him by some noble personage abroad. He has shown me letters to him from the Duke of A—, or the Marquess of B—, whose correspondence, as evidencing their admiration for him, were very precious in his eyes. Perhaps the best summing up of Sumner's chief trait of character was that given by his political colleague, Thaddeus Stevens. I was once in the latter's bed-room, where he was confined by illness, and as he sat up in bed playing with his dog, and discussing public characters with me, he remarked, "I go neck and neck with Sumner a long way, but we differ essentially in one particular. The god of my idolatry is my country; the god of his idolatry is Charles Sumner."

Stevens, commonly called "Old Thad," was an important figure in the house, and possessed a degree of personal power that often crushed his opponents. He had made a fortune in the manufacture of iron, and it seemed as if the iron had entered his soul and was the foundation of his inflexible will and stern eloquence in debate.

One of his political opponents in the other chamber, was Reverdy Johnson, a man of very different calibre; a marked democrat in a party then in the minority, but whose general temperament won for him troops of friends in both parties. Reverdy Johnson was one of "the gentlemen" of congress, in contradistinction to some in those days whose zeal in debate frequently overstepped the bounds of parliamentary courtesy. An excellent *raconteur*, he ran over at times with humor and excited humor in others. I was at a dancing party at his house one Saturday night when, in order to prolong the festivities, and prevent the strict Sabbatarians from leaving at midnight, a wag—some thought it was the host himself—put the hands of the clock in the ball-room back an hour, and so kept up the cotillion thus much beyond the fatal moment of departure.

There were not many "wits" in Washington, either in congress or at the dinner table, but among the few General Schenk and S. S. Cox, both still living, were pre-eminent. The latter, who continues to bear the nickname of "Sunset Cox," arising from his grandiloquent description of a sunset, not unfrequently disarmed his opponents by sallies of humor that enforced attention to his arguments when other methods failed. Although his "sun" often set in a cloud of defeat, he rose beamingly bright on the next occasion, and not infrequently carried his point amidst peals of laughter.

Among dinner parties I remember one where, to my intense mortification, I found myself *de trop*. I had a letter of introduction to a private

resident noted for his genial society and hospitality, and I was at once invited to "meet a few friends" at dinner. Lincoln had just been elected to the Presidency, and all men's minds were occupied with the incipient war of the rebellion, but not knowing and still less caring for what might be the political opinions of my host, I accepted the invitation without suspicion. To my astonishment I found myself the principal guest in a party of pronounced "copperheads," as the northern sympathizers with the secessionists were then designated. Nothing occurred to wound my susceptibilities while the servants were in the room, but when the cloth was removed and the waiters had withdrawn my host said, "Gentlemen, we can now converse freely." Thereupon the conversation assumed a tone which to my sensitive ears approximated more to that of a political conspiracy than to the inoffensive discussion of merely partisan politics, and, as it soon became too warm for me, I had to decide between leaving the company on the plea of an engagement or showing my colors. I decided to do the latter, but in as inoffensive a form as the circumstances would permit. As a gentleman who had been fulminating very extreme disunion sentiments finished his remarks—one whose prominent political position had gained for him the attention of the whole table—I ventured to observe that his opinions differed very widely from those of a former statesman whose memory I hoped was endeared to all present, Daniel Webster.

"And pray," said the gentleman, with some irritation, "what were *his* sentiments?" Thereupon I repeated from memory Webster's closing passage in his great speech in reply to Hayne, of South Carolina, which I had declaimed on the stage as a school boy, and which was so graven upon my memory that, in spite of the years since I had repeated them, the words came trippingly to my tongue. It was the passage commencing, "Mr. President, I have not allowed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether with my short sight I could fathom the depths of the abyss below," and terminating with the words, "Liberty and Union; now and forever; one and inseparable."

A profound silence succeeded what might well be called "a voice from the tombs," and the only response to it was the opinion from the gentleman who had last spoken that, were Webster then alive, he would have changed his views! As to my host, surprised and disappointed at the political outturn of his guest, he had the tact to change the current of conversation and to postpone the discussion of treason to a more convenient occasion.

As long as I knew Washington, one of the most popular places of rendezvous in the capital was Willard's Hotel. There, everybody looked

in during the day or evening if they wanted to see anybody or to pick up news—from the member of the cabinet to the political eaves-dropper. I knew it best in later years when the telegraphic dispatches announcing "Lee's advance" or "Grant's demand for unconditional surrender" had given place to more peaceful messages respecting the return of heroes from the war and the reconstruction of the Southern States.

I was chatting there one day with Admiral Farragut, then fresh from the naval achievements on the Mississippi, when a newsboy came up to us bellowing, "Buy a Harper's 'Lustrated? Pictur o' Farry-gut!" The admiral took a copy from the boy, and, looking at the wood-cut of himself on the mast-head of the *Franklin*, with bomb-shells bursting in air and flame and smoke below him, said: "Look at that, now. I am represented in the newspapers and in pictures as a daring hero exposing my life on the mast-head, as the ship passed up between the enemy's batteries! *Why, it's the safest part of the ship.* Not that I went up there on that account, but simply to get above the smoke which prevented my seeing the enemy from the deck." This had the sound of genuine modesty, but the gallant hero seemed to enjoy the picture all the same.

In the great room at Willard's I was once button-holed by a personage of very different calibre, but in his way almost as great a celebrity—Phineas T. Barnum of museum and "the greatest show on earth" notoriety. He drew me into a corner, with the remark that he would like to have me use my influence with the government in his behalf, if I approved of a "big thing" he had in view. I at once disclaimed possessing any influence whatever of the kind, but assured him that if I did, it would be futile for any one else to attempt to carry a point where his own genius could not succeed. He insisted, however, upon laying the "big thing" before me, which amounted to this: The great showman proposed to build at his own expense a "Free National Museum," and to fill it with objects of art and natural curiosity, to be collected from all parts of the world. To enable him to do so, he desired that the President of the United States should furnish him with a circular letter to our ministers and consuls abroad, requesting them to assist Mr. Barnum in obtaining from public museums and private collections contributions for—what the President's letter was to term—this "national" object.

"Now you see," continued Barnum, "all I want is this letter. Johnson don't seem averse to it, but Seward is putting a spoke in my wheel. It's a big thing, isn't it?" I acknowledged its grandeur, in point of size, but asked where he himself came in for a pecuniary benefit, as I took it for granted that his private cash-box was to be the corner-stone of the entire

edifice. Barnum winked his eye in a comical way, and, after a minute's reflection, said: "Well, I don't mind telling *you*. The *Free* museum is to join my present New York museum. Everybody and his wife will come to the former, of course; and, when they reach the last of the suite of rooms, they will find themselves confronting a large door opening into my own museum of wax-work, stuffed animals, the mermaid, and all that; over which will be the words: '*Admission, 25 cents. Children, half price.*' Do you see the point?"

I did see the point; and the genius of the immortal showman grew more astounding in my estimation. He lingered, I believe, several weeks in the capital, pushing his case at the department of state, but Seward was too astute for the clever Barnum. I met him once again at Washington, in the street, and asked what brought him there. "Old hats," was his laconic reply. Then he explained that he was making a collection for his museum of hats which had been worn by notable personages, the world over. He was then looking for a hat of President Lincoln, and those of other ex-presidents. He had already obtained abroad one of the military *chapeaux*, said to have belonged to Napoleon the First, and of several European celebrities. "Say now," continued Barnum in further explanation, "that I want a hat of the great Duke of Wellington. I go to the door of Apsley House, Piccadilly, London, which is opened by a flunky in a powdered wig and a laced livery. The business is easily concluded. I tell him that if he can manage to find, in the house or out of it, an old hat that he can assure me the great duke had at any time on his head, I will give him a new hat for himself, or the equivalent in money. Good idea, isn't it?" and off walked the great collector, giving his own beaver a tip upwards in evidence of his complete satisfaction.

Barnum's humor often concealed—I should say conceals, for at his present advanced age he still procures amusement for the public with all the vigor of his former years—a delicate sense of human sympathy. When the room, with its furniture, where Lincoln expired, was visited by throngs of curiosity-seekers, some one suggested to Barnum that he should purchase the relics and exhibit them in a similar room to be erected in his New York museum. "I've thought of that," he responded, "but it won't do. Such a spectacle, for the purpose of making money out of it, would be in bad taste and against the public sentiment of our people."

Among foreigners who made flying visits to Washington, many deserved attention at the time, if for no other reason, because of the diametrical diversity of opinions they formed of the workings of our political system and the condition of society; but for the most part they were

regarded as birds of passage, and left no impressions behind them. As a rule, they went home—as did Matthew Arnold in later years—with the opinion, that in spite of the progressive and marvelously great opportunities of the country, the United States was an “uninteresting country to reside in.” One met often in society a very original and amusing man, a political philosopher as well as a political refugee, a Pole by birth, who was believed by many to be—although this was not the fact—a Russian spy, Count Adam Gurowski. He was a close observer of men and things, and an admirer of American institutions, but was brusque in speech and uttered his personal opinions without any regard to the feelings of those around him. What he hated was conventional insincerity, and the slightest approach to snobbery.

These peculiarities made him an unwelcome guest in many circles, and his great goggle eye-glasses and a slovenly personal appearance tended to lessen the interest which his marked mental qualities inspired. I remember that on one occasion he came into the drawing-room of one of our most distinguished men, and pushing his way through the circle of ladies to the seat of the hostess made her a profound bow, and extended his hand like an old familiar friend. She avoided the hand-shaking and greeted him with a cold and formal inclination of the head. The count was visibly annoyed, but not baffled, and, taking a seat near the lady, watched through his “carriage-lamps”—as his goggle-glasses were familiarly called—an opportunity for revenge. By and by a gentleman entered, whose chief claim to social recognition was his great wealth. As he approached the lady of the house she quickly arose, shook him warmly by hand, and offered him a seat at her side with great *empressement*. When both were seated, Count Gurowski turned to her, and, in a loud, gruff voice exclaimed, as if alarmed for her safety, “Madame; were you stung-ed, that you jump-ed so?” then, in the buzz of merriment that his satire evoked, he rose, made a profound bow to his hostess, and retired from the room. The count related the little scene wherever he went that day, and was vastly applauded by those who sympathized with his views concerning the lady in question. Few of the sojourners at Washington of those days will fail to remember the Polish count and his original ways. His work on America, which appeared in 1857, is worth reading even now, as the independent views of a foreigner, who lived for years in our midst.

Charles H. Tuckerman.

MEMORABLE ATTACK ON QUEBEC, DECEMBER 21, 1775

DIARY OF COLONEL CHARLES PORTERFIELD

In connection with Judge Dykman's interesting article, entitled "Who led the Troops in the Final Unsuccessful Charge after Arnold was Wounded at Quebec in 1776?" published in the *Magazine of American History* for November, 1887 [XVIII. 350, 445], the following additional information may prove of interest :

Colonel Charles Porterfield was a young man residing on his paternal estate near Frederick, Virginia, when the battle of Lexington was fought. He enlisted as a private soldier immediately after this battle in the company of the afterwards distinguished Daniel Morgan, and the little band of ninety-six noble men joined the American army before Boston, about the middle of July. They remained until September, when General Washington dispatched Colonel Arnold with one thousand soldiers, including Morgan and his company, to unite with General Montgomery in the expedition against Quebec. Their march was by Kennebec, in Maine, through a trackless wilderness, amidst swamps and mountains, snows and storms of cold. Their provisions failed, when, in their sad extremity, they had to sacrifice their faithful dogs for food. No army known to the annals of ancient or modern warfare was ever subjected to such misery. More than one-third of their number succumbed to famine, disease, and exposure before reaching Point Levy. The cup of our young soldier's sufferings was not yet full. He survived. Although reared tenderly and never before exposed, his heroism and patience, won for him from his comrades the appellation of "the young soldier." He kept a diary, to which the writer has had access, and takes pleasure in making a few extracts. Concerning the memorable attack on Quebec, December 21, 1775, he writes :

"We paraded at 4 o'clock, A. M., and were distributed as follows : Col. Arnold, Capt. Oswald, Lieut. Cleek, of Capt. Ward's Company, with 25 men, were to go in front with saws and hatchets to cut down the thickets. Captain Morgan's Company next, being divided into four divisions under his officers, Lieuts. Humphries, Heth, and Bruin. Capts. Chapman, Thayer, Henschel, Goodrich, Hubbard, Ward, and Dearborn, of the New England troops next. Captain Hendricks and Lieutenant Steele, of Captain Smith's Company, with about thirty-eight men, and Captain Lamb, of the New York artillery, with one field piece and thirty-eight men in the rear. The signal given, with shouts we set out. In passing

by the Palace gate, they fired, and the bells rung an alarm. We marched with as much precipitancy as possible, sustaining a heavy fire for some distance, without the opportunity to return it, being close under the wall. Coming to the barrier of the entrance of the lower town, guarded by a captain and 50 men, with two pieces of cannon, one of which they discharged and killed two men, we forced them from the cannon, firing in at the port-holes, all the time exposed to the fire of the musketry from the bank above us in the upper town. Here, Colonel Arnold was wounded in the leg and had to retire. The scaling ladders being brought up, if there was any honor in being first over the barrier, I had it. I was immediately joined by Captain Morgan. Upon our approach, the guards fled, and we followed close to the guard-house, when, making a halt till some more men should come up, we sallied through into the street. We took thirty men and a captain, at which time we had not—men within the barrier. After Colonel Arnold retired, the command fell on Colonel Green.

We paraded for some time in the street; and now comes the shameful part of the affair. Here we continued for near an hour, before two hundred men got into the barrier, some without officers, and some officers without men, all in confusion; and many of those who got in could not be got out of the houses. Daylight appearing, we marched to attack the second barrier, Captain Morgan in front and Lieutenant Steele next. Lieutenant—refusing to go on with the ladders, Captain Morgan ordered his men to take them. On approaching the second barrier, they hailed us. We immediately fired; they returned it with a shower of shot. Being planted in houses on the opposite side of the barrier, a continual fire ensued for some time, while we rushed up to the barrier, set up our ladder, and, at the same instant, *Captain Morgan mounted one, I the other*, to force our way, spear in hand, but were obliged to draw back.

Here we were at a disadvantage. Our guns being wet, could not return the fire we were subject to; were obliged to retreat into the street. Captain Morgan went back to advise a retreat. I turned into the next door when I found Lieutenants Bruin, Cleek, and seven or eight men. We fired at each other from the windows, by which two of our men were killed in the room. During this contest, General Montgomery's party were defeated and had marched back leaving us to contend with the whole force of the garrison; and by that means they came out of Palace gate and cut off our retreat. Whilst in front, were determined *to stand it out or die*. We heard that all of our men were made prisoners. The contest lasted about four hours.

Captain Morgan distinguished himself in a remarkable manner, showing the greatest presence of mind imaginable on every occasion, and I feel well assured that, if he had had the command, we would have made ourselves masters of the lower town. Lieutenant Humphries was killed near the second barrier, receiving two balls, one in the head, the other through the body. He distinguished himself with singular bravery until the unhappy shot. Lieutenant Heth likewise distinguished himself, running through the streets in the course of his duty, when almost every man had gotten into the houses. Lieutenant Bruin was in the same house with me as aforementioned; and, upon seeing Colonel Green and others give up their arms, we held a council what to do, Bruin declaring to the men that, if they thought proper to risk it, he was willing to fight our way out—that he would stand or fall with them. At length they surrendered themselves prisoners of war, on condition of good treatment."

WASHINGTON, D. C.



THE MOUND-BUILDERS AND THEIR ANCIENT WORKS

Editor Magazine American History:

I am much pleased to see the frequent notices of late in our periodicals of the "Mound-builders," and their ancient works. If this should continue we may hope the time is not far distant when the mystery in which this people has been so long enshrouded will be dissipated, and the problems of our ancient monuments solved.

But this hope is not likely to be realized very soon if the position taken by Dr. Patton in his article on this subject in the February number of the *Magazine of American History*, or that taken by Professor Putnam in a recent lecture, if reported correctly by the papers, is to be our guide in this study. The former advances the theory that the Mound-builders and Indians pertain to two different races, or at least to two different and widely separated migrations from Asia—the highly cultivated Mound-builders coming across Behring's Strait, or by way of the Aleutian Islands long in advance of the red man. Dr. Patton brings them down the Pacific coast to the Columbia river, and from thence spreads them eastward to the Mississippi valley and southward to Peru. Professor Putnam, on the contrary, lands them (or more definitely, the chief Mound-builders) first on the west coast of South America in the region of Peru, and brings them northward through Central America and Mexico to the Ohio valley. The Indians, who he thinks also built some of the northern mounds, he brings across from Asia through Alaska. They drive the Ohio Mound-builders northward into the region of ice and snow where we find the remnants at the present day in the Esquimaux.

These two views are of course irreconcilable, and the data by which to decide between them is wanting.

In one of the recent Reports of the Peabody Museum * Professor Putnam remarks as follows: "The different periods to which the various mounds and burial places belong can only be made out by such a series of explorations as the museum is now conducting in the Little Miami valley, and when they are completed we shall be better able to answer the question, 'Who were the Mound-builders?' than we are now. That more than one of the several American stocks, or nations, or groups of tribes built mounds seems to me to be established. What their connections were

* The 16th and 17th, p. 346.

is not yet by any means made clear, and to say that they all must have been one and the same people seems to be making a statement directly contrary to the facts, which are yearly increasing as the spade and pick in careful hands bring them to light. That many Indian tribes built mounds and earthworks is beyond doubt, but that all the mounds and earthworks of North America were made by the same tribes or their immediate ancestors is not thereby proved."

Are we to infer from his recent lecture that the light obtained on this subject from the works of the Little Miami valley has sufficed to settle in his mind the long-mooted question? If he be correctly reported such would seem to be the case. It is not my intention, however, to discuss at this time these widely divergent theories, but to notice briefly some statements made, and some points they refer to. As I have only a newspaper *résumé* of Professor Putnam's lecture I can only refer to what appears to be the substance of his views.

At the close of his article Dr. Patton says: "It has recently been argued that the ancestors of our present Indians were the Mound-builders. If this theory is true, when did they cease to thus honor their chiefs when dead? Within the last three hundred years, there has been no notice taken by explorers of the building of such immense mounds. The proverbial indolence of the Indian character and distaste for physical exertion, except in hunting and war, preclude the idea that they would, or ever did, undertake such labor. On the other hand, if their ancestors did build mounds in order to commemorate their dead chiefs, and also for religious purposes, is it not reasonable to suppose that their descendants would have continued the custom, as we have seen the presumed descendants of the Mound-builders actually did in Mexico? Again, if mound-building on a scale so extensive had been carried on by the ancestors of the present Indians, would there not have come down to us through their descendants traditions on the subject? On the contrary, 'there is no reasonable tradition of their origin (the mounds) among the Indians themselves. . . . The later Indian tribes, with a vague notion of their sanctity, have sometimes buried in them (the mounds) their own dead' (*American Cyclopædia*, I., p. 394). After the ancestors of our Indians had driven south the Mound-builders, they would feel little interest in the mounds themselves, with whose builders they had no sympathy, and in a generation or two the traditions concerning them would be forgotten. This result is the more probable since their savage conquerors were broken into hostile tribes, and were continually fighting and driving one another from place to place."

In answer we may say in the first place that no one has assumed that mounds were built by Indians *only* to honor their dead chiefs. History tells us they built some to honor their deceased chiefs, some on which to place their council houses and the houses of their leaders, and others were heaps which covered their dead of all grades. In the second place, we may add that, notwithstanding Dr. Patton's apparent doubt on the point, we have abundant historical evidence that the Indians were building and using mounds after the discovery by Columbus. He has only to read carefully the records relating to the early history of our country to find that such was the case all over the South until long after the French had made their way down the Mississippi. Not only are there evident allusions to this custom of the southern tribes, but repeated positive statements to this effect by the early writers. The fact of the custom of certain tribes burying in stone graves of the type found connected with and often in mounds is plainly given by one or more early historians. Nor is history wholly silent in regard to the origin of the northern burial mounds.

Professor Putnam certainly is, and Dr. Patton should be, aware of these facts. Why they and other writers on this subject ignore this history, which goes far toward settling the question, is very strange. We can only account for it on the theory that there is an innate love of the mysterious in the human heart which it is difficult to overcome, even where the evidence explaining the mystery is at hand. Nor is Dr. Patton correct in asserting there are no traditions ascribing these works to Indians, for we can find mention of them here and there for the past three hundred and forty years. There is a record of southern mounds being opened by Europeans three hundred and forty years ago. These were depositories where the Indians said their dead had been buried, and told the white invaders beforehand what they would find in them. Yet all this history is discarded in pursuit of a phantom.

Nor do these facts form all the evidence we have which points to the Indians as the authors of these monuments. Our early history is full of references to habits, customs, arts which are precisely the same as those of the Mound-builders. But we cannot give the data at this time.

Professor Putnam admits that some of the mounds were built by Indians, but claims that the others, constituting the larger portion, were built by a much more ancient and highly cultured race, which he designates the "Mound-builders." As he appears to have confidence in this opinion, we take for granted that he has discovered satisfactory evidence of this in the mounds. Would it not be well for him to point out the characteristics by which he distinguishes one class from the other, as all the

tests heretofore given have failed? Our archæological students would be glad to learn this secret, and to ascertain how far Professor Putnam's investigations have enabled him to determine locally the two classes.

Finally, I may add as my firm conviction that the data which have already been gathered in regard to the origin of our ancient works will show so clearly that these monuments are due to the Indians that when fully presented to the public this conclusion will no longer be disputed. Nevertheless history alone should have settled the mooted question.

Cyrus Thomas

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF SAMUEL OSGOOD

FIRST POSTMASTER-GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

[Contributed by his granddaughter, Mrs. William C. Eddy.]

“Samuel Osgood was the third son of Peter Osgood and Sarah Johnson, born in the north parish of Andover, in the county of Essex and state of Massachusetts, the 3d of February, 1748, O. S., answering to the 14th day of 2d month, N. S. His oldest brother died at the age of seven years. His second brother was designed by his father for college, but he was so opposed to it that the idea was relinquished. His father being a wealthy farmer determined to keep Samuel with himself. But when fifteen years old his health became so impaired he was incapable of assisting on the farm, and he made application to his father for leave to fit himself for college, which was ultimately assented to with great reluctance. He accordingly spent two years in a grammar-school in the town, and was then placed at an excellent academy, where he was well prepared to enter Harvard College in July, 1766. He was habitually industrious, and made greater proficiency in mathematics than any one in his class, and in logic and Greek was not behind any of them. Immediately after he graduated he was invited to instruct a select number of scholars in the languages and navigation, in which employment he continued one year, with the intention of qualifying himself for the ministry. In this he was strenuously opposed by his physician, who insisted that his habits of study and his delicacy of health would soon terminate his existence. At this time his elder brother determined to enter into trade, and induced him reluctantly to join him. The time was extremely inauspicious—about the commencement of 1772—when the disputes with the mother country were daily increasing. They had credit in England, and imported their own goods. When the war broke out, on the 19th of April, 1775, a stop was put to the collection of debts. They had then in outstanding debts and goods more than they owed, which was about \$20,000. They dissolved partnership, and Samuel made all over to his brother, and undertook to collect and pay the debts of the partnership, and gave him a bond of indemnification. The debts being principally due in England, during the war there was nothing done about them, and when the war was over, his brother, in a great

measure owing to the destruction of property on account of the depreciation of paper money, had nothing left to pay the debts with. Of course, Samuel was called upon to pay them, which he did, with interest, except a small portion of interest which the creditors voluntarily relinquished. This short-lived partnership destroyed his peace and happiness in a great measure for fifteen years. They had settled in Andover on a handsome farm with a store which their father gave them equally. Notwithstanding the very heavy debts Samuel paid for the partnership, he relinquished in favor of his brother's children the whole of the farm, worth eight thousand dollars, and is educating at his own expense for the law the eldest son of his brother, who is a very promising young man.

"In the year 1774, the times, on account of the dispute with England, wore a very gloomy aspect. This year, the town of Andover appointed him their delegate to the state congress (April 19, 1775). The battle of Lexington took place. He had for some time been a captain of a company of minute-men, and he marched with them on that day about twenty miles to Lexington, and thence to Cambridge, about fifteen miles more, in pursuit of the British troops.* The American army immediately collected together at Cambridge, and the commander-in-chief, General Ward, appointed him one of his aids, in which situation he continued until February, 1776, when he quitted the army, not having much taste for military matters. The offer of the command of a regiment had no effect upon him. He returned to private life. But the town of Andover would not permit him to enjoy it. He was immediately sent to the state congress, which appointed him a member of their board of war. Thus the town continued him their member to the state congress till the year 1780, when the state constitution was adopted, and upon the first election under it, the county of Essex returned him as one of their senators. In the year 1780 the affairs of the United States seemed almost to have been brought to a disastrous crisis. The paper money had sunk almost to nothing. The army could not with it be kept in the field. Congress apportioned on the states specific supplies, and issued a new paper money, also apportioned on the states. Samuel was appointed chairman of a committee of three, and, furnished with that new money, to procure and forward weekly the proportion of Massachusetts to the army. Those who were not very sanguine as to the success of the American cause predicted that the committee would not be able, with the means with which they were furnished,

*My grandfather was made colonel that day. He took the first British sword captured in the revolution. The writer has the letters which passed between him and the British major whom he captured.

to procure the necessary supplies—that the new money was no better than the old, and that the people would not take it—and some feared and some hoped a fatal issue. The arrangements of the committee, however, succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of the public mind. The money was circulated, and the weekly supplies were punctually forwarded.

“In the spring of 1781, the legislature appointed him a delegate to the congress of the United States. In this situation they continued him till the spring of 1784—three years. The Constitution of the United States then requiring a rotation in office, no member could hold his seat more than three years. He returned to Andover, and was immediately sent as a delegate to the legislature. In the spring of 1785 the congress of the United States appointed him First Commissioner of the Treasury, in which situation he continued until September, 1789 (four and a half years), when the departments were arranged anew under the new constitution of the United States. It was not expected that Samuel would have any office offered to him, he having been opposed for a time to the unqualified adoption of the new Constitution. Parties being highly exasperated, those who had exerted themselves in procuring the adoption of the new Constitution were to be rewarded with all the offices. But General Washington had been well acquainted with him from the commencement of the war, and offered him the Postmaster-general's Department, which he accepted and held two years, at a salary of \$1,500 the first year. At the end of two years he resigned, and continued in private life till the year 1800, when, the Republican party in the city of New York gaining the ascendancy, he was sent as one of the delegates of the city to the general assembly, which appointed him their speaker. He was again returned in the spring of 1802, but did not meet the legislature—the President having conferred on him the office of supervisorship of the state of New York, worth \$7,000 a year, rendered him incapable of holding a seat in the legislature. The office itself was afterward abolished. The closing transactions of that complicated office, especially of the land tax, were the most irksome and laborious affairs he was ever engaged in, for which no compensation was made him.

“In the year 1830 he was appointed naval officer of the port of New York, at a salary of \$3,500 a year, and also a sixth part of the fines, penalties, and forfeitures, which, except in times of embargo, amounted to little. The duties of this office being easy of execution, unencumbered with money transactions and settlement of accounts, he never wished for a more lucrative office. Being neither poor nor rich, he enjoyed sufficient tranquillity on that account, and in this situation he found considerable

leisure, that he could employ in his favorite studies—not of law, although it is probable, if he had engaged in it, he would have accumulated more property, being constitutionally industrious. In this case his most favorite studies must have been totally neglected, and he would have lost one of the greatest sources of his comfort and happiness.

“Samuel’s parents were pious Calvinists, and he had early a sense of religion on his mind. When about fifteen, laboring under a painful periodical complaint, called the sun headache, he shut himself up in his closet and, falling on his face, prayed for the pardon of his sins on account of the meritorious suffering and death of Christ. He did not think he was converted at this time, but these serious impressions were not erased from his mind either at school or college. In college, a weekly praying society had been kept up from time immemorial, consisting of pious students only. To that society he joined himself, and, while at college, was admitted a member of the church in Andover, in which church he still holds his right, never having been set off to any other church.* The rule in those churches is, that a member, admitted to one church, if he removes and joins another, is not to be permitted to exercise the privileges of membership till he is regularly dismissed from the church he first joined. It is not so in the Presbyterian Church, where a lay member has no more privileges to exercise than a lay pew-holder that is not a member. For such an organization of a church, we find no authority in Scripture, and the writings that the fathers of the three first centuries have left are explicitly against it.

“Samuel married his first wife in January, 1775 (Martha Brandon, of Cambridge). She was of one of the most ancient, respectable, and pious families of the state. In beauty and merit, she was surpassed by none; in piety, by very few of her age. In August, 1778, she received intelligence that her uncle in Cambridge, about twenty miles from Andover, was very ill. She had been brought up with him in the family of his father, and her affection for him—for she was his greatest favorite—would not permit her to hear of his sickness and not visit him. She went, and never returned. She was seized with dysentery and lived but a few days, perfectly resigned. She died without a murmur and without fear, never having had any children. Her education was excellent; her mind very superior. The softness of her manners, her sympathetic tenderness, insured her the affections of all who knew her. Her last words to her husband were: ‘Fear not, you will do well. God will provide for you.’ This severe affliction was almost insupportable to Samuel. Mrs. Osgood had one

* My grandfather was an elder in Dr. Spring’s “Old Brick Church” until his death.

sister, who did not long survive her. (Here follows 'An Elegy on the Death of Mrs. Osgood,' addressed to her sister, Mrs. L., written October, 1778, and published in the *Boston Magazine*, 1786.) Samuel married a second wife in May, 1786, by whom he had five daughters and one son.* Two of the daughters died in infancy. Soon after her marriage, his wife, who had belonged to the Society of Friends, joined the Presbyterian Church, and became a member, with great satisfaction to herself. After sixty years of age, Samuel's fixed determination was to spend the few days that might remain to him in greater retirement and tranquillity, and in that uninterrupted habitual devotion which might evidence to those personally acquainted with him that he set an infinitely higher value upon salvation as offered in the blessed Gospel of Jesus Christ than upon any terrestrial and sublunary enjoyments."

*The second wife of Samuel Osgood, referred to in the autobiography above, was Maria Bowne, the widow of the wealthy New York merchant Walter Franklin, whose elegant mansion, which he built in Franklin Square, was the first presidential residence—the home of Washington. She was the daughter of Daniel Bowne, whose mother was the sister of Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts. This lady had three daughters at the time of her marriage to Samuel Osgood—Maria Franklin, the first wife of De Witt Clinton; Sarah Franklin, who became Mrs. John Lake Norton; and Hannah Franklin, who married George Clinton, the brother of De Witt Clinton. Of the three daughters of Samuel and Maria Bowne Franklin, Osgood Martha became the second wife of citizen Edmond Charles Genet, the French minister (whose first wife was Cornelia Tappan Clinton, second daughter of Governor George Clinton); Julia married her cousin, Samuel Osgood; and Susan Maria married Moses Field, of New York, and was the mother of Maunsell B. Field, assistant secretary of the treasury under Secretary Chase. The autobiography of Osgood, here published entire for the first time, was given by him to his daughter Julia, and the manuscript is now tenderly preserved by his granddaughter, Mrs. Eddy. Mr. Osgood died in 1813.

WASHINGTON

Thou art not dead, thou mighty king of men,
Thou rock of strength amid a storm-swept time.
A hundred years are naught to living fame,
And this, a birth-day of thy vernal prime.

O Washington, Virginia's pride and ours,
Beloved of all, so strong in love and will,
In thy clear eye and noble brow is that
Which bids the base another "peace, be still!"

And could thy face beam on the northern wastes,
On blackest jungle 'neath hot Africa's sun,
Or on some lonely isle in distant sea,
The savage soul would own thee Heaven's son.

When thou didst stand beneath the Cambridge elm,
Within the shadow of fair Harvard's halls,
The tree, the place, the men, the cause, and all,
Were blessed by one, who knew where duty calls.

O Washington, thy life doth tell full well
The high perfection of the Christ in man,
And bids thy children hope that we may share
Some part of what in thee reached fullest span.

Edmund Smith Middleton.

JANUARY 21, 1889.

WASHINGTON ON AGRICULTURE

[These valuable letters, carefully copied from the originals in the British Museum by Mr. William Henry Smith, are well known in some of our leading libraries, a few copies having been privately printed and presented to them by Hon. J. Carson Brevoort, some years ago. But a wider audience is interested in what Washington himself said about woodland, fallow-fields, domestic animals, and methods of farming, and we yield to the pressing request and publish them here for the benefit of the general reader.—EDITOR.]

CORRESPONDENCE WITH SIR JOHN SINCLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, OCT. 20th 1792.

Sir,

I have received your letter of the 18th of May, enclosing the Pamphlet & papers which you had the goodness to send me.—

While I beg your acceptance of my acknowledgements for the polite mark of attention in transmitting these things to me, I flatter myself you will be assured that I consider the subject therein recommended as highly important to Society, whose best interests I hope will be promoted by a proper investigation of them, and the happiness of mankind advanced thereby.—

I have to regret that the duties of my public station do not allow me to pay that attention to Agriculture and the objects attached to it (which have ever been my favourite pursuit) that I could wish ; but I will put your queries respecting Sheep into the hands of such Gentlemen as I think most likely to attend to them, and answer them satisfactorily ; I must, however observe that no important information on the subject can be expected from this country where we have been so little in the habit of attending either to the breed or improvement of our stock.

With great respect & esteem

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your most Obed^t Servant.

G^o WASHINGTON.

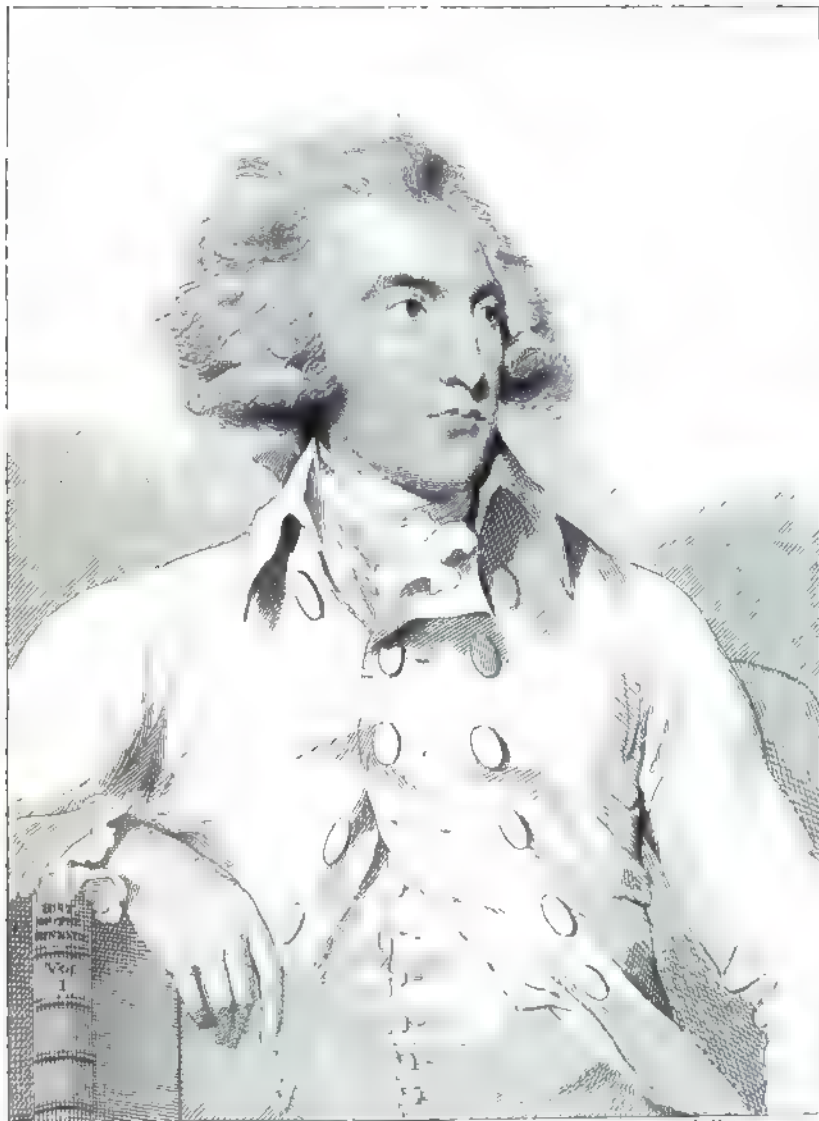
SIR JOHN SINCLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, JULY 20th 1794.

Sir,

I am indebted to you for you several favors of the 15th of June, 15th of August & 11th of September of the last—and for that of the 6th of February in the present year ;—for which, and the Pamphlets accompanying them, my thanks are particularly due.—To say this, and to have suffered them to remain so long unacknowledged, needs explanation.—The truth is, they came to hand—the first of them—about the opening, and the Second Set towards the close of a long and interesting Session of Congress ; during which my time was very much occupied, and at the end thereof, I had a pressing call to my Estate in Virginia, from whence I have not been returned more than ten or twelve days. —

I have read with peculiar pleasure and approbation, the work you patronise ; so much to your own honor and the utility of the public.—Such a General View of the Agriculture in the several counties of Great Britain, is extremely interesting ; and cannot fail of



T. Lawrence del.

A. Wilson sculp.

SIR JOHN



SINCLAIR.

Pub. as the Act directs April 18. 1790 by T. Cadell, Strand.

being very beneficial to the Agricultural concerns of your Country, and to those of every other wherein they are read: and must entitle you to their warmest thanks for having set such a plan on foot, and for prosecuting it with the Zeal & intelligence you do.—

I am so much pleased with the plan & execution myself, as to pray you to have the goodness to direct your Book-Seller to continue to forward them to me accompanied with the cost, which shall be paid to his order; or remitted so soon as the amount is made known to me.—When the whole are received; I will promote, as far as in me lays, the re-printing of them here.—

I know of no pursuit in which more real & important Service can be rendered to any Country than by improving its Agriculture—its breed of useful animals and other branches of a husbandman's cares;—nor can I conceive any plan more conducive to this end than the one you have introduced for bringing to view the actual state of them, in all parts of the Kingdoms by which good & bad habits are exhibited in a manner too plain to be misconceived; of the accounts given to the British board of Agriculture, appear in general, to be drawn up in a Masterly Manner; so as fully to answer the expectations formed in the excellent plan w^{ch} produced them; affording at the same time, a fund of information, useful in political Economy—Serviceable in all countries.

Commons—Tithes—Tenantry (of which we feel nothing in this Country) are in the list of impediments I perceive, to perfection in English farming;—and taxes are heavy deductions from the profit thereof.— Of these we have none, or so light as hardly to be felt.— Your system of Agriculture, it must be confessed, is in a stile superior, & of course much more expensive than ours, but when the balance at the end of the year is struck, by deducting the taxes, poor rates, and incidental charges of every kind, from the produce of the land, in the two countries, no doubt can remain in which scale it is to be found.—

It will be sometime I fear, before an Agricultural Society with Congressional aids will be established in this Country; we must walk, as other countries have done, before we can run; Smaller Societies must prepare the way for greater; but with the lights before us, I hope we shall not be so slow in Maturation as older Nations have been.— An attempt, as you will perceive by the enclosed outlines of a plan, is making to establish a State Society in Pennsylvania, for Agricultural improvements:—If it succeeds, it will be a step in the ladder.— At present it is too much in embryo to decide on the result.—

Our domestic Animals, as well as our Agriculture, are inferior to yours in point of size; but this does not proceed from any defect in the stamina of them, but to deficient care in providing for their support; experience having abundantly evinced that, where our pastures are as well improved as the Soil & climate will admit;—where a competent store of wholesome provender is laid up—and proper care used in serving it, that our horses, black Cattle, Sheep, &c^t are not inferior to the best of their respective kinds which have been imported from England.—Nor is the Wool of our Sheep inferior to that of the *common* sort with you:—as a proof.—after the Peace of Paris in 1783, and my return to the occupations of a farmer, I paid particular attention to my breed of Sheep (of which I usually kept about seven or eight hundred):—By this attention at the shearing of 1789, the fleeces yielded me the average quantity of 5½^{lbs} of Wool; a fleece of which, promiscuously taken, I sent to M^r Arthur Young, who put it, for examination, into the hands of Manufacturers.— These pronounced it to be equal in quality to the Kentish wool.—In this same year, i. e. 1789, I was again called from home, and have not had it in my power since to pay any attention to my farms;—the consequence of which is, that my Sheep at the last shearing, yielded me not more than 2½ lbs.—This is not a single instance of the difference between

care and Neglect.—Nor is the difference between good & bad management confined to that species of Stock; for we find that good pastures and proper attention, can, & does, fill our Markets with Beef of seven, eight & more hundred Weight, the four quarters; whereas from 450 to 500 (especially in the States of South of this, where less attention hitherto has been paid to grass) may be found about the average weight.—In this Market some Bullocks were killed in the months of March & April last, the weight of which as taken from the accounts which were published at the time, you will find in a paper enclosed.—These were pampered Steers, but from 800 to a thousand, the four quarters, is no uncommon weight.

Your general history of Sheep, with observations thereon, and the proper mode of Managing them, will be an interesting work when compleated; and with the information, & accuracy I am persuaded it will be executed, under your auspices, must be extremely desirable.—The climate of this Country, particularly that of the Middle States, is congenial to this species of Animal; but want of attention to them in most farmers, added to the obstacles which prevent the importation of a better kind, by men who would be at the expence, contributes not a little to the present inferiority we experience.—

M^r Edwards would have it as much in his power as most of our farmers, to solve the queries you propounded to him;—In addition to which a gentleman of my acquaintance (who is also among the best farmers of this Country,) to whom I gave the perusal of your propositions, has favored me with some ideas on the subject, as you will find on a paper herewith enclosed.

The sample you were so obliging as to put into the hands of M^r Lear, for me, of a Scotch fabric, is extremely elegant, and I pray you to accept my thanks for it, as I, entreat you also to do for the civilities thereon to that gentleman, who has a grateful sense of them.—

Both M^r Adams and M^r Jefferson had the perusal of the papers which accompanied your note of the 11th of Sept:.—

With great respect and esteem,

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your Obed^t Serv^t

G^o WASHINGTON

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, 10th July. 1795.

Sir,

I could not omit so favorable an opportunity, as the departure of M^r Strickland affords me, of presenting my best respects to you; and my sincere thanks for the views of Agriculture in the different countries of Great Britain, which you have had the goodness to send me.—and for the Diploma (received by the hands of M^r Jay) admitting me a foreign honorary member of the board of Agriculture.

For this testimony of the attention of that body, and for the honor it has conferred on me, I have a high sense; in communicating of which to the board, I shall rely more on your goodness than on any expression of mine, to render it acceptable.—

From the first intimation you were pleased to give me of this Institution, I conceived the most favorable ideas of its utility;—and the more I have seen & reflected on the plan since, the more convinced I am of its importance, in a National point of view, not only to

your own country, but to all others which are not too much attached to old & bad habits to forsake them, and to new countries that are *just beginning* to form systems for the improvement of their husbandry.—

Mr. Strickland has not been idle since he came to this country.—To him therefore, for a description of the climate,—the Soil—the agriculture, and improvements generally ;—the modes of carrying them on ;—the produce of the land ;—the draught cattle ;—domestic animals ;—and the farming implements which are used by our people in the Eastern and Middle States, through which he has passed, I shall refer you.—Nothing, I believe has escaped his observation that merited Notice.—

You will add to the obligations already conferred on me, by directing your Bookseller to supply me regularly with all such proceedings of the board as are intended for the public ;—and when they are in a fit state for it, that they may be neatly bound.—To this request, I pray he may be desired to add the cost, which shall be paid at sight, to his order here, or remitted to him, as may be most convenient and agreeable to himself.—

[The remainder of this letter, was merely a conclusion in the usual terms, and is wanting, having been cut off, and given to a gentleman, who requested it as a particular favour, “ there being nothing, he declared, which he wished for more, than to have in his “ possession, a specimen of the hand writing, and above all the Signature, of the illustrious “ Washington.”—

London, 10th Feb^r.—1800.

JOHN SINCLAIR.]

PHILADELPHIA, 20th FEB^r 1796.

Sir,

When I last had the honor of writing to you, I had hopes—tho’ I must confess they were not of the most sanguine sort—that I should have been enabled ere this, to have given you a more satisfactory account of the business you had been pleased to commit to me, than will be conveyed in this letter.—

Doubts having arisen, from peculiar calls on the Treasury of this country for money (occasioned by the expences of our Wars with the Indians—the redemption of our captives at Algiers—obtaining peace with that Regency & Morocco—together with other demands in addition to the ordinary expenditures of government) that funds with difficulty would be provided to answer them, without imposing additional taxes—a measure wished to be avoided—I was restrained (after consulting one or two influential Members of the Legislature) from introducing your plan for a contribution :—and under these circumstances—I avoided communicating the “ Extracts from the Minutes of the proceedings of the Board of Agriculture, respecting Mr. Elkingtons mode of draining, &c.” except to one gentleman only, in whom I had entire confidence, and who I knew was always disposed to promote measures of utility.—

These being the grounds of my proceeding, I shall hope, altho’ your expectations may be disappointed, you will receive the information as an evidence of my candour.—

Agreeably to your desire I have put the “ Out lines of the 15th Chapter of the proposed “ general report from the Board of Agriculture, on the subject of Manures,” into the hands of one of the most judicious farmers within my reach ; and when his observations thereon are received, they shall be transmitted to you.—I wish my own engagements

would allow me time to attend, more than I do, to these agreeable, and useful pursuits ; but having been absent from what I consider my proper home (except on short occasional visits) for more than seven years ;—and having entered into my 65th year—a period which requires tranquillity and ease—I have come to a determination to lease the farms of my Mount Vernon Estate, except the Mansion house farm, & a grazing one 3 miles off ; which I shall retain in my own occupation—for amusement, whilst life & health is dispensed to me.—And as many farmers from your country have emigrated to this, and many more according to their accounts, desirous of following, if they knew before hand, where and on what terms they could fix themselves compactly in a healthy & populous country ; I have taken the liberty to enclose you the copy of a Notification which I have published in some of the Gazettes of the United States ; that in case any farmers answering the descriptions therein contained are about to transplant themselves, to whom you might be inclined to give the information, that you may have it in your power to do so.—

But let me entreat you, Sir, to believe, that I have no wish to its promulgation farther than I have declared.—That I have no intention to *invite* emigrants, even if there are no restrictive acts against it ;—and if there be, that I am opposed to it altogether.—

As Wheat is the staple produce of that part of the country in which this estate lyes, I shall fix the rent therein, at a bushel & half for every Acre of Arable land contained within the lease ;—to be discharged, in case of failure of that crop, at the price the article bears in the Market.—

Two or three years ago I sent M^r Young a sketch of these farms, with all the fields, meads & lots, with there relative situations, laid down from actual Survey.—

I have but little expectation that arrangements will be made by the time limited, for giving possession of the farms next year ; nor should I wish to do it with such unskilful farmers as ours, if there was a prospect of obtaining them from any other country where husbandry was better understood, & more advantageously practiced.—

It is time however to conclude, for I feel ashamed at having employed so much of it in matters interesting to myself only ; & I shall do it with assurances as sincere as they are warm of being—

Sir,

Your most Obedt. & Obligd Servt.

G^d WASHINGTON.

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR BAR^t

PHILADELPHIA, 12th JUNE, 1796.

Sir,

A long, and interesting Session of Congress—which did not close until the first day of this month—and the Laws which required to be carried into execution promptly ;—will, I am persuaded, be admitted as a reasonable excuse for my not writing to you since the 20th of Feb^r last, agreeably to assurances then given.—

But what apology can I offer *now*, that I am about to give you the result of the enquiries you requested me to make, when it will be found to fall so far short of what you might have expected, from the time which has been taken, to render it ? Your wishes on this head, I communicated to Richard Peters Esq^t ; who is one of the most intelligent, and best practical, as well as theoretical farmers we have ; with a desire that he would advise with others, and condense their observations in a Summary Statement.—Why this was not done—and why *he* could do no more—you will find in his own, original letter, with the questions and answers therein enclosed.—

To M^r Peters's experience with respect to Gypsum as a Manure, let me add the following, as an unequivocal evidence, that it has no effect on stiff—heavy land—that does not absorb, or permit the Water on the surface, occasioned by super-abundant falls of Rain or Snow, to penetrate quickly; which is the case, generally, with the Soil of my Estate, at Mount Vernon.—

The experiments, I made are & proof to which I allude, were made eight or nine years ago, at the rate of from one, to twenty bushels of the Plaster of Paris to the Acre (among other things, to ascertain the just quantum to be used)—I spread it on grass grounds, and on ploughed land.—On the latter, part of it was ploughed in ;—part harrowed in ;—part scratched in with a light bush ;—while another part lay undisturbed, on the surface.—All with Oats, in the Spring.—But it had no more effect, in *any* instance—*then*, or *since*, than so much of the earth it was spread over would have had, if it had been taken up & spread again.

If anything should hereafter occur on this or any other subject, which I may think worthy your attention, in this interesting branch of your pursuits, I shall not fail to communicate them to you ;—being with very great esteem, respect & consideration,

Sir,

Your most Obed^t and Very Humble Serv^t

G^o WASHINGTON.

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR.

PHILADELPHIA, 6th MARCH, 1797.

Sir,

On the 11th of Dec^r I wrote you a long letter ; and intended before the close of the last Session of Congress (which ended on the third instant, conformably to the Constitution) to have addressed you again ; but oppressed as I was with the various occurrences incident thereto, especially in the latter part of it, it has not been in my power to do so during its continuance ; and now the arrangements necessary to my departure from this City—for a more tranquil theatre, and for the indulgence of rural pursuits, will oblige me to suspend my purpose until I am fixed at Mount Vernon, where I expect soon to be ; having resigned the chair of government to M^r Jn^o Adams on Friday last ; the day on which I completed my Second four years administration.—

Under the circumstances here mentioned, I should not have troubled you, at this time, with so short a letter but for the purpose of accompanying it with two or three Pamphlets on the Subject of Agriculture ; one of which treats more extensively on Gypsum as a Manure than any I have seen before.—

The other two will only serve to shew, that essays of a similar kind are making in this infant Country.—

I am sorry to add, that nothing *final* in Congress, has been decided respecting the institution of a National board of Agriculture, recommended by me, at the opening of the Session.—But this did not, I believe, proceed from any disinclination to the measure, but from their limited sitting, and a pressure of what they conceived, more important business.—

I think it highly probable that next Session will bring^d this matter to maturity.—

With the highest esteem & respect.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your Most H^{ble} and Ob^t Serv^t

G^o WASHINGTON.

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR BAR^t

MOUNT VERNON, 15th JULY, 1797.

Sir,

Since my last to you, dated in Philadelphia the 6th of March, I have been honoured with yours and Lord Hawke's joint favour of the 28th of March 1796 introductory of Doc^r Scandella; who gave me the pleasure of his company in June last, and whom I found a very sensible, and well informed man.—

I have also received your separate favours of the 21st of February and 29th of March, in the present year. The last accompanying your printed account of the origin of the Board of Agriculture and its progress for the three years after its establishment.—For your kindness in forwarding of them, I pray you to accept my best thanks.

I will keep one copy of this work myself, and shall [read] it, I am sure, with pleasure, so soon as I have passed through my harvest, which is now nearly finished;—the other copies shall be put into such hands as I conceive will turn them to the best account.

Your not having, in either of the letters acknowledged above, mentioned the receipt of two from me dated the 10th & 11th of Dec^r 1796;—the last a private and very long one, fills my mind with apprehension of a miscarriage, altho' I do not see how it should have happened, as they went with several other letters under cover to M^r King (our Minister in London) who in a letter to me, dated the 6th of February following after giving information of what he had done with my other letters, adds. "And as soon as Sir John Sinclair returns to town I will also deliver the letter addressed to him."—

Was it not for this information I should, by this conveyance, have forwarded a duplicate.—

The result my enquiries of Members of Congress, attending the December Session, varied so little from the details I had the honour to give you concerning the prices of land &c. in my private letter of the 11th of December as to render a second edition unnecessary.

The reduction, however, in the price of our produce since last year, (flour having fallen from fifteen to seven or eight dollars a barrel, and other articles in that proportion) may occasion a fall in the price of Lands.—A stagnation it has already produced—and I have been told a reduction also, in some of the latter Sales.—

Our crop of Wheat this year, from the best information I have been able to obtain, will be found very short—owing to three causes;—an uncommon drought last Autumn,—A severe Winter with but little snow to protect it,—and, which is still more to be regretted,—to what, with us is denominated the Hessian Fly; which has spread devastation, more or less, in all quarters:—Nor has the latter Wheat escaped the rust.—The grain however, except where the Rust appeared before it was hard, is extremely fine.—We are equally unlucky in our Oats, occasioned by a severe drought since the month of April,

With Sentiments of high esteem & regard,

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your Most Obed^t Humble Servant.

G^o WASHINGTON.

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR

VOL. XXL—No. 4.—23

MOUNT VERNON, 6th NOV: 1797.

Sir,

Since I had the honor of writing you on the 15th of July, I have been favoured with your letter of the 13th of Feb^r introductory of Thos^t Macdonald Esq^r and your note of the 9th of June by Gen^l Kosciusko; together with the Surveys, and papers accompanying both.—For your goodness in sending them, I pray you to accept my best thanks; and that I may not be a burthensome Member of the Board, I enclose a small Bill of Exchange to be deposited in the hands of your Bookseller, to defray the cost of the several copies of your works which may be forwarded to me.—When this is expended, I will make another deposit, for the same purpose.

As neither of the notes, the receipt of which is acknowledged above—nor any other, has intimated in the most distant manner that my letters of the 10th and 11th of December (the latter a private one) had ever reached your hands, I now do, as well for the purpose of evincing that I was not inattentive to your request, as to give information which may yet (though late) be useful, forward a duplicate of the private letter; from a Press Copy taken at the time, and of my last also, of the 15th of July; being more disposed to trouble you with a repetition of the sentiments then expressed, than to lay under the suspicion of inattention to y^r comm^{ds}.—

I can now, with more certainty than on the 15th of July, inform you that lands have fallen in price;—ascribable to two causes, the shocking depredations committed on our Commerce (within the last six or eight months by the French) and the reduction in price of our produce.—Both contributing to render cash a scarce, and of course a valuable article.—

Our Crops of Grain are, in places, tolerable; but upon the whole, below mediocrity in quality, whilst the Grain is fine.—This also, that is the shortness of the Crop, will assist in reducing the price of lands still lower.—

An eight years absence from home, (except occasional short visits to it) has thrown my buildings, and other matters of private concern, into so much disorder, that at no period of my life have I ever been more engaged than in the last six or eight months to repair, & bring them into tune again:—This has prevented me from looking into the Agricultural Surveys of the Counties of England & Scotland with the attention I propose to do the ensuing winter: I shall certainly be very desirous of having a complete sett of them, and if any are missing will apply accordingly;—as it is my intention to have them classed & bound neatly.—

With great pleasure I received a visit from M^r Macdonald a few days ago, who fully answers the character given of him, as a polite and sensible man.—

With great respect, & the highest esteem & regard, I have the honor to be—

Sir,

Your Most Obed^t and obliged

Humble Servant.

G^o WASHINGTON

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, }
BARONET. }

MINOR TOPICS

WASHINGTON'S RULES OF CIVILITY AND DECENT BEHAVIOR IN COMPANY AND CONVERSATION

Dr. J. M. Toner of Washington has copied with literal exactness, edited with notes, and published in a little volume the original paper found among the early writings of Washington, with the above title. There are one hundred and ten of the quaint rules or maxims, fifty-seven of which were edited and published by Sparks in the second volume of his *Life and Writings of Washington*. Dr. Toner presents the complete series without any alterations or omissions, and in the precise manner in which they were compiled by Washington when a school-boy at about the age of thirteen. The general principles embodied had been enunciated over and over again in the various European works on good manners in polite society before Washington's time. Yet nowhere can they be found printed as formulated here ; and in the language of Dr. Toner, " They are as broad as civilization itself, though a few of them are particularly applicable to society as it then existed in America." Dr. Toner's notes are useful, and the publication of a complete copy of the rules is as commendable as it is timely, and cannot fail to benefit the growing youth of our country. A few extracts will not be amiss in this connection, as they carry their own moral :

"RULE 1ST. Every Action done in company, ought to be with Some Sign of Respect, to those that are Present.*"

4th. IN the presence of Others sing not to yourself with a humming noise, nor drum with your fingers or feet.

5th. IF you cough, sneeze, sigh, or Yawn, do it not Loud, but Privately ; and speak not in your yawning, but put your handkerchief or hand before your face and turn aside.

6th. SLEEP not when others speak, sit not when others stand, speak not when you should hold your peace, walk not when others stop.

18th. READ no Letters, Books, or Papers in company, but when there is a necessity for the doing of it you must ask leave ; come not near the books or writings of another so as to read them unless desired, or give your opinion of them unasked, also look not nigh when another is writing a letter.

30th. IN walking the highest place in most countries seems to be on the right hand, therefore place yourself on the left of him whom you desire to honor : but

* *Dr. Toner's Note.*—The thoughtful reader will recognize in this rule the germ and spirit of all rules of civility and the universal key to good behavior.

if three walk together the middle place is the most honorable, the wall is usually given to the most worthy if two walk together.

32nd. To one that is your equal, or not much inferior, you are to give the chief place in your Lodging, and he to who it is offered ought at first to refuse it but at the second to accept, though not without acknowledging his own unworthiness.

35th. LET your discourse with men of business be short and comprehensive.

37th. IN speaking to men of Quality do not lean nor look them full in the face, nor approach too near them, at lest keep a full Pace from them.

38th. IN visiting the sick, do not presently play the physician if you be not knowing therein.

44th. WHEN a man does all he can though it succeeds not well, blame not him that did it.

48th. WHEREIN you reprove another be unblamable yourself ; for example is more prevalent than precept.

56th. ASSOCIATE yourself with men of good Quality if you esteem your own reputation ; for 'tis better to be alone than in bad company.

67th. DETRACT not from others neither be excessive in commending.

80th. BE not tedious in discourse or in reading unless you find the company pleased therewith.

82d. UNDERTAKE not what you cannot perform, but be careful to keep your promise.

89th. SPEAK not Evil of the absent for it is unjust.

98th. DRINK not nor talk with your mouth full, neither gaze about you while you are drinking.

110th. LABOUR to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire called conscience."

Dr. Toner says : " This closing maxim or injunction, the observance of which is so important in the make-up of a man's character, is thus most appropriately placed at the end, and its choice for that place is peculiarly characteristic of Washington's style. Throughout all his writings he is especially noted for his good taste and apt allusions to his subject in the opening and closing of his letters and communications, and the example here given is the proof that this talent was not wanting even in his earliest youth."

THE NEAREST RELATIVES OF WASHINGTON

It is interesting to note at this centennial epoch that the nearest living relatives of the illustrious Washington are not of the name. From the half-brothers of our first President are descended the Washingtons who represent the Washington

family of to-day. But the numerous descendants of his eldest sister Betty, who married Colonel Fielding Lewis, are the nearest of kin. This lady was born in June, 1733, and being so near his own age was the constant playfellow and companion, during his childhood, of the future head of the nation. One of her sons, Howell Lewis, was a great favorite with Washington as the years rolled by, and inherited from him 1,300 acres of land in West Virginia, of which he took possession in 1812, with eighteen negro slaves under the care of "Old Jack," a trusted negro overseer. His eldest daughter, who was named for his mother, Betty Washington Lewis, married Colonel Joseph Lovell and went to reside in Marietta, Ohio; one of her sons married Sarah Sophia, daughter of Anselm Tupper Nye, and their daughter, Mrs. Betty Washington Oldham, now resides in Cincinnati. Another daughter of Howell Lewis, Ellen Jael Lewis, married Robert McAmev Steele, one of whose daughters became Mrs. Joseph Perkins, and another Mrs. David Leicester King. The descendants of Washington's sister Betty intermarried with many of the best families of Ohio, and now bear the names of Nye, Perkins, Hall, Carter, Steele, Hereford, Bayless, King, Lovell, and others that are well known. Mr. Howell Lewis Lovell resides in Covington, Kentucky; Mr. Harold Bayless Nye, at Cleveland, Ohio; Mr. Anselm Tupper Nye, at Charleston, West Virginia; and several families at Marietta, Ohio.

JOSEPH JONES BORROWS WASHINGTON'S PHAETON

Letter from Joseph Jones to Washington about it, Phil., Sept. 14, 1777.

"Being in want of a light phaeton I directed my servant to inquire about the city for one. He tells me he has found a single light carriage which belongs to you, and has been lying here for some time. I have not seen it, but from his account of it, expect it will answer my purpose; and if you choose to sell, will purchase and give any price you may think it reasonably worth. If it is your inclination to keep it and get it out of the way of the enemy, I will take it to Lancaster, if we are obliged to move there, which you will please to determine by line."

Washington to Jones, Yellow Springs, Sept. 17, 1777.

"I have been favoured with yours of the 14th. I do not wish to sell my phaeton, but shall be happy if you will take and use it 'till I have occasion for it. This I request you to do, as you will thereby accommodate yourself and serve me at the same time."

Joseph Jones to Washington, Sept. 30, 1777.

"I have your phaeton here though I was obliged to send for it after I left Philadelphia, being put to the route the night I received your letter. The bolt

that fastens the pole—part of the long reins was lost, some brass nails also gone, and the lining much dirtied and in some places torn. I will get these little matters repaired, and have the carriage and harness kept clean and in as good order as I can, which is the least I can do for the use, though I would rather buy it if you are not determined against selling, and submit the price to yourself or our friend Col. Harrison, who may view it and pay the cash upon demand to your order. The harness, I observe, is not matched, though the difference is not very striking."

Joseph Jones to Washington, Williamsburg, Jan. 22, 1778.

"Having left my chair with Greentree in the city to be sold, and not having been able yet to provide myself with such a one as would suit me, I am obliged to make use of your carriage until I do. I shall send it to Mt. Vernon as soon after I am provided as lies in my power."—*Letters of Joseph Jones of Va. published by Department of State, Washington, 1889.*

W. K.

Washington enacts Cincinnatus at Philadelphia.

"The first time I saw General Washington, was in Spruce Street. They were ploughing up the Street with an iron-bound plough to prepare it for paving, and Washington put his hand to the plough and held it a few steps. He was about five feet eleven inches high, rather what one calls a proportionable, than a well made man; yet he was straight and sprightly."—*Travels of John Gerrond, page 57.*

PETERSFIELD.

NOTES

THE FARMER'S LOGIC ABOUT THE CONSTITUTION — When Massachusetts in convention was overhauling the new Constitution from beginning to end (in 1788), discussing it clause by clause, and raising all manner of objections to it, prior to its adoption by that state, Jonathan Smith, from Lanesborough, a plain countryman, said: "Brother farmers, let us suppose a case now. Suppose you had a farm of fifty acres, and your title was disputed, and there was a farm of 5,000 acres joined to you that belonged to a man of learning, and his title was involved in the same difficulty, would you not be glad to have him for your friend, rather than to stand alone in the dispute? Well, the case is the same. These lawyers, these moneyed men, these men of learning, are all embarked in the same cause with us, and we must all sink or swim together. Shall we throw the Constitution overboard because it does not please us all alike? Suppose two or three of you had been at the pains to break up a piece of rough land and sow it with wheat: would you let it lie waste because you could not agree what sort of a fence to make? Would it not be better to put up a fence that did not please every one's fancy, rather than keep disputing about it until the wild beasts came in and devoured the crop?" It may be doubted whether all the eloquence of Fisher Ames could have stated the case more forcibly than it was put by this plain farmer from the Berkshire Hills.—*John Fiske's Critical Period in American History.*

DEAN SWIFT ON THE FISHERY—An original letter published in the *Gentleman's and London Magazine* for February, 1762. The letter is dated "Dublin, March 23, 1734. Sir: I return you my hearty thanks for your letter, and discourse upon the Fishery. You discover in both a true love of your country, and (excepting your civilities to me) a very good judgment; good wishes to this vicious kingdom, and a perfect knowledge in the subject you treat. But you are more temperate than I, and consequently much wiser: For corruptions are apt to make me impatient, and give offence, which you prudently avoid.

Ever since I began to think, I was enraged at the folly of England, in suffering the Dutch to have almost the whole advantage of our fishery, just under our noses.

The last Lord Weems told me he was governor of a castle in Scotland, near which the Dutch used to fish: He sent to them in a civil manner to desire they would send him some fish, which they bruitishly refused. Whereupon he ordered three or four cannon to be discharged from the castle (for their boats were in reach of the shot) and immediately they sent him more than he wanted.

The Dutch are a kind of sharpers amongst a parcel of honest gentlemen, who think they understand play, and are bubbled of their money. I love them for the love they have to their country, which however is no virtue in them because it is their private interest, which is directly contrary in England. In the Queen's time I did often press the lord

treasurer Oxford and others of the ministry, upon this very subject; but the answer was, 'We must not offend the Dutch,' who at that very time were opposing us in all our steps towards a peace. I laughed to see the zeal the ministry had about the fishing at Newfoundland (I think) while no care was taken against the Dutch fishing just at our doors.

As to my native country, I happened indeed, by a perfect accident, to be born here; my mother being left here from returning to her house at Leicester: And I was a year old before I was sent to England. And thus I am a Teague or an Irishman, or what people please, altho' the best part of my life was in England."

QUERIES

LEWIS AND CLARKE—*Editor Magazine of American History*: In looking over the Indian bibliography of Thos. W. Field (1873), I notice under the above heading a statement showing the probability of there being still in existence, somewhere, unpublished information concerning the celebrated expedition of these travelers to the Missouri and the Rocky Mountains in 1804-'5-'6. Said statement is that, when Nicholas Biddle and Captain Clarke were engaged in the compilation of the history of the expedition, they made use—amongst other papers—of journals kept by two sergeants of the party; and that one of the journals, that of Patrick Gass, was sub-

sequently printed (a well-known book), but that the other was yet unpublished, though it was "said to be the most minute and valuable." Can any reader of this query tell the name of the unknown sergeant, together with any information as to his history or family, so that search may be made for his MSS. account referred to?

ALFRED J. HILL

ST. PAUL, MINN.

WOODEN SWORDS—Of what nation is it recorded that they went into battle with wooden swords, that they might not kill their enemies?

TIMBERMAN

BUFFALO, N. Y.

REPLIES

ERVING-SHIRLEY [xx. 368-370]—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: In the passage, "Fortunes were relatively large, and that of John Erving, who became Shirley's son-in-law, was perhaps the largest of his day," from Justin Winsor's article, recently extracted from the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, and published in your journal, a genealogical error occurs. The John

Erving therein referred to was the *son of the man* who raised himself from small beginnings and became the richest man of his day. John Erving, the first of the name in America, came as a boy to Boston, and worked his way to consideration and wealth. His eldest son, John Erving, a graduate of Harvard, married the daughter of Governor William Shirley, and both, John Erving (1st)

and John Erving (2d), were members of the governor's council at the same time. John Erving (1st) ran away from the Orkney Islands (so family tradition has it) upon the second marriage of his father there—a case of step-mother, probably—with results as above stated. His portrait, full length, seated, by Copley, taken in advanced years, is owned by his descendant in the direct line, John Erving, of New York, as is also the original portrait of Governor Shirley, by Hudson (master of Sir Joshua Reynolds), the existence of which Mr. Winsor, who was a classmate of its owner at Harvard (1853), seems not to have known. The passage above quoted seems to have been taken from an address by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, another direct descendant of John Erving (1st) in the female line. The present bearer of the name wishes it understood that he takes pride in an ancestor who had the pluck and the ability to achieve what he did in those early times of the development of the country.

LANGDON-ERVING [xx. 442]—In the article on "The Inauguration of Washington, 1789," it is remarked that the descendants of John Langdon of New Hampshire intermarried with the Astor family of New York. It was the nephew of John Langdon, Walter Langdon, who married Miss Astor. This Walter was the son of Woodbury Langdon, elder brother of John Langdon, also a distinguished man of his day.

John Langdon, the first president of the first senate under the Constitution, left but one child, Elizabeth, who married Thomas Elwyn, from England, a graduate of Oxford. Her only surviving

grandchildren are Rev. Alfred L. Elwyn, of Philadelphia, and John Erving, of New York. The first wife of the late Dr. Edward Delafield and the second wife of the late Benjamin Woolsey Rogers, also the wife of the late Colonel John Erving, U. S. A., were daughters of Mrs. Elizabeth Langdon Elwyn.

J. E.

NEW YORK CITY.

PRESIDENT WITHERSPOON [xxi. 172]—A typographical error, in which the above name was unfortunately made to read "President Withers."

REMARKABLE MONARCH [xxi. 264]—The name of the monarch referred to is Charles II. The lines were written by John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1674-1680), who lived during the reign of the "merry monarch, scandalous and poor."

The verse, written upon the bedchamber door of Charles II., from which the lines were taken, runs thus :

"Here lies our sovereign lord the king,
Whose word no man relies on ;
He never says a foolish thing,
Nor ever does a wise one."

Rochester is the author of both of the above descriptions of Charles II., and by them and his poem "Upon Nothing" he is now chiefly known.

JULIA KENT TROWBRIDGE
WHITE PLAINS, N. Y., *March 9, 1889.*

REMARKABLE MONARCH [xxi. 264]—In reply to Wilmot's query, would say, that the sentence he refers to was a popular saying applied to Charles II. of

England. Guizot, in his *History of England*, chapter xxx, says: "Without regard for the state of his kingdom, shut up in the selfish circle of his material pleasures, indifferent to all religion, hostile to the Puritans from memory of the past, from contempt for their characteristics, and from fear of their austerity; without faith or rule of conduct; absolutely wanting in principles and moral sense, he had worn out the respect of the nation without completely exhausting its affection, for he was sagacious, prudent, little addicted to hazardous enterprises; and he had measured with cool and practical judgment the degree of oppression which his people were capable of enduring. The popular saying did him injustice in affirming that 'he never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one.' He was wise enough more than once to stop in the path of despotism."

W. E. D. RUMMEL

FOREST, O, March 4, 1889.

REMARKABLE MONARCH [xxi. 264]—The monarch who ruled the American colonies before the revolution, about whom Wilmot inquires, was Charles II. He preferred pleasure to business, and was therefore called the "Merry Monarch," but he was a man of considerable ability, and understood the interests of his kingdom better than any of his ministers. He knew the character of his ministers, as shown by his witty retort when the epigram was given him to read: "That is very true, for my words are my own, my actions are my ministry's."

A. B. SINCLAIR

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

ANCESTORS OF BENEDICT ARNOLD IN AMERICA [xx. 78]—The following were the ancestors of Benedict Arnold (the traitor) back to the first settler in this country. As the matter possesses a general interest, there are no doubt many who would be pleased to learn the facts.

William Arnold (I.) was born in Leamington, Warwickshire, England, in 1587, came to Providence in 1636, and was associated with Roger Williams as one of the fifty-four proprietors of R. I.

Benedict Arnold (II.) moved to Newport, and was governor of the colony from 1663 to 1666, 1669 to 1672, and 1677 to 1678, when he died.

Benedict Arnold (III.) was a member of assembly in 1695.

Benedict Arnold (IV.) moved to Norwich in 1730; was cooper, ship-owner, and sea-captain, town-surveyor, collector, assessor, and selectman. He married, November 8, 1733, Hannah, daughter of John Waterman, and widow of Absalom King.

Benedict Arnold (V.), (the traitor). He was born June 14, 1741, at Norwich, Conn. He married, February 22, 1767, Margaret, daughter of Samuel Mansfield, and had three sons, Benedict, Richard, and Henry. She died June 19, 1775. Washington put him in command of Philadelphia on June 19, 1778. He soon after married a Tory lady, Margaret, daughter of Edward Shippen, chief justice of Pennsylvania. She was celebrated for her beauty, wit, and nobility of character. He died June 14, 1801, in London, England.

MURRAY E. POOLE

ITHACA, NEW YORK.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A stated meeting of the society was held in the hall on Tuesday evening, March 5th, the Hon. John A. King presiding. The librarian reported an increase of over six hundred books and pamphlets added to the collections during the past month, and acknowledged a gift, from the trustees of the Durr Gallery Fund, of a portrait in oil of the late Matthew L. Davis.

The paper of the evening, entitled "The Bench and Bar of New York in 1789," was read by the Hon. Charles P. Daly, who, after mentioning the more prominent lawyers of colonial times, and contrasting the abilities of Alexander and Chambers, proceeded to describe the courts, judges, and practitioners of one hundred years ago. The paper was rich in amusing anecdotes of Gouverneur Morris, John Jay, James Duane, Hamilton, Burr, and Egbert Benson, the first president of this society. The thanks of the society were voted Judge Daly, and a copy of his paper was requested for publication. Following the custom of the society throughout the eighty years of its existence in regard to the chief magistrate of the nation, Benjamin Harrison was unanimously elected an honorary member. The society then adjourned.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY of Wilkesbarre, Pa., held its thirty-first annual meeting February 11, 1889. The following officers were elected: president, A. T. McClintock, LL.D.; vice-presidents, Dr. C. F.

Ingham, Rev. Henry L. Jones, Captain Calvin Parsons, and Hon. Eckley B. Coxe; recording secretary, S. C. Struthers; corresponding secretary, Sheldon Reynolds; treasurer, A. H. McClintock; historiographer, George B. Kulp; librarian, J. Ridgway Wright.

The treasurer reported an accession of thirty life-members during the year, increasing the total life-membership to forty, and creating a permanent fund of \$4,000. This, with the sale of the real estate of the society, will make the invested funds amount to near \$10,000, the income from which will be used in annual publications and the purchase of books. The library now contains 4,250 bound, and 3,500 unbound volumes and pamphlets, with many manuscripts. The new and permanent quarters provided by the will of the late Isaac S. Osterhout, in connection with the Osterhout Free Library, will be ready for occupancy this year. The trustees of the library will erect a two-story building for the purpose, sufficiently large to accommodate the library and valuable archæological and scientific cabinet of the society with their increase for many years.

THE OSTERHOUT FREE LIBRARY OF WILKESBARRE opened on the 29th of January last with nearly 11,000 volumes. It was established by the will of the late Isaac S. Osterhout, who left it an endowment valued at over \$400,000. It is under the charge of Miss Hannah James, who was so successful as the librarian of the Newton Free Library,

Newton, Mass. Its influence has already been felt throughout the city. By the will of Mr. Osterhout the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society are provided with free and permanent quarters. The trustees expect to build a suitable apartment for the society this spring.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY held its regular semi-monthly meeting Friday evening, March 1, in the Berkeley Lyceum building, 19 West 44th street. A large number of members and invited guests were present. Gen. Joseph C. Jackson read a paper upon "The Evacuation of the City of New York by the British," a subject which is just now of particular interest on account of the attention which the history of New York is attracting in view of the approaching centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington as first president of the United States. Gen. Jackson's paper was exceedingly thoughtful and well written, and was very closely listened to. Maj.-Gen. O. O. Howard, U. S. A., followed in an extremely interesting address, in which he compared the battle of Long Island with some of the battles of the late war of the Rebellion, giving also some personal reminiscences of Gettysburg. At the conclusion of Gen. Howard's remarks, a vote of thanks, moved by Mr. De Lancey and seconded by Mr. Evans, was unanimously tendered to the speakers.

THE FOCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION, Deerfield, Mass., held its annual meeting March 5, 1889. In the

course of its business session it furnished pleasant surprises in the way of the announcement of generous gifts and a review of the year's work and accumulations. The best surprise of the day was the announcement by Miss C. Alice Baker of the gift, by a munificent friend whose name is withheld, of \$500, to be used as the association chooses. The treasurer's report shows receipts from other sources of \$203.96, an expenditure of \$58.49, and a balance of \$1,189.69. The officers chosen were: president, George Sheldon; vice-presidents, Rev. Dr. A. Hazen, and Jas. S. Reed, Marion, Ohio; recording secretary and treasurer, Nathaniel Hitchcock; corresponding secretary, Rev. Edgar Buckingham.

At the afternoon session George Sheldon was in charge, who in himself is a majority of the association, with his perennial enthusiasm and exhaustless faculty for research and discovery. The kitchen, familiar to every visitor to the treasure-house of the association, was graced with the presence of a goodly number of attentive members, and the reports were listened to with interest, and excellent papers were read. Among the valuable gifts was the original journal of Stephen Williams during his captivity, from Miss Eunice Stebbins Doggett, of Chicago, to whom it came from Eunice, another daughter of Stephen, and by lineal descent. Through the liberality of a friend in Cambridge, this rare journal will be published in pamphlet form.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is half a century old, and celebrated its semi-centennial anniversary February

12, 1889. President Henry R. Jackson presided. William Harden, the librarian, presented a most admirable report, and President Jackson delivered a stirring address. At the anniversary banquet that followed, ex-mayor William A. Courtenay, of Charleston, said, in the course of an eloquent speech: "Your long-expected jubilee-day has come, and you mark it by this joyful celebration. Around your festive board you have gathered many guests, some gladly come from long distances to be with you on this auspicious commemoration. Permit me to acknowledge my sense of high appreciation of the representative privilege of this occasion, in the honor conferred of responding for your 'invited guests.' In their behalf, let me congratulate the society on the completion of its half-century of useful career, and on the promise of its increasing prosperity, with which its future here salutes us. In its continuing life, may it ever enjoy the privileges of youth—the fair and far outlook of existence in its prime.

"It has been wisely remarked that 'history is the biography of communities;' surely, then, there should be need, in every centre of population, for historical societies. Such institutions are beneficent powers in civilization if wisely operated, and with our restless and changeful habits are especially needed to give inspiring impressions from a more distant and illustrious past."

Letters of regret were read from Secretary Bayard, Oliver Wendell Holmes, John G. Whittier, Bishop Potter, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Dr. Leonard

W. Bacon, George William Curtis, Hon. Carl Schurz, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Dudley Warner, Colonel Charles C. Jones, LL.D., Gen. Roger A. Pryor, and many other distinguished men.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its regular monthly meeting at the hall in Columbia College on January 7, President John Jay in the chair. The valuable and entertaining paper of the evening was read by Rev. Benjamin F. de Costa, D.D., entitled, "Some Events and Influences that Preceded the Establishment of Huguenot society in New York." The regular February meeting of this society was held on the evening of February 21, the Hon. John Jay presiding. Mr. Edward F. De Lancey, vice-president of the society, read a very carefully prepared and instructive paper on "Philip Freneau, the Huguenot Patriot Poet of the Revolution, and his Poetry," presenting some very well-chosen extracts from the poetical works of Freneau. The large and cultivated audience listened with marked appreciation, and the speaker was warmly applauded.

THE MINISINK VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held an interesting meeting at Port Jervis, New York, February 28, the president, Rev. S. W. Mills, D.D., presiding. Mr. John Wood read an interesting paper on early mining operations in the Delaware Valley. He gave the course of the old road, and located the old forts, churches, and graveyards along which it passed between Carpenter's Point and Paha quarry. He gave much interesting data about the sup-

posed copper-mines which led to the building of the road, and of the efforts made to develop such mines. The officers of this enterprising society are: president, Rev. S. W. Mills, D.D.; vice-presidents, Dr. Sol Van Etten, Frank Marvin, J. L. Bonnell, Moses L. Cole; secretary, Dr. W. L. Cuddeback; corresponding secretary, W. H. Nearpass; treasurer, C. F. Van Inwegen.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at its meeting, February 19, listened to an excellent paper by Rev. Samuel Snelling, of St. Paul's church, Providence, on William Blaxton, who came to Massachusetts prior to 1624, describing him as a man in the garb of the scholar and clergyman, whose manners were those of a gentleman, and whose refined features expressed the student's habit of thought and study. Upon the shelves of the little cottage, whither this good man invited his visitors, might have been seen the well-used folios, which contained the best learning of the times, evidences of a wide and thorough culture. He had been some time a student of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and was now a clerk in holy orders, sequestered in the wilderness of America. The paper was most interesting. At the meeting of the society on the 5th of March, Mr. Ray Greene Huling, a native of this city, and at present principal of the New Bedford High School, read a paper on "The Rhode Island Emigration to Nova Scotia." The subject was entirely a new one to the society; the facts in regard to it had been gathered by Mr. Huling himself in Nova Scotia.

The paper began with a reference to the well-known emigration of Rhode Islanders at different times in its history to several parts of America. Active steps were taken to plant a settlement on the Bay of Fundy in 1759. The first settlers from Rhode Island arrived in the spring of 1760. Haliburton says there were four schooners with one hundred settlers. Mr. Huling said: "I am inclined to think that the earliest to arrive were the following: first, those brought from Newport to Falmouth, Nova Scotia, in the sloop *Sally*, Jonathan Lovatt, master, in May, 1760: Benjamin Sanford and family, seven persons; Nathaniel Reynolds and family, four; Samuel Bentley and family, two; James Hervie and family, five; James Smith and family, six; John Chambers, one; James Weeden and family, six; Joshua Sanford and family, three; and John Hervie, one, in the whole, thirty-five. Second, those brought from Newport to Falmouth in the sloop *Lydia*, Samuel Toby, master, in May, 1760: Benjamin Burdin and family, three persons; Caleb Lake and family, seven; Henry Tucker and family, three; James Mosher and family, eight, twenty-three persons. The names, except that of Chambers, will readily be recognized as common family names in the island towns of our state, and on the mainland towns near by. Indeed, the same is true of a large proportion of the names of persons to whom lots were granted in the townships of Falmouth and Newport. On arrival there appears to have been a separation of the Rhode Island men into two settlements, one being termed East Falmouth, the other West Falmouth."

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

The vast amount of fresh material about Washington that the coming national centennial celebration in New York city is bringing to light, is a marvel. Buried relics and documents are being exhumed with a celerity that shows how the entire country has awakened to the fact that such an affair happens but once in a lifetime. The effort to conduct the ceremonies on the anniversary occasion precisely, as far as practicable, as those at the inauguration of Washington in 1789, has resulted in the finding of many priceless treasures. The marine display on the 29th of April, 1889, when President Harrison is escorted to the city from Elizabethtown Point, will be, it is expected, the most brilliant spectacle ever witnessed on the waters of New York Bay. The Presidential party will be received at the foot of Wall Street and escorted to the Equitable Building, where an elegant reception by the Lawyers' Club is announced to be held from one o'clock until three, after which there will be a public reception at the City Hall. The Centennial Ball will occupy the evening of that day.

The scene, even in its approach, reminds us of the oration of the Hon. Elias Boudinot before the New Jersey Society of the Cincinnati, on the Fourth of July, 1793, which has been selected with much taste and acumen for Stedman's invaluable *Library of American Literature*: "Mankind," said he, "considered as brethren, should be dear to each other; but fellow-citizens who have together braved the common danger—who have fought side by side, who have mingled their blood together as it were in one rich stream, who have labored and toiled with united efforts to accomplish the same glorious end—must surely be more than brethren; it is a union cemented by blood. . . . Methinks I behold you on the victorious banks of the Hudson, bowed down with the fatigues of an active campaign, and the sufferings of an inclement winter, receiving the welcome news of approaching peace and your country's political salvation, with all that joy of heart and serenity of mind that become citizens who flew to their arms, merely at their country's call, in a time of common danger." Boudinot's name will ever be associated with the sublime event which a grateful people are preparing to celebrate.

From the celebrated Dr. John W. Francis's address before the New York Academy of Medicine, in 1848, the following humorous passage is quoted by the same editors: "I well remember one evening, now some thirty years ago, when my valued preceptor, Dr. Hosack, returned home to meet his friends at a special entertainment at his own house; he apologized for his absence so long from his guests, and then turning to the distinguished statesman, Gouverneur Morris, he exclaimed: 'Mr. Morris, I have been detained with some friends, who together this evening have founded a Philosophical society.' 'Indeed!' responded the great politician. 'Yes, sir,' repeated the doctor; 'we have indeed this evening founded a Philosophical society.' 'Well, well; that's no difficult matter,' rejoined Morris; 'but pray, doctor, where are the philosophers?' The doctor was quite embarrassed."

The celebrated William Wirt sent "twelve good rules" to a young lawyer friend, and these have been given a permanent place in the same work. Mr. Wirt says, among other excellent things: "For two or three years you must read, sir—read—read—delve—meditate—study—and make the whole mine of law your own." Then, again, "Cultivate a simple style of speaking, so as to be able to inject the strongest thought into the weakest capacity. You will never be a good jury lawyer without this faculty. Never attempt to be grand and magnificent before common tribunals. . . . Keep your Latin and Greek and science to yourself, and to that very small circle which they may suit. The mean and envious world will never forgive you your knowledge, if you make it too public." The eleventh rule is perhaps the best of all: "Enter with warmth and kindness into the interesting concerns of others, whether you care much for them or not; not with the condescension of a superior, but with the tenderness and simplicity of an equal. It is this benevolent trait which makes—and—such universal favorites, and more than anything else has smoothed my own path of life, and strewed it with flowers."

John Pendleton Kennedy, the brilliant author of "Horse-shoe Robinson," gives the following pen picture of Mr. Wirt: "In the prime of his life William Wirt was remarkable for his personal beauty. With a tall figure, ample chest, and erect carriage, there was no great appearance of muscular strength, but a conspicuous ease and grace of motion. His head was large, and in good proportion to his frame, the features of his face strongly defined. A large nose, thin and accurately formed lips, a chin whose breadth gave to his countenance an approximation to the square rather than the oval outline, clear, dark-blue eyes, looking out beneath brows of widest compass, and the whole surmounted by an expanded and majestic forehead, imparted dignity and intellectual prominence to a physiognomy which the sculptor delighted to study. A curled, crisp, and vigorous growth of hair—in his latter days almost white—clustered upon his front, and gave an agreeable effect to the outline of his head and face."

There are nuggets of wisdom and subjects for deepest thought in Dr. Parkhurst's sermon on scholarly training, preached at Amherst College a few weeks since. He said: "Every life lived, every work done, has somewhere its sufficient explanation. Arbitrariness is ruled out. So many pounds of effect imply so many pounds of producing energy. The world we live in is a reasonable world. Things are rationally jointed and interlinked. It is always in point to ask this question: 'How do you account for it?' Effects and causes match each other. Every result has its pedigree. When we attempt to explain a man's life and achievements, we ask first of all, Who were his father and mother? There are no disconnected events, no works that are unfounded. Nothing is in the air. What shows above the ground is mated by as much under it. Even the earth, that seems so abandoned and insular, is anchored to the sun by cables tenfold more tenacious than steel, and the attempt to explain a man's life and works is mostly a process of showing how what has come from him by unfolding, had first been made part of him by infolding."

The eloquent divine further illustrated that "the mind is constructed with a relevancy to the truth. With an ineffable delicacy of correlation the two gear into one another. Like two chemical elements endowed with mutual affinities, mind and truth cannot exist

in indifference to each other. The mind cannot quite let the truth alone, and the truth cannot quite let the mind alone. And now the finest, grandest object of all scholarly discipline is to intensify those energies of discernment and apprehension by which truth is personally laid hold upon. Other things being equal, the intelligence that is the most thoroughly disciplined will be the intelligence that will pass most completely under the power of the truth, and it will be at the same time the intelligence that will bring the truth most effectively to bear upon the minds of others. Things that we see we can make others see. Clear thinking is clear speaking. Deep seeing is wide showing ; a reality that I touch I can make you touch every time."

The ringing truths embodied in the following paragraph concern "the superb domain that opens in the department of journalism. I could not say in a whole half-hour all that might be said here, or that fairly cries out to be said. There is no doubt but that it is far easier to find fault with a newspaper than it is to make a newspaper. We have no interest here to criticise newspapers in their details, in the matter of their exceptionable methods or questionable contents. The particular point that comes under review now is that the grand object of newspaper making is the money there is in it. And I say the whole truth when I declare that a Christian has no more business to run a paper for the sake of the money there is in it than a minister has to run a pulpit and a church for the sake of the money there is in it. A man who should preach for the sake of the money would give you dreadfully poor preaching, and a man who prints a paper for the sake of the money gives you just as dreadfully poor a paper ; and a religious paper worked on that principle is just as much worse than the other as it pretends to be better. No man ever can do a thoroughly good thing when he does it at the supreme impulse of his pocket. That is a principle that is valid for the four quadrants of human life. There, then, is another field that gives room for all the vigor, foresight, insight, breadth and depth and Christian devotion at the command of the finest mind, purest heart, broadest grasp producible by the best Christian school or college discipline."

"Manhood is the best commodity our colleges can turn out—blended vigor of mind and morals ; and only manhood can foster manhood. There is not a college graduate among us but knows how many of our institutions of learning are cluttered up with little dignitaries, curiosities outside of the museum, bipedal grammars, lexicons going about in coat and trousers, but whose touch is not a baptism. Not a graduate of us but would be a greater, mightier, and more luscious man to-day if we had not for four years of our life been held in enforced contact with so much commonplace material and cultivated diminutiveness in the shape of tutors and professors, who could amuse us with their erudition, but could not work in us as a profound inspiration."

"The world is full of opportunity ; never more so. Never was there a more urgent demand for consecrated talents. It is doubtful if they are needed in the pulpit a whit more than they are along other lines of action and service. There is a tacit understanding among college graduates and undergraduates that if they throw themselves into theology it carries with it the supreme devotion of their mental acquisitions to the needs of fellow-men ; but that, if they thrust themselves into secular pursuits—trade, teaching, journalism, literature, politics—there is no such commitment implied ; that their powers

are still their own, and that whatever vigor and insight they put to the service of their times is so much work of supererogation, for which it becomes the times to be surprisedly grateful. When a man is up for office, it hardly occurs to us even to ask whether office means opportunity to help his dear country, or chance to make his dear country help him. Said a foreign observer recently: 'I did not fully comprehend your greatness till I saw your Congress; then I felt that if you could stand that you could stand anything.' And, my friends, anything like statesmanship is absolutely impossible except as it gathers around an interior core of sterling and intelligent self-consecration. Sound preaching, sound editing, sound legislating, all that, and a great deal besides, is possible only to the man who loves his neighbor as well as he does himself, and counts country, truth, and mankind, and the great Lord over all worthy of his best love and his supreme service."

In the "Characteristics of English Women," in the *Fortnightly Review*, E. Lynn Linton quotes the curious examination of Anne Askew, who stoutly denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, and when seized and taken to "the Compter," answered her interrogator straightly. Her examination by the then Lord Mayor was as follows: "Sir Martin Bowes, sitting with the council, as most meet for his wisdom, and seeing her stand upon life and death, 'I pray you,' quoth he, 'my lords, give me leave to talk with this woman.' Leave was granted. Lord Maior: 'Thou foolish woman, sayest thou, that the priests cannot make the body of Christ?' A. Ascough: 'I say so, my lord. For I have read, that God made men, but that man can make God I never yet read; nor I suppose ever shall read it.' Lord Maior: 'No, thou foolish woman. After the words of consecration is it not the Lord's body?' A. Ascough: 'No, it is but consecrated bread or sacramental bread.' Lord Maior: 'What if a mouse eat it after consecration? What shall become of the mouse? What sayest thou, thou foolish woman?' A. Ascough: 'What shall become of her say you, my lord?' Lord Maior: 'I say, that the mouse is damned.' A. Ascough: 'Alack! poor mouse.' By this time my lords heard enough of my Lord Maior's divinity; and perceiving that some could not keep in their laughing, proceeded to the butchery and slaughter that they intended afore they came thither." Poor Anne, but twenty-five years of age and exceedingly beautiful, was taken to the torture-chamber to be racked; and "because I lay still and did not cry," she says in her letter to the King, "my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was well-nigh dead." She was burned alive in July, 1546. "The day before her execution, and the same day also, there appeared such a serenity and sweetness in her countenance that her face seemed *as it had been the face of an angel*; notwithstanding her body was then mangled and disjointed in such a manner by the rack that she could not stand without being supported by two serjeants."

Mrs. Linton further says: "One of the most beautiful of all the noble women who meet us in English history, sweet and tender as the loveliest creation of poetry, grand and steadfast as the most heroic figure of mythic times, was Rachel, Lady Russell. Her story is one of the commonplaces of history; but the beauty of her love, the tender grandeur of her heroism, can never pall on the imagination nor fade in loveliness and pathos. Her beauty is as eternal as nature, as fresh as the spring, as living as the summer. Not Panthea, not Alcestis, nor Arria, nor any of the sublime women of the past, excel in passion, devotion, self-sacrifice and self-restraint this sweetest daughter of

our land. Warm as the sun and pure as flame, her love was of that intense kind which burns out all selfishness, all weakness from the heart. Because she loved she could sacrifice even that love, and bear her pain without wincing that she might not pain him whom she loved. The story of that last sad supper and silent parting from her husband, who to-morrow had to die, is one of the most pathetic things on record. She had done what she could to save him—knelt to the king, she, the daughter of that king's most devoted and self-sacrificing friend; she had offered a bribe to his mistress; induced his son to intercede; set in motion all her engines—'beaten every bush and run hither and thither for his preservation'—and she had failed. Charles was inexorable, and Sir William's fate was sealed. After he had taken leave of his children with as much tender dignity as Charles's own father had once taken leave of his, she remained with him far into the night. They had their last earthly food together in the prison; they prayed their last prayer together; they kissed each other for the last time. Silent, tearless, with the courage of love, the heroism of sacrifice, the patience of faith, each self-controlled not to hurt the other, these two married lovers parted; and then Sir William said simply, 'Now the bitterness of death is past.' "

"Lucy Hutchinson, again, is an imposing figure on the historic page. Though a little tart, she was an infinitely more lovable woman than her namesake Anne, who mismanaged matters so disastrously for herself and her husband in the New World, and who dragged that husband neck deep into the Slough of Despond, as women generally do when they have the command. Lucy was one of the earnest and religious women of her day. That she escaped being an unredeemed prig is the marvel of her life, when we consider that at seven years of age she had eight different tutors. Before her birth, her mother, Lady Apsley, dreamt that as she was walking in the garden a star came down into her hand. Her husband, Sir Allen, made himself the oneiroscopist for the occasion, and told her that this signified a fair and illustrious daughter. She grew up beautiful, pious, learned, and the declared enemy of men—till she saw her fate in Colonel Hutchinson. 'She shuns the converse of men as the plague,' said one of her friends. She was much exercised about infant baptism, of which she disapproved; but she was humane to the professors of all creeds, and at the siege of Nottingham Castle she nursed the wounded cavalier prisoners as zealously as she nursed and tended those of their own side. It is somewhat a revelation of the spirit of the times that this was accounted to her as special virtue. She was also passionately against Cromwell in the after-time, perhaps because she held him to have prevented the worldly advance of her colonel—for none of these pious folk were superior to the loaves and fishes; and she satirized him and his family and surroundings in good set terms. 'His wife and children,' she said, 'were setting up for principality, which suited no better with any of them than the scarlet on the ape; only to speak the truth of himself,' she had the candor to add, 'he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped. His daughter Fleetwood was humbled and not exalted with these things, but the rest were insolent fools.' Again: 'His court was full of sin and vanity, and the more abominable because they had not quite cast away the name of God, but profaned it by taking it in vain upon them.' But Lady Hutchinson was not easily pleased with anything in public life, and found no more to praise in the Restoration than in the Protectorate. She was a republican pure and simple, and believed that all other forms of government were displeasing to God, as certainly as the Restoration was dangerous to her colonel."

BOOK NOTICES

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA. Edited by JUSTIN WINSOR. Vol. VII. *The United States of America, 1775-1782.* Royal 8vo, pp. 610. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1888.

The first chapter in the seventh volume of this great historical work, by Edward T. Lowell, is devoted to the description of the attempts made by the United States, during the earlier part of the revolutionary war, to obtain recognition and aid from foreign countries, and to raise the money necessary for carrying on the struggle. It is well and critically written, and occupies seventy-two pages, in which are twenty-four illustrations, principally portraits of French, English and American characters. The second chapter, by Hon. John Jay, entitled the "Peace Negotiations of 1782-1783," is an exceptionally able contribution, and, being on a theme which touches every American citizen more nearly if possible than any other in the volume, it holds high rank among the scholarly productions. Mr. Jay has utilized all the fresh light recently thrown upon these peace negotiations, bringing out the policy of England, as well as of France, in its true colors. He shows very clearly how the French government, neither anxious nor willing America should lay the basis for any particular power, magnitude, or grandeur, worked industriously to prevent England from yielding the fisheries, and labored vigorously to have the Mississippi accorded to Spain. Vergennes, the great French statesman, spoke of Jay and Adams in a tone of disappointment, as persons not easy to manage—he disliked their clear-sighted patriotism and sturdy independence. He argued that America had lost whatever rights of territory or of the fisheries she had enjoyed as colonies when she voluntarily withdrew from her allegiance. But Jay steadily refused to proceed on any but an equal footing—a refusal in perfect accord with his resolution to make a good peace or none at all—and in taking lofty ground with kingdoms and crowns, through a sense of duty to the rising nation, he was supported by his co-commissioners, who in the end nobly accorded to him the glory of the successful obtaining of the fisheries, the Mississippi, and the magnificent boundaries in which we as a nation now take so much pride.

"The Loyalists and their Fortunes" follows Mr. Jay's paper, from the pen of Dr. George E. Ellis, the eminent president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and it is a most carefully prepared, discriminating, and valuable contribution to the volume. "The Confederation, 1781-1789," is the valuable production of

Mr. Justin Winsor, the editor, and, taken in connection with his notes on the sources of information, it is one of the most complete and exhaustive studies of that particular subject of which we have any knowledge. "The Constitution and its History" is treated in a clear, terse, expert style, by Mr. George Ticknor Curtis. "The History of Political Parties" is admirably handled by Professor Alexander Johnston, of Princeton College, of whose clever and incisive historical writings we have had occasion to speak heretofore. "The Wars of the United States," by Professor James Russell Soley, of the United States Navy, is another important and well-considered chapter, and the same may be said of "The Diplomacy of the United States," by President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan. The critical essays are of the first moment; and we cannot forbear remarking, in special relation to Mr. Winsor's extended notes in fine print on "The Portraits of Washington," that this feature in itself would form an acceptable volume for all libraries and collectors. Nothing of the peculiar character of this monster publication was ever attempted before in the world's history, and it will be the comfort and the never-failing labor-saving help of all students of American history in the near and in the distant future, to the end of time.

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND. Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. Vol. I. 1753-1757. Edited by WILLIAM HAND BROWNE. Royal 8vo, pp. 580. Published by authority of the State, under direction of the Maryland Historical Society. 1888.

The correspondence of Governor Sharpe, for the first time made public in the work before us, is a precious source of information in relation to the final struggle between England and France for the possession of North America, and will be welcomed with gratitude by every historical scholar. Sharpe succeeded Ogle as governor of Maryland in 1753. He encountered extraordinary difficulties on every side, and soon placed himself in communication with the governors and leading men of the other colonies. The French and Indian War, which broke out the next year, gave occasion for a violent outbreak of hostility against the Roman Catholics, for many, in their blind bigotry, took every member of that faith for a possible spy or traitor. Sharpe had also to strain every nerve to procure the requisite men and supplies to carry on the war; and as the governor of the province, he was bound to shield the inhabitants from wrong and injustice. There was also much tribulation

about the western boundary of the province; and he had to constantly contend against the stubborn opposition of the House of Burgesses. In one of Governor Dinwiddie's letters to Sharpe, dated Sept. 5, 1754, he says: "A governor in the discharge of his duty to his king and country is much to be pitied, when it's considered his transactions with an obstinate Assembly, full of their own opinions and entirely deaf to Arguments and reason; I assure you I am heartily fatigued and quite weary with the unjust opposition to everything proposed to them for the general good, and without the government take some steps to assist us, I fear the consequence from the indefatigable motions of the enemy." Governor Sharpe corresponded with Governor Shirley, with Braddock, Lord Fairfax, William Pitt, Robert Hunter Morris, governor of Pennsylvania; Sir Charles Hardy, Lieutenant-Governor James De Lancey, Colonel Boquet, Sir John St. Clair, Admiral Boscawen, Sir Frederick Halimand, Secretary Fox, and many others well known to fame. The publication of these letters is one of great importance. The work is edited with scholarly and painstaking care, and the publication committee, as well as the society and the state, are to be congratulated upon their valuable and timely contribution to American history.

THE TOWN OF DEDHAM. Church and Cemetery, 1638-1845. Vol. II. A memorial volume. The record of baptisms, marriages and deaths, and admissions to the church and dismissals therefrom. Also, all the epitaphs in the ancient burial-place in Dedham, together with other inscriptions before 1845, in the three parish cemeteries. Edited by DON GLEASON HILL. 1888.

About three years ago, the first volume of the Dedham Records was issued, of which an appreciative notice appeared in our pages. It contained the records of births, marriages, deaths, and intentions of marriage in the town from the beginning down to 1842. Now we have the second volume, which reproduces entire the first book of the First Church, with the baptisms, marriages, deaths, admissions to and dismissals from the church, from the records of the several churches in Dedham, together with the epitaphs in the ancient burial-place, and the inscriptions in all the cemeteries, down to the same date. This antiquarian production, notably the first book of the First Church, is an exceedingly valuable contribution to the ecclesiastical history of the early New England days, as it is from the pen of the first pastor, Rev. John Allin, and covers nearly the entire period of his early ministry—thirty-three years. It is minute in its descriptions, the eminent divine having left a

most graphic account of the method of selecting a pastor and other officers, the processes by which they were installed into their respective offices, the order of their meetings, and the names of the members of the church, the births and the baptisms. It is a wonderful illustration of the Puritan idea. The diligent care taken by those good people to have the foundations of their church life rightly laid, not only upon sound religious principles on the one side, but upon a trustworthy personal character on the other, is touching and instructive. These records have been printed and given to the reading public with literal accuracy, the old-time spelling preserved, as well as all the signs and abbreviations so much used at that interesting epoch. The sketch of Mr. Allin's life shows that he was one of the most active and respected of the ministers of the province, and that he was called upon for service in various activities. "In 1648 he was chosen to preach the opening sermon before the synod which met at Cambridge, September 15, for the purpose of forming a system of church government. In 1654 he was appointed an overseer of Harvard College." In a note the editor calls attention to some points of difference in regard to Mr. Allin's career, from that contributed by Dr. A. B. Grosart to Leslie Stephen's "National Biography." Mr. Allin married in 1653, for his second wife, the widow of Governor Dudley. This volume contains an index, upon the same plan adopted in the first volume, with both surname and Christian names classified; also an index of towns. It is dedicated to the memory of Hannah Shuttleworth, the munificent benefactor of the town, and contains her portrait and a brief sketch of her life and ancestry. Mr. Hill has built himself a monument in thus rescuing from decay and destruction these valuable records, and his substantial work will be appreciated by genealogical scholars everywhere, as well as by the descendants of the early people of Dedham, who have settled in all parts of the continent.

BIRTH OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. A History of the New Hampshire Convention, for the investigation, discussion, and decision of the FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, and of the OLD NORTH MEETING-HOUSE of Concord, in which it was ratified by the ninth State, and thus rendered operative, at one o'clock P. M., on Saturday, the 21st day of June, 1788. By JOSEPH B. WALKER. 12mo, pp. 128. Boston: Cupples & Hurd. 1888.

"The grandest period in American history," says Mr. Walker in the "Introduction" to this volume, "is, perhaps, all things considered, that during which the thirteen colonies raised

themselves from a condition of royal dependence to that of a stable nationality." New Hampshire's part in the ratification of the federal Constitution was not very fully recorded at the time, although the two sessions of its convention occupied a period of ten days at Exeter, and another of four days at Concord. But after much research a very able and acceptable account has been condensed into this really valuable work, which cannot fail to be prized as it deserves. The names of the members, with short biographical sketches, occupy the second chapter. The talent of the convention, says the author, was decidedly on the side of the Federalists, of whom were John Langdon, John Sullivan, Samuel Livermore, and John Taylor Gilman. But there was a very strong opposition. The Old North Meeting-House in Concord, in which the ratification finally took place, is pleasantly sketched. It was for a hundred and nineteen years a conspicuous object of interest. "From it radiated, as did once from imperial Rome, important roads northward and southward, eastward and westward. From it was reckoned the distances to surrounding towns. It was not only a place for divine worship, but for many years a town house as well, in which elections were held and municipal business was transacted. In it at times the General Court held its sessions, and, even after the erection of the State House in 1816, upon assembling, its members walked to the church in procession, that they might listen to the annual Election Sermon delivered from its pulpit."

BIBLIOTHECA WASHINGTONIANA. A descriptive list of the biographies and biographical sketches of **GEORGE WASHINGTON**. By **W. S. BAKER**. Square 8vo, pp. 179. Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay. 1889.

The motto of this book is the epigram by Daniel Webster: "America has furnished to the world the character of Washington! and, if our American institutions had done nothing else, that alone would have entitled them to the respect of mankind." Few are aware, as Mr. Baker pertinently remarks in his preface, of the number of books and essays that have been written about our great soldier and statesman "from the slight sketch to the ponderous quarto, from the school-book of a single volume to the finished production of many volumes." But, when it takes a work of the size of the one before us to chronicle the titles and authors' names, one may judge somewhat of the magnitude of the Washingtonian literature. It is not claimed that the list here presented is exhaustive, especially as regards the sketches, but it is certainly very full, and will immensely aid the student and reader in prosecuting researches con-

cerning the life and character of the "Father of His Country." No library can afford to do without this conscientiously and well-prepared work.

APPLETONS' CYCLOPÆDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Edited by **JAMES GRANT WILSON** and **JOHN FISKE**. Vol. VI. Sunderland-Zurita. With Supplement and Analytical Index. 8vo, pp. 809. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

In the sixth and concluding volume of this biographical cyclopædia a portrait of Washington forms the frontispiece, handsomely engraved on steel from one of Stuart's celebrated paintings; and the tenth and final portrait in the work, similarly presented, is that of our recently inaugurated President, Benjamin Harrison. There are also portraits on steel, distributed through the volume, of Zachary Taylor, John Tyler, and Martin Van Buren, who have each graced the Presidential office, and of Chief-Justice Waite, Daniel Webster, John G. Whittier, John Winthrop, and George H. Thomas, the distinguished soldier. The graceful article on Washington is written by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and is the most extended one in the volume, occupying some ten pages, with fourteen illustrations. John Fiske writes of President Tyler and Daniel Webster; Edmund Clarence Stedman writes an appreciative paper on Bayard Taylor; Andrew H. Green writes of Samuel J. Tilden; James Russell Lowell contributes a paper on the poet John Greenleaf Whittier, in which he says: "Of all American poets, with the single exception of Longfellow, Whittier has been the most popular, and in his case, more than in that of any other, the popularity has been warmed through with affection. This has been due in part to the nobly simple character of the man, transparent through his verse, in part to the fact that his poetry, concerning itself simply with the obvious aspects of life and speculation, has kept close to the highest levels of the average thought and sentiment." President James C. Welling writes the article on President Martin Van Buren, and the contribution on Zachary Taylor is by his son-in-law, Jefferson Davis. Among the final pages the editors have printed a supplementary collection of sketches that fill thirty-three pages. In several cases the names are those of men who have acquired distinction since the volume in which they alphabetically should be placed was published, among such being Isaiah V. Williamson, the Philadelphia philanthropist, who has just died, Daniel Hand, another philanthropist, and President Salomon of Hayti, while a more interesting case is that of President Harrison. When the third volume was issued, he had not even been nominated for President, and was

accordingly dismissed in twenty-three lines. But in the supplement to the final volume he reappears in a sketch as full and explicit as that of his grandfather in Vol. III., while a steel portrait on heavy paper faces the sketch, and we have a view of his house and a portrait of Mrs. Harrison. This volume includes a valuable analytical index to the entire six volumes of nearly one hundred pages of small type. There are, we believe, in the complete work about sixteen hundred vignette portraits, all very good, and accompanied by *fac-simile* autographs. There are also some three hundred wood-cuts of birthplaces, residences, statues, monuments, tombs and medals.

THE HURLBUT GENEALOGY, or the record of the descendants of **THOMAS HURLBUT**, of Saybrook and Wethersfield, Connecticut, who came to America as early as the year 1637. With notices of others not identified as his descendants. By **HENRY H. HURLBUT**, Chicago. 8vo, pp. 545. Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1888.

This genealogical work has been prepared with great care by the eminent scholar who was so successful in his recent compilation of Chicago antiquities, and whose studies in American history have resulted in many valuable papers read before the Chicago Historical Society. The family is represented in many states of the Union, and has in all its branches a most respectable record. It includes the names of Hulbert, Hulburt, Hurlburt, and Hurlbutt, although these are not always identified as springing from the one original source. Thomas Hurlbut was a soldier under Lion Gardiner, who built and commanded the fort at Saybrook, Connecticut, and it is supposed that Hurlbut was one of the eleven passengers that crossed the ocean with him in 1635, in a Norsey bark, a small fishing-vessel. This pioneer Hurlbut was wounded while at Saybrook in an encounter with the Pequot Indians in 1637, as appears in a letter of Lion Gardiner, written some twenty-three years afterward, detailing incidents regarding the Pequot war. The book is most complete and valuable, and it has been well printed on good paper, and in a size of page and type that has been found most generally welcome as a book of reference. It contains several hundred autographs, portraits, views, coats of arms, etc., and the indexes contain every surname in the book. The binding is the best.

LETTERS OF JOSEPH JONES, of Virginia. 1777-1787. Edited by **WASHINGTON FORD**.

8vo, pp. 157. Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1889.

The writer of these letters seems to have played an important part in Virginia politics during and subsequent to the revolution. He was born in Virginia in 1727, and appears in the Colonial House of Burgesses as a representative of King George County. He was a member of the Committee of Safety at the outbreak of the war, and served in 1776 in the Virginia convention. He was subsequently a judge and a member of congress. The letters gathered into this volume refer mainly to the condition of Virginia politics subsequent to the treaty of peace with Great Britain. They are addressed chiefly to Madison, although there are a few written to Washington, and some to Jefferson. They embody discussions of the session of western territory to congress, the payment of British debts, the commercial polity of the states, and finally the steps that led up to the federal Constitution. There were contests on these questions in other states, but nowhere were they conducted with such intense bitterness, or with such an array of talent on both sides, as in Virginia.

THE STORY OF MEXICO. [The Story of the Nations.] By **SUSAN HALE**. 12mo, pp. 428. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1889.

The author gives us in this volume a very picturesque and informing story, one that cannot fail to interest the young reader or any reader in the Mexico of to-day, and its national life and history. Of the Aztec character we are told in the eleventh chapter, "It is impossible with our present knowledge to form an estimate of the civilization of the Aztecs at their highest point. They knew no alphabet, but instead of letters they used certain signs or hieroglyphics, by which they wrote on every subject—religion, history, geography, poetry, feasts, famines, wars, and the arts of peace. This fashion of writing was handed down from father to son, and taught in the colleges by the priests. The artists who executed the manuscripts were treated with general consideration, and the sovereign even paid them honor. They worked on paper made of the fibre of the maguey, or on linen cloth, with a sort of pen like the stylus of the Romans. The colors were procured from vegetable dyes in general. They had little variety of tint, but were vivid and permanent." Of Fernando Cortés the author says: "He was well built and skillful in all manly exercises. The wonderful beauty of his glance enhanced the charm of his fine and regular features. With unequalled bravery he combined wonderful penetration which never failed him. He was eloquent and persuasive, with the faculty of

making himself beloved by all who surrounded him. His conceptions were vast: he never renounced a project after he had recognized it as practicable, but he tempered his audacity of design with extreme prudence in execution. Reverses he endured with heroism, while he never suffered himself to be made giddy by his successes." One of the interesting chapters in the book is the twenty-eighth, "Santa Anna." The native character of Mexico is well drawn, and now, in the language of the author, "the future will look on with interest to see whether it has the capacity of self-government." The volume is fully illustrated, and takes a high place in the series.

HISTORIC AND PICTURESQUE SAVANNAH. By ADELAIDE WILSON. Illustrated by Georgia Weymouth. Square 8vo, pp. 258. Published for the subscribers by the Boston Photogravure Company. 1889.

The object of this beautiful volume, to give an outline history of Savannah, Georgia, from its earliest to its latest period, has been achieved in a most satisfactory and charming manner, and every citizen will owe a debt of gratitude to its industrious and clever author. It contains fourteen chapters, and about sixty-five illustrations. The descriptive narrative is clear, easy and flowing, and the artist's pen-and-ink sketches and photographic views keep pace very evenly with the pen-pictures. Here we find the origin of the province, the selection of the site of Savannah, the laying out of the first squares and streets, the first court, the early public gardens, silk culture, the oldest Sunday-school in the world, the first printing-press, the first post-office, the events of the revolution, and the general progress of the city during the last one hundred years. Modern Savannah receives its full share of attention, but the antique periods possess the greater attractions. Referring to the old *Georgia Gazette*, Miss Wilson writes: "Should any one be inclined to think that advertising is a product of late civilization, let him peruse the columns of the last century's *Gazette*. Here is an advertisement that puts to shame the modest four-line effusions of

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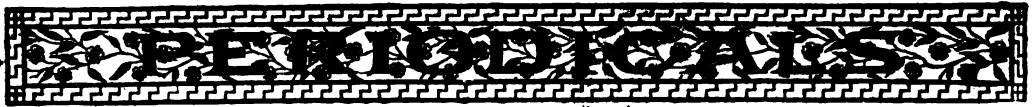
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The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York,
RICHARD A. McCURDY, President.

For the Year ending December 31st, 1888.

TOTAL ASSETS, - - - \$126,082,153 56

Increase in Assets,	\$7,275,301 68
Surplus at four per cent.,	\$7,940,063 63
Increase in Surplus,	\$1,645,622 11
Policies in force,	158,369
Increase during year,	17,426
Policies written,	32,606
Increase during year,	10,301
Risks assumed,	\$103,214,261 32
Increase during year,	33,756,792 95
Risks in force,	482,125,184 36
Increase during year,	54,496,251 85
Receipts from all sources,	26,215,932 52
Increase during year,	3,096,010 06
Paid Policy-holders,	14,727,550 22

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Bonds and Mortgages,	\$49,617,874 02
United States and other securities,	48,616,704 14
Real Estate and Loans on collateral,	21,786,125 34
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,813,277 60
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit, etc.,	3,248,172 46
	\$126,082,153 56

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884 . . .	\$34,681,420 . . .	\$351,789,285 . . .	\$4,743,771
1885 . . .	46,507,139 . . .	368,981,441 . . .	5,012,684
1886 . . .	56,832,719 . . .	393,809,203 . . .	5,643,568
1887 . . .	69,457,468 . . .	427,628,933 . . .	6,294,442
1888 . . .	103,214,261 . . .	482,125,184 . . .	7,940,063

NEW YORK, January 23, 1889.

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FORTY-FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE CO.

Office: Nos. 346 & 348 Broadway, New York.

JANUARY 1, 1888.

Amount of Net Assets, January 1, 1888.....\$70,912,817.17

REVENUE ACCOUNT.

Premiums.....	\$22,301,937.21	
Less deferred premiums, January 1, 1888.....	2,174,340.36	\$21,127,596.85
Interest and rents, etc.....	4,752,169.67	
Less interest accrued January 1, 1888.....	486,477.50	4,265,692.17
		\$105,815,800.00

DISBURSEMENT ACCOUNT.

Losses by death, and endowments matured and discounted (including reversionary additions to same).....	\$5,425,026.78	
Dividends (including mortality dividends), annuities, and purchased insurances.....	5,547,145.27	
Total paid policy-holders.....	\$10,972,172.05	
Taxes and re-insurances.....	323,062.84	
Commissions (including advanced and commuted commissions), brokerages, agency expenses, physicians' fees, etc.....	3,558,440.60	
Office and law expenses, salaries, advertising, printing, etc.....	654,890.12	\$15,453,670.87
		\$89,824,336.10

ASSETS.

Cash on deposit, on hand, and in transit.....	\$3,695,836.94	
United States Bonds and other bonds and stocks (market value, \$52,222,751.94).....	54,506,901.58	
Real Estate.....	9,308,152.08	
Bonds and mortgages, first lien on real estate (buildings thereon insured for \$13,800,000 and the policies assigned to the Company as additional collateral security).....	16,966,932.30	
Temporary loans (market value of securities held as collateral, \$2,144,670).....	1,676,250.00	
*Loans on existing policies (the reserve on these policies, included in liabilities, amounts to over \$2,000,000).....	378,874.10	
*Quarterly and semi-annual premiums on existing policies, due subsequent to Jan. 1, 1889.....	7,435,734.86	
*Premiums on existing policies in course of transmission and collection (the reserve on these policies, included in liabilities, is estimated at \$1,500,000).....	1,245,089.46	
Agents' balances.....	296,959.43	
Accrued interest on investments, January 1, 1889.....	451,605.24	\$80,824,336.10
Market value of securities over cost value on Company's books.....		3,655,250.26

*A detailed schedule of these items will accompany the usual annual report filed with the Insurance Department of the State of New York.

TOTAL ASSETS, January 1, 1889,.....\$93,480,186.56

Appropriated as follows:

Approved losses in course of payment.....	\$555,353.62	
Reported losses awaiting proof, etc.....	300,964.77	
Matured endowments, due and unpaid (claims not presented).....	56,511.88	
Annuities due and unpaid (claims not presented).....	26,865.69	
Reserved for re-insurance on existing policies, at the Actuaries' table 4 per cent. interest.....	78,925,757.00	
Reserved for contingent liabilities to Tontine Dividend Fund, January 1, 1888, over and above a 4 per cent. reserve on existing policies of that class.....	\$5,315,720.83	
Addition to the fund during 1888.....	2,043,665.84	
DEDUCT—		
Returned to Tontine policy-holders during the year on matured Tontines.....	\$7,359,386.67	
Balance of Tontine Fund, January 1, 1889.....	915,609.54	
Reserved for premiums paid in advance.....	6,423,777.73	
	46,504.82	
		\$88,387,926.20

Divisible Surplus (Company's new Standard).....7,092,260.36

Surplus by the New York State Standard (including the Tontine Fund).....\$93,480,186.56

From the undivided surplus, as above, the Board of Trustees have declared a reversionary dividend to participating policies in proportion to their contribution to surplus, available on settlement of next annual premium.

RETURNS TO POLICY-HOLDERS.	INSURANCE IN FORCE.	ASSETS.	NEW POLICIES ISSUED.
1886.....\$7,677,830	Jan. 1, 1887.....\$304,373,546	Jan. 1, 1887.....\$75,421,453	1886.....22,007
1887.....9,535,210	Jan. 1, 1888.....318,835,536	Jan. 1, 1888.....83,079,645	1887.....25,500
1888.....10,973,070	Jan. 1, 1889.....419,886,505	Jan. 1, 1889.....93,480,186	1888.....33,394

Number of policies issued during the year, 33,334. Risks assumed, \$125,019,731.
Total number of policies in force January 1, 1889, 129,911. Amount at risk, \$419,886,505.

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Vol. XXI.

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George Washington

[From portrait in oil, sketched from life by Kemmelmyre, while Washington was reviewing the western troops at Cumberland, Maryland, October 2, 1794. Presented by Hon. A. S. Boteler, of Virginia, grandson of Charles Willson Peale, to Hon. Thomas Donaldson.]

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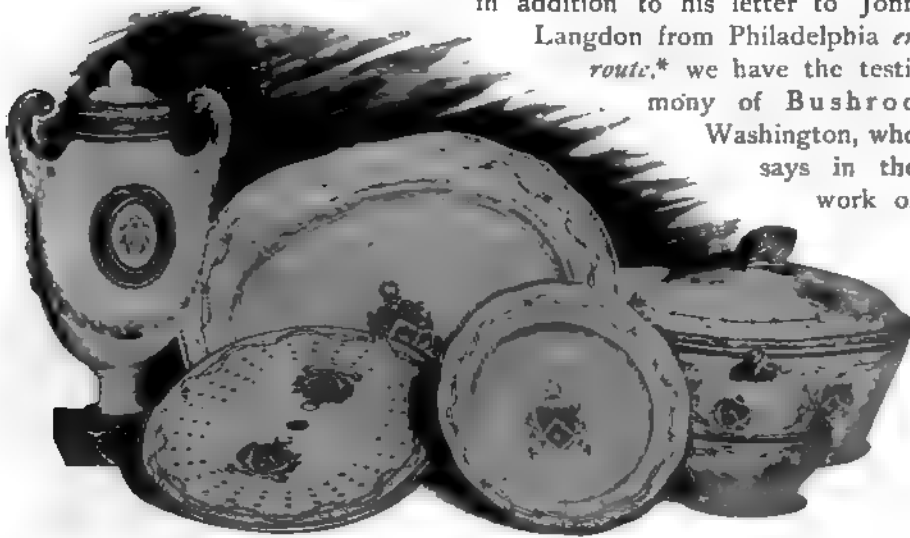
No. 5

WASHINGTON'S HISTORIC LUNCHEON IN ELIZABETH

THE HOMES OF ELIAS BOUDINOT AND GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON

THE trite expression "A hundred years is as one day" seems invested with its original significance as certain interesting facts and relics discover themselves. Until quite recently it was not generally understood that Washington spent the night in New Brunswick on his memorable journey to New York, in April, 1789. But

in addition to his letter to John Langdon from Philadelphia *en route*,* we have the testimony of Bushrod Washington, who says in the work of



PIECES OF CHINA TABLE-SERVICE OF MON. ELIAS BOUDINOT. USED AT WASHINGTON'S LUNCHEON, 1789.

[In possession of Miss Boudinot, of New Jersey.]

Marshall, published in 1805: "At Brunswick he (Washington) was joined by the governor of New Jersey, who accompanied him to Elizabethtown Point. On the road the committee of congress received and conducted him with much parade to the Point, where he took leave of the governor."

When received by the committee of congress on the road, Washington

* Published in the April issue of this magazine, page 275.

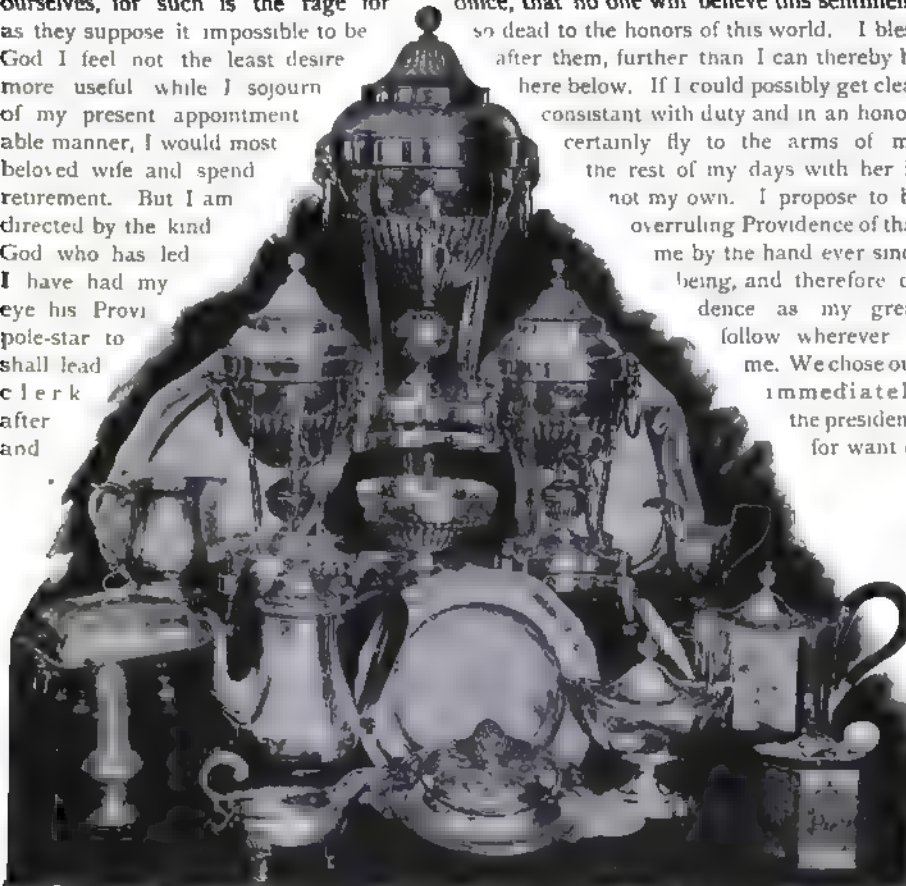
was conducted to the mansion of Hon. Elias Boudinot, still standing in Jersey Street, Elizabeth, where an elaborate luncheon awaited the whole party. Boudinot was chairman of the committee, and had so adjusted the details of the halt and the repast as not to interfere with other and more conspicuous arrangements. The table was spread in the spacious dining-room with its dark wood trimmings, around which seats were provided for all, and the assembled greatness, nothing loath, did full justice to the delicious viands. The beautiful china table-service used on this occasion, and also the Boudinot family silverware, are in perfect preservation, apparently without a blemish, and are expected to grace the table at the luncheon given to President Harrison in the elegant hall of the Lawyers' Club, at the Equitable building, in New York, April 29, 1889. The china was decorated to order abroad, all its elaborate vines and flowers having been specially designed. The Boudinot arms appear in bright coloring on every plate and dish of whatever description, oftentimes twice or three times, as shown in the soup-terreen and quaint fish-platter of the sketch. Some of the silverware was made in Paris, some in London, and some in the city of New York, at different early dates. The larger and most costly pieces were imported in 1785 and 1787, although several of the choice dishes are much older. The beautiful porringer and cover came from Paris in 1777.

Elias Boudinot, the statesman and philanthropist, was then in his fiftieth year, in the very prime of his active and useful life, a lawyer of wealth and eminent Christian character, had been classically educated and highly cultivated by reading and study, was affable and yet remarkably dignified in his manners, and a hospitable, genial, and delightful companion. He had been sent as a delegate to the continental congress in 1777, and in 1782 was chosen president of that body, and in that capacity signed the treaty of peace with England. After the adoption of the Constitution, he was naturally the first choice of New Jersey to the new congress, and his constituents expected he would have been the speaker of the House. In a letter to his wife from New York, dated April 2, 1789, he refers to this subject, revealing his own private views:

My dearest Love

I arrived here safe after a very disagreeable ride, just time enough to meet Congress on Monday. We did not make a House till yesterday, when (though the 1st of April) we began business. The first thing we did was to choose a Speaker, which fell on Mr. Mulenbergh, without any dissention. I feel myself very happy that I am clear of it. I am sensible the honor is great, but then the confinement is what I could never have submitted to without having you in the city. This would have obliged me to remove our family and run to a very large expense without any certainty of an adequate provision,

and if made, there would always have been jealousy among narrow minds, if supported with dignity. It would also have brought you as well as myself into an amazing scene of dissipation, which *even you* could not have wholly avoided. I believe I should not have refused it had it been offered, on account of the interests of the State, but I am much better pleased without it, and consider it as a kind Providence towards us. This is between ourselves, for such is the rage for office, that no one will believe this sentiment, as they suppose it impossible to be so dead to the honors of this world. I bless God I feel not the least desire after them, further than I can thereby be more useful while I sojourn here below. If I could possibly get clear of my present appointment consistant with duty and in an honorable manner, I would most certainly fly to the arms of my beloved wife and spend the rest of my days with her in retirement. But I am not my own. I propose to be directed by the kind overruling Providence of that God who has led me by the hand ever since I have had my being, and therefore do eye his Providence as my great pole-star to follow wherever it shall lead me. We chose our clerk immediately after the president, and for want of



SILVERWARE FROM THE TABLE OF HON. ELIAS BOUDINOT. USED ON THE OCCASION OF WASHINGTON'S LUNCHEON, 1789.

[In possession of Miss Boudinot, of New Jersey.]

one of our members, who arrived after we had broken up, your brother lost it. The first ballot, he and Mr. John Buckley, from Virginia, were exactly even—15 each. The next vote Mr. Buckley got 16. This also, I consider as favorable to your brother.

I am more confirmed in my opinion, since I have been here, that it would not have done for him to have moved his family here. It will be very expensive, indeed, and great dissipation will take place. He has accomplished everything I had in view, and has come off very honorably. I make no doubt but he has done enough to secure to himself some

advantageous post in Jersey that may hereafter be created. So much for politicks. I wish I could now say or do something to comfort my beloved wife in her lonely moments. I think of you—I regret our separation—I contemplate imaginary schemes to prevent it, and often look with pleasure at the intended objections to my election, in hopes that something may yet turn up by which I may be honorably quit of my present berth, as I never could be prevailed on to set up again as a candidate. My kind love to Mr. and Mrs. Austin, the family, and all friends. I shall write about business by your brother to-morrow. I am, my dearest Love, with great esteem

Your Aff^d Husband,
ELIAS BOUDINOT.

To Mrs. Boudinot
Elizabeth Town.

Still more interesting is the letter written to his wife from New York while congress was awaiting the arrival of Washington, dated April 14, seven days before his luncheon in Elizabeth. He says :

I am laid under great obligations to my beloved wife's letter of the 11th inst., which I cannot repay as I could wish to do. It is in vain to pursue melancholy ideas on a subject that cannot now be avoided, but considering all our affairs as under the guidance of a Divine hand, let us endeavor by the assistance of his blessed Spirit, to improve our talent, as those who must give an account to Him ; hoping that He will cause all things [however dark to us] to turn out finally for his Glory. I have my hands so full here, that I have but little time to think about even the gloomy side of the question. I am up at seven o'clock or a little after ; spend an half hour in my room—dress and breakfast by half-past eight—in committee at nine—from thence immediately to the House—adjourn at three o'clock. In committee again at six—return at eight—and write till twelve at night. This has been my course for some time, except when I dine out, which to me is harder service. Had I my charming wife to repay me, by her tenderness, when the business of the day was done, it would add an invaluable pleasure to all my engagements. But it cannot be for the present, and therefore I will regale myself (tho' at a midnight hour) with scribbling to her. However trifling my letters may be, she knows they come from a faithful heart, and that will excuse the deficiencies of the pen. I never expected returns of gratitude from the publick, and, indeed, it is in the nature of things impossible. If I were to seek it, I would never do it by great faithfulness in their business. A man of this caste does not leave himself time to deceive and cajole them. I look for my reward from a higher source. As to this world, if I render myself, by an irreproachable conduct in life, worthy of the love and esteem of my beloved wife, I shall then have a present reward. Give my most affectionate love to my dear Mrs. Custis, and tell her how much I love her, and if she will visit you very often I will love her still more. Remember me to all my friends, and do not forget the kitchen gentry. May God Almighty protect and bless the sweet object of my affection and best wishes, my dearest love.

Yrs. most sincerely,
BOUDINOT.

To Mrs. Elias Boudinot,
Elizabeth Town.

His wife whom he regarded with such romantic affection, was the accomplished sister of Richard Stockton, the signer, who had himself married Elias Boudinot's sister Annice, and thus the families were doubly related. Richard Stockton died in 1781, and it was his widow who was foremost among the ladies of Trenton in paying the touching tribute to



Elias Boudinot

[From a rare print in possession of Dr. Thomas Addison Emmet.]

Washington as he passed through that town, which has been so faithfully recorded. The home of Boudinot in Elizabeth was a great, square, comfortable structure, with an old-fashioned gable roof, tall chimneys suggestive of forefatherly fire-places, and a massive door with a brass knocker in the centre of a somewhat imposing front. It stood among lawns and gardens and lofty trees, very much embowered and hidden in summer-time

with aspiring vines, attractive shrubbery, and gay-colored flowers. There was no Jersey street then, but the house was reached by a private carriage-way from the old road to Elizabethport. Its entrance-hall and staircase are of the style so much in fashion before the Revolution, the former being broad enough for a cotillion party. Two stately apartments on either side of this central hall reveal even at this late day many traces of former elegance and taste. The mantels with their quaint carving and the curious cornices are worthy of note. Two stories have been added to the building, which has been converted into a home for aged women, but the charm of its historic associations remains.

The illustrious company were in the best of spirits, with Elias Boudinot as the generous host, and Washington, the President-elect, in the chair of honor; and it represented nearly all the quarters, if not the states, of the Union. Among those present were John Langdon, president of the senate, from New Hampshire; Richard Henry Lee, Theodorick Bland, and Arthur Lee, from Virginia; General Knox, the secretary of war, from Maine; Tristram Dalton, from Massachusetts; William Samuel Johnson, from Connecticut; Charles Carroll, from Maryland; Ralph Izard and Thomas Tudor Tucker, from South Carolina; Governor Livingston, from New Jersey; Egbert Benson, John Lawrence, Walter Livingston, Chancellor Livingston, Samuel Osgood, John Jay, and others from New York.

John Jay, it will be remembered, was the son-in-law of Governor Livingston who was the oldest man at the luncheon, having reached his sixty-sixth year. He was the younger brother of Philip Livingston, the signer, and of Peter Van Brugh Livingston, treasurer of the New York revolutionary congress, and he had at this date already administered the government of New Jersey twenty-three years, having succeeded the deposed Governor Franklin in 1776. He was on intimate terms and in close correspondence with Washington during the entire period of the war, and in the trying circumstances in which the frontier state was placed conducted its affairs with consummate skill and energy, and contributed more than any other governor toward the grand result. In the famous convention that framed the Constitution in 1787, Governor Livingston is said to have been one of the most forcible and elegant writers, and probably the best classical scholar in the assemblage. He was a brave soldier and an astute lawyer and statesman, and he also had great tact and talent as an essayist; his satirical powers were unrivaled, he wrote poetry, and his literary taste was singularly refined for the period in which he lived. When the new political creed of the sovereignty of the people began to shape itself, and the erection of an independent

empire on this continent was actually contemplated, the most conspicuous among the patriots who wielded controlling influence in the ancient borough of Elizabethtown, which was incorporated with much pomp and circumstance in 1740, were William Livingston, Elias Boudinot, and William Peartree Smith. Livingston became brigadier-general of the militia, and Boudinot and Smith delegates to the New Jersey provincial congress—from which they were together sent to Philadelphia to confer with the

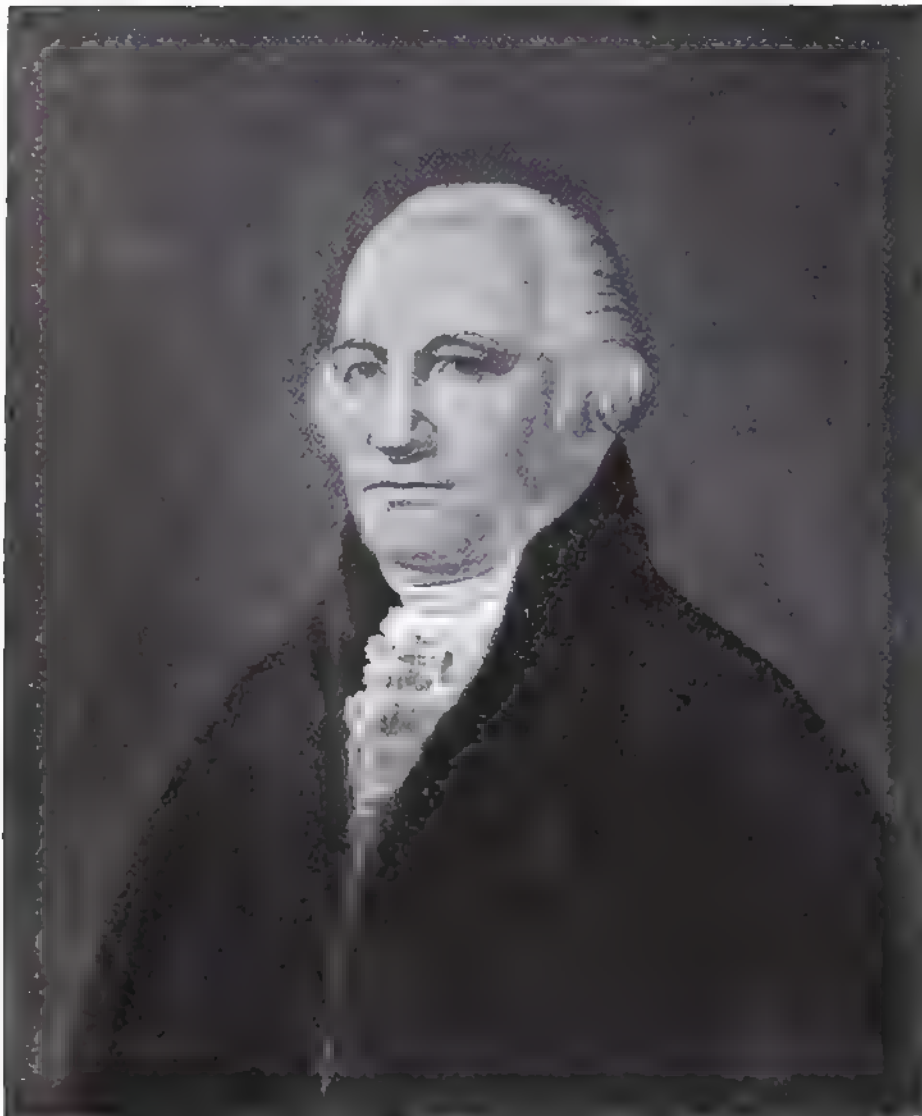


HOME OF HON. ELIAS BOUDINOT, LL.D., IN ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY.
THE SCENE OF WASHINGTON'S HISTORIC LUNCHEON IN 1780.

general congress on some joint plan of action. Boudinot was also on Livingston's staff, and Smith was chairman of the committee of correspondence. Both had a hand in shaping the state constitution, which was adopted almost simultaneously with the Declaration of Independence, and Livingston was the unanimous choice for governor. Boudinot served for a time as commissary-general of prisoners. It was a period of heroic activity, every man had to be on the alert. When the British took possession of New York dangers thickened. It was impossible to guard the long

line of New Jersey shore, and the enemy could land at almost any point. Forays were constantly expected, and there were innumerable skirmishes and tragic events in and about Elizabethtown, the half of which could never be told. On one occasion the approach of the Hessians was telegraphed to the patriots by the firing of a gun—from a house still standing at Halsted's point, which commanded a perfect view of the bay—in the hands of Miss Halsted. This young woman was afterward toasted by Washington for her bravery and patriotism. Elias Boudinot purchased a cottage at Baskenridge, where Lord Stirling and others had already located, to which he removed his family for safety.

Elisha, the younger brother of Elias Boudinot, was in 1778 married to the daughter of William Peartree Smith. He was a brilliant lawyer, and at that time a very handsome young man of twenty-nine. He later on became a judge of the supreme court, and was the president of the first bank in Newark, where he resided in a great old-time mansion in the park that is still in existence. The wedding had many significant and romantic features. It took place at the Elizabethtown house of William Peartree Smith, in the month of October, and Washington came by a circuitous route from headquarters to attend, while Alexander Hamilton, not yet married to the pretty daughter of General Schuyler, was the master of ceremonies. It was an uneasy period in the history of the war, and Washington took every precaution against surprise; sentinels were stationed at various places with orders to report *privately* to him, without causing any excitement, if they discovered signs of the approach of raiding parties from New York. There was an alarm a few moments before the performance of the ceremony, but the knowledge of it was confined strictly to Hamilton and the commander-in-chief. Hamilton quietly went out and made investigations, finding matters, however, not so serious as they had feared, and not a member of the family or its guests were allowed to have any apprehensions. The bride's dress on this occasion had a history even then in itself, and is now a historic treasure; when her daughter, Catharine Boudinot, was married to Mr. Atterbury of New York, it was her bridal gown; again, a generation later, it was worn at the marriage of Mrs. Atterbury's daughter, Mrs. Stimson; and not so very long since the same beautiful relic was the wedding-dress of Mrs. Stimson's daughter. Mrs. Catharine Boudinot Atterbury remembered with delight during her long life an incident of her childhood connected with Washington. She was about eight years old, and as she was born in 1781, it is supposed to have occurred on the evening after Washington's inauguration. She was with her parents near the Bowling Green, at what was or had once been her



JUDGE ELISHA BOUDINOT

[From a painting never before engraved, in possession of Miss Boudinot.]

grandfather William Peartree Smith's house, near Chancellor Livingston's. She had skipped to the crowded street to see a balloon go up in connection with the fire-works, and her father sent her back into the house ; but Washington, standing near, exclaimed, " No, you pretty little yellow bird, you shall see as well as anybody," and placed her upon his shoulder.

The following years, 1779 and 1780, when the war had still further degenerated into midnight robberies and horrors along the borders, the residences of William Peartree Smith and Elisha Boudinot were both plundered, costly paintings (among which were two of Sir Godfrey Kneller) were bayoneted, and portable property carried off. A careful search was made in vain for the two "rebels," Smith and Boudinot, but they were fortunately out of town. Elias Boudinot was then in the continental congress, and William Livingston was on the wing in any part of the state where duty called him.

The Boudinots were descended from the French Huguenot who bore the name of Elias—as did his son, his son's son, and his great-grandson who gave the luncheon to Washington in 1789. He was an emigrant from France shortly after the revocation of the edict of Nantez, about 1686. In all the generations these were men of wealth, education, public spirit, religious training, and great moral respectability. At twenty-five years of age Elias (of the Washington period) was president of the board of trustees of the Presbyterian church in Elizabethtown, which was built on land donated by Mathias Hatfield, which his ancestor purchased from the Indians in 1673. The edifice was burned by the British in one of their raids, and after the war Boudinot was one of the most helpful in its re-erection. In the antique church edifice, now upward of a century old, may be seen the quaint chandeliers which Elias Boudinot presented, accompanied by the following letter addressed to General Elias Dayton :

Philadelphia Feb 26. 1800

Dear Sir.—Shall I request the favor of your presenting my respectful compliments to the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church in Elizabeth Town, of whom I presume you are still President, and beg their acceptance of a pair of Cut glass Chandeliers, for the use of their Church.

The many happy hours I have spent there, make the remembrance of having been one of their Society among the substantial pleasures of my life.

I have sent the Chandeliers in two boxes numbered one and two, by the Sloop Sally Captain Denike, directed to you to the care of Mr. Jona, Hampton Lawrence in New York. The receipt of the officer you have enclosed.

Be so good as to give immediate directions that when taken out to be sent to Elizabeth Town, they may be put into the cart upon an armful of hay or shavings, and carted with great care.

Any person who has any knowledge of the form of Chandeliers can easily put them together, after they are carefully washed. They were in excellent order when boxed up ten days ago.

I am dear Sir with great respect
Your very humble Servant
Elias Boudinot.

P S. Mrs Boudinot and Mrs Bradford join me in compliments to Mrs Dayton and the whole family.

Gen Elias Dayton.

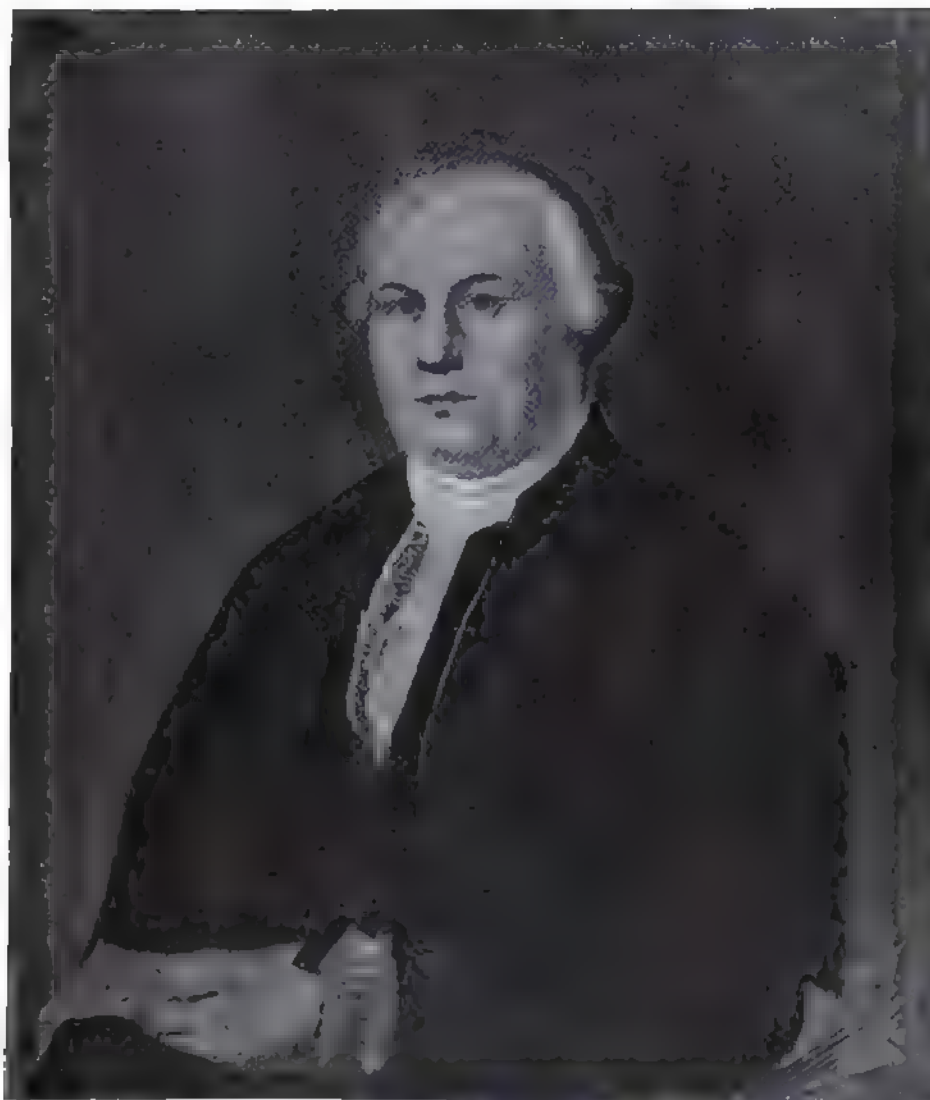
In 1784, Susan, the only daughter of Elias Boudinot, was married to Attorney-General Bradford, of Pennsylvania, and went to reside in Philadelphia. The accompanying letter reveals how it touched the fatherly heart to give her away. A dozen years later she was a widow, living with him in his home in Burlington, after having, in the interim, been one of the prominent ladies of Mrs. Washington's circle while the seat of government was in Philadelphia, and on charmingly familiar terms in the presidential household. The beauty and symmetry of Elias Boudinot's career are vividly illustrated by his philanthropic achievements in mature years. After serving his country faithfully when it was in need of honest ability, and with plenty of means at his command, he retired from the stirring, bustling world, and devoted himself to writing, study, and beneficence. He was a trustee, and endowed Princeton college with a cabinet of natural history; he was an active promoter of foreign missions; one of the founders and the first president of the American Bible Society, in 1816, to which he gave \$10,000; and he was interested in educating the Indian, in the instruction of deaf-mutes, in the training of young men for the ministry, and in helping the needy. One of his bequests was \$200 to buy spectacles for the aged poor.

The home of Governor Livingston, like that of Elias Boudinot, was in Elizabethtown in 1789, and it is yet standing—one of the most interesting historic monuments of colonial architecture in the country. It was erected in 1773, and occupied by Livingston and his family late in the autumn of that year. He had hitherto resided in New York city, and his brilliant daughters were sadly missed from the social world when, in emigrating to New Jersey, as they expressed it, they were "buried in a sequestered part of the globe." But John Jay was not long in taking to himself the beautiful Sarah—they were married in the following April. Livingston had owned, since 1760, some one hundred and twenty acres of land in Elizabethtown, and had brought the soil under cultivation. His hobby was fruit-raising. He imported fruit-trees, chiefly from England, until he had



MRS. ELIAS (HANNAH STOCKTON) BOUDINOT.

[From a painting never before engraved, in possession of Miss Boudinot.]



Miss Boudinet

[From a painting never before engraved, in possession of Miss Boudinet]

Elizabeth, From Oct: 5 '48

My dear Sir

This moment I arrived here, on my way to Philadelphia accompanying my little love Lamb to the city (having given her away to a certain Mr. Bradford) and am just informed of Dr. Smith's having determined to set off for Boston to-morrow morning - I catch a moment to scribble a line (standing idly by) to ask what has become of you - I hope you 'd read last letter in due time to your favour - How is your adopted son - How is Mr. Lincoln & all the family Mrs. Bondnot & daughter join me in feeling as interested in all that belongs to you - Do let us hear from you f. but by one line - Little Eliza's Brothers & sisters are all well - I believe the Marguerite de Fayette will take Johnny with her to France -

All your friends now here beg the most affectionate remembrance - I am My D. Sir with the greatest esteem
Yours most sincerely Elias Boudnot
Elias Boudnot

FAC-SIMILE OF ORIGINAL LETTER FROM ELIAS BOUDNOT, IN COLLECTION OF DR. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.

[Referred to on page 271.]

sixty-five varieties of pears, and plums, cherries, peaches, and apples in similar profusion. He took so much pride in his Newtown pippins that, in 1767, he shipped several barrels to a friend in London.

The house was named "Liberty Hall," and it is interesting to note that it was the first refuge of Alexander Hamilton when he arrived in America from the West Indies, a pale, delicate, blue-eyed boy of fifteen. He brought letters to Livingston from Dr. Hugh Knox, and through the advice of the former entered the school of Francis Barber, in Elizabethtown.



LIBERTY HALL. THE HOME OF GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

"Liberty Hall" was always open to him, and it was in listening to the table-talk of its many and delightful guests, among whom were the Ogdens, Stocktons, Boudinots, and the learned Dr. Witherspoon, that Hamilton obtained his first lessons in statesmanship. Mrs. Livingston and her daughters took a deep interest in the country's affairs, and the young ladies became full-fledged politicians long ere they had attained complete physical stature. The knotty problems of the hour prior to the outbreak of hostilities, and the methods of solving and settling them, were discussed daily in the household. Even in the most familiar correspondence with his children at school, the subject uppermost in Livingston's thoughts occu-

pied the chief space. One instance was when his son wrote home about a reference in his lesson to ghosts, Livingston replied : " Should the spectre of any of the Stuart family, or of any tyrant whatsoever, obtrude itself upon your fancy, offer it not so much as a pipe of tobacco ; but show its royal or imperial spectrality the door, with a frank declaration that your principles will not suffer you to keep company even with the SHADOW of arbitrary power." Liberty Hall has had an upper story and extensions in the rear added within recent years, modern glass has taken the place of small panes in many of the windows, and the deep fireplaces are framed in marble mantels that had not come into use when the house was new. But the narrow doors and wide staircases—bearing still the cuts of the angry Hessian soldiery when thwarted in their purposes—and the innumerable little cupboards and artful contrivances for hiding things in the paneling of the walls, are tenderly preserved. It stands on elevated ground some rods from the street (what was the old Springfield turnpike), about a mile from the railroad station, and the front yard retains the lofty shade-trees of a century ago. The large tree in the foreground of the picture was planted in 1772, by Susan, the eldest daughter of Governor William Livingston—the same who with such heroism and tact saved her father's correspondence with Washington and congress from falling into the hands of the British, as related in volume twenty, page 178, of this magazine.

It was this lady, Susan Livingston, who became the wife of Hon. John Cleves Symmes, whose daughter became the wife of President William Henry Harrison, and thus the grandmother of President Benjamin Harrison.

The enemy made several attempts to burn " Liberty Hall " during the Revolution, and threatened the governor's life with ugly determination, subjecting him to the greatest possible inconvenience and danger. He presided over the council of safety, which met first in one town, then another, and anywhere in the mountains and woods as policy or prudence dictated. He had a house at Parcipany, where his family lived for a time : and once, while visiting them, his movements were reported, and a party of refugees swooped down upon the place in the night. He had some gentlemen guests, and, wishing to be sure of catching the right man, they concluded to lie in the grass until daylight. They fell asleep, and when awakened by the morning sun, the governor, wholly unconscious of the assassination plot, had risen and was galloping over the road miles away to meet some important appointment.

About the same time Livingston wrote to his daughter Kitty : " If the British do not burn ' Liberty Hall,' I shall think them greater rascals than

ever, for I have really endeavored to deserve this last and most luminous testimony of their inveterate malice." With a view solely to the protection of the property by her presence, Mrs. Livingston returned with her daughters from Parcipany to Elizabethtown. But their courage and self-possession were several times put to the severest test. When the British made their



GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

[From etching by Albert Rosenthal, through courtesy of Constitutional Centennial Committee, Philadelphia.]

memorable incursion into New Jersey in June, 1780, and burned Springfield and Connecticut Farms, the flames of which were in full view, and soldiers continually passing "Liberty Hall" throughout that dreadful day, the ladies were alone with the women-servants, the governor being at Morristown, and the men-servants all hiding in the woods. In the morning, three or four British officers called and had a short interview with Mrs. Livingston and her daughters; but they left so full of admiration at the coolness and intrepidity of the ladies as to swear they should not

be harmed. The house was accordingly spared. Late in the evening some British officers sent word that they should lodge at "Liberty Hall." This was regarded as additional assurance of safety to the family. About midnight there was a sudden uproar, and the officers were called away hastily by startling news. There was firing along the road. Presently a band of drunken refugees came staggering through the grounds, and with horrid oaths burst the door open into the hall. The women-servants huddled into the kitchen, and the ladies locked themselves into one of the chambers. Their retreat was soon discovered, and there was a great pounding upon the door; as it was about to be burst in, Kitty Livingston stepped forward and resolutely opened it. A drunken ruffian seized her by the arm, and she, with the quickness of thought, grasped his coat-collar. Just then a flash of lightning revealed to the assailant the lady's white robes and equally white scared face, and the wretch fell back, exclaiming, "Good God! It is Mrs. Caldwell, whom we killed to-day!" The same merciful light showed Susan Livingston the face of one of their former neighbors among the ruffians, and she quickly secured his intervention and the house was cleared.

It was in this historic home that Mrs. Washington was entertained in May, 1789, when on her way to New York after the inauguration of her husband as first President of the United States. The mansion was decorated with flowers, and Governor Livingston's children—a gifted gathering of men and women—were present to help do the honors. The guest-chamber occupied by Mrs. Washington was over the library. The one set apart for the use of Mrs. Robert Morris was over the hall in the centre of the front of the mansion. The next morning Washington, accompanied by John Jay, Robert Morris, and other distinguished gentlemen, arrived at "Liberty Hall" in time for breakfast. No queen was ever escorted into a capital with more conspicuous ceremony than Mrs. Washington into New York.

After the death of Governor Livingston, in 1790, the beautiful country seat passed into the hands of strangers. It had a romantic episode, being purchased by Lord Bolingbroke, who ran away from England with the school-girl daughter of Baron Hompasch, leaving an estimable wife to break her heart. Later on the property was purchased by the daughter of the governor's brother, Peter Van Brugh Livingston, who was the widow of Hon. John McKean. She subsequently married Count Niemcewicz, a Polish nobleman and poet, and the mansion once more became the centre of attraction for statesmen, scholars, and celebrities. It has ever since been in the possession of the Kean family.

There are not less than fifty noteworthy houses in Elizabeth that were built before the Revolution, and several that have defied the storms of at least two hundred years. The romantic story of the town's first settlement in 1664, and how in 1672 an arrogant little parliament deposed its first governor, would bear repeating if space permitted. For many years prior to the Revolution, it was a larger and more notable place than Newark. It was where the General Assembly met until it commenced its alternations between Perth Amboy and Burlington; and it was the residence of the governors and officers of the government far into the following century. The house in which Governor Belcher lived is still standing in Jersey street, a little beyond the old home of Elias Boudinot. This distinguished patron of learning and religion took his seat in the executive chair of the province in 1747, and proceeded very soon to enlarge and improve the charter of the College of New Jersey. The same house was occupied later on by Governor Aaron Ogden, who was five years president of the state society of the Cincinnati, and ten years president-general of the organization. Elizabeth and Newark had a little scrimmage in the early days concerning the boundary-line between the two places. They did not attempt, as did an ancient Connecticut town, to settle the controversy by a *private combat*. But a committee from Elizabeth met a committee from Newark on a little round hill between the two places—henceforward called "Divident Hill"—and as a preamble to the tangled business before them, Robert Treat, of Newark, led in prayer. When the conference ended, John Ogden, one of the principal founders of Elizabeth, also prayed, returning thanks for their "*loving* agreement." There were *unloving* disagreements afterward that were not disposed of so easily. A county election, for example, in 1807, was to decide the location of the court-house. Elizabeth wanted it, and Newark became intensely excited. Public meetings were held in all parts of the county, and the children in the public schools were employed for days in writing tickets for the contest. Whoever spoke a good word for Elizabeth was in personal danger. Two Newark gentlemen drove to Elizabeth in a gig on private business, and were received with a bucket of tar. On the day of election, every horse, carriage, and cart in the place was in requisition, and every man and every woman old enough and big enough (age was a minor consideration), or who expected to grow old enough and big enough, to vote, was promptly at the polls. It may have been forgotten, but it is true all the same, that in the beginning of the present century, widows and single women were entitled by the laws of New Jersey to vote in all elections. Vehicles were going all day to and fro from the different polls, and every person voted at every poll.

Married women voted as well as single women. Three sisters, the youngest aged fifteen, changed their dresses and their names, and voted six times each. This was related to the writer by two of the sisters, who lived to a great age, residents of Newark. Men and boys put on women's clothes in order to duplicate their votes. Never was there a more reckless and extraordinary proceeding. Newark won the court-house, and in the evening illuminated herself to the tops of her steeples. Elizabeth sought consolation in various ways; having established the first schools of importance in the state, attention was given to making the picturesque old historic town a favorite seat of learning.

Elizabeth was originally settled by the same Connecticut stock as Newark. Some personal friends of Robert Treat, subsequently governor of Connecticut, obtained of the new governor, Nicolls, immediately after the Dutch dominion ceased to exist and the English banner floated over New York and New Jersey, the patent for a vast tract of land, including the site of the present city of Newark. But Elizabeth later on received accessions to its population from England and Scotland, and the varied elements did not always harmonize in the organization of social, political, and religious institutions. Treat himself visited the little beginnings of settlement, and found the pioneers willing to part with a portion of their land-purchase, and entered into a written agreement for its transfer—which was the basis for the emigration of thirty families from the New Haven colony, who planted their homes upon the bank of the Passaic river and commenced the building of Elizabeth's rival—the town of Newark.

Martha J Lamb

OAK HILL, THE HOME OF PRESIDENT MONROE

After the return of James Monroe from his mission to foreign courts in the early part of this century, he spent his summers chiefly on his beautiful estate in Loudoun county, Virginia, which was named Oak Hill from a cluster of giant oaks towering above all other trees on its wooded lawn. The picturesque old Virginia cottage, with its dormer windows and chimney on the outside, in which the family lived for many years, was finally superseded in the early part of Monroe's presidency by the grand old mansion of the sketch.



OAK HILL, THE HOME OF PRESIDENT MONROE.

James Monroe first met his wife in New York city while he was a member of congress, when New York was the seat of government. She was Elizabeth, the beautiful daughter of Lawrence Kortwright, son of one of the old merchants of New York in the time of Governor Cosby, who

married a Miss Aspinwall. The Kortwright family was one of high social position, connected by marriage with the Verplancks, Tillotsons, Lawrences, Livingstons, and Gouverneurs of New York. Mrs. Monroe's sister married Nicholas Gouverneur, whose son, Samuel L. Gouverneur, the New York postmaster for nine years, married Maria, the youngest daughter of President and Mrs. Monroe, the ceremony being performed at the White House in Washington. Elizabeth, the elder daughter—who while in France at school was in the same class and on terms of intimacy with Hortense Eugénie Beauharnais, later queen of Holland—became the wife of Judge George Hay.

One of the notable historic events connected with Oak Hill was the reception and entertainment of Lafayette, who came to the United States in 1824 at the invitation of President Monroe. After he returned from his celebrated tour through the country, the hospitalities of Oak Hill were extended to him, and he was escorted hither from Leesburg by a guard of honor consisting of all the youth and chivalry of Virginia. He was charmed with the beauty of the place, and left many mementos of his visit. The mantels of both the apartments illustrated were gifts from Lafayette to Monroe. We can well understand the sentiment and feeling with which the great French general became an inmate of the home of the Monroes, and recalled how, long years before, Mrs. Monroe had effected the release of Madame de Lafayette when the latter was confined in the prison of La Force, hourly expecting to be executed. Monroe retired from the presidential office in 1825, and during the six years that remained of his life divided his time between his home at Oak Hill and the residence of his daughter Mrs. Gouverneur in New York. Mrs. Monroe died at Oak Hill September 23, 1830, and was buried in the lawn near the house, whose grave and that of her daughter are carefully and sacredly guarded by the present owner of the property. President Monroe died July 4, 1831, at the house of his daughter in New York. •

Upon the death of ex-President Monroe, Oak Hill passed into the possession of his son-in-law, Mr. Gouverneur, who, in 1852, sold the property to Colonel John Walter Fairfax, of Virginia. The mansion occupies a commanding position on an eminence overlooking a well-farmed rolling country, and its finely wooded lawn adds materially to its attractions. It is said that Monroe himself planted a tree in this beautiful lawn to represent each of the states of the Union, the same having been presented to him for that purpose by representatives of all the respective states in congress during his administration. The general plan of the house is that of the executive mansion in Washington, and, judging from Monroe's letters,

it was the outcome of many years of careful deliberation. It seems typical, in a sense, of the character of its projector—unpretentious, sensible, and substantial—and yet a striking example of the tendency of taste in the early years of our republic to the severely classical in domestic architecture. It is built of brick, and its grand southern portico, fifty feet long, is graced by seven massive Doric columns, nine feet in circumference and thirty feet in height. The edifice is about ninety feet long by fifty wide, and three stories high, including basement. The estate embraces thirteen hundred acres of rich, well-cultivated land.

During the civil war Oak Hill was frequently raided by troops from the Union army. Several times in the dead of night its occupants were aroused by furious ringing of the door-bells, and the pounding of guns and sabres against the doors and windows. Marks then made on one of the outer doors may still be seen. Admittance would be hastily granted at these alarming visitations, and the hungry soldiers would proceed to help themselves to food, and, in the mean time, every closet of the house from roof to cellar would be ransacked. On one of these occasions, Colonel Fairfax, who happened to be spending a night at home, was discovered and made a prisoner. Apart, however, from pillaging the outbuildings, Oak Hill was treated with great consideration by Union soldiers. All of the many household valuables, including several relics of President Monroe, were permitted to remain unharmed. Among these are some of special interest. A large mahogany backgammon table, singularly handsome, was presented to Monroe during his presidency by the American ambassador to Paris. The playing-pieces, sawed from elephants' tusks, are about six inches in circumference; a heavy marble slab surmounts the table, and beneath this slab, within the playing-board, was Mrs. Fairfax's favorite place during the war for concealing her jewelry. Often, while the house was being searched, some soldier rested himself upon this quaint table, never dreaming it was other than a pier table. Another Monroe relic left at Oak Hill is a circular dining-table, which was a cross-section of an enormous tree from South America, a table that will easily seat twelve persons. As the mansion stands to-day, its walls as sound and solid as when they were erected, it is considered one of the show-places of Virginia.

The Fairfax family now identified with this historic house are not related to the Lord Fairfax family of fame and story—not, at least, in this country. The ancestor of this line of the Fairfaxes, Thomas Fairfax, came to America from England in 1667, and settled in Calvert County, Maryland—and his descendants for three generations remained in that province—which, as may be observed by the date, was a quarter of a

century before Lord Fairfax was born, and seventy-eight years before the latter emigrated to Virginia. John Fairfax, descendant of Thomas, who died in Maryland in 1735, left four daughters and one only son, William, a man of large property, who married Elizabeth Buckner. William's eldest son, Jonathan, married Sarah Wright, of Maryland, and settled a few miles from Port Tobacco. Jonathan and Sarah Wright Fairfax had several children, whose births and deaths are all carefully recorded in the old Durham parish church in Charles County, Maryland, a copy of which register is in possession of the writer.

Henry, the fourth son of Jonathan, born in Maryland, September 29,



FAMILY ROOM AT OAK HILL.
THE HISTORIC TABLE



VIEW OF DINING-ROOM AT OAK HILL.
MANTELS PRESENTED BY LAFAYETTE.

1774, lived for a time after the death of his father with his elder brother, Richard Wright Fairfax, but finally, while still quite young, struck out for himself, engaged in profitable business, settled in Dumfries, Virginia,

and became prosperous, and in course of a decade or two an uncommonly rich man, of great pride and force of character. He went back to his old home after a few years' absence and brought his mother to Dumfries, where she lived with him until her death. He was three times married, and in each instance the lady was from one of the best families in the vicinity. His first wife was Sarah, daughter of William Carter, of Dumfries; his second wife was Sophia, daughter of Jesse Scott, of Dumfries; and his third wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. Thomas Lindsay, of Mount

Pleasant, descended from the distinguished Lindsays of Scotland—to whom he was married by Rev. Thomas Johnson on the morning of the 5th of August, 1824, at the residence of the father of the bride. The two children of this third marriage of Henry Fairfax were Martha Lindsay, who became the wife of Hon. Thomas Bolling Robertson, of Petersburg, Virginia, and Colonel John Walter Fairfax, the purchaser of Oak Hill, whose wife was Mary Jane, daughter of Colonel Hamilton Rogers.

Colonel John Walter Fairfax, born in 1828 at Prospect Hill, Dumfries, inherited a handsome fortune from his father, and prior to the war lived the quiet life of a country gentleman, entertaining with lavish hospitality. When the question of secession arose he was one of the opposition, and took an active part in the election of Union candidates to the Virginia convention. But when the state actually seceded he entered the Confederate army, and was in military service until the end of the war. He was three times promoted for gallantry. In 1863 he was made a lieutenant-colonel on the staff of General Longstreet, and just before the close of the war promoted to a full colonelship. He was the "officer" referred to in the memoir of General Grant who conducted General Babcock, chief of General Grant's staff, through the Confederate lines at Appomattox on the day of the surrender in 1865. His children are Henry, who now owns and occupies Oak Hill; Hamilton Rogers Fairfax, who married Eleanor C. Van Rensselaer, of New York; John Walter; Lindsay, who married Grace, daughter of William Bradford; and Mary Elizabeth, the wife of Charles G. Ayres, son of the late General R. B. Ayres, U. S. A.

In this branch of the Fairfaxes there have been some interesting characters. Colonel John Fairfax, for instance, son of William and younger brother of Jonathan, born 1763, was a man of education and influence, a justice, commander of the first militia organization of Preston county, a friend of Washington many of whose letters to him are in possession of his descendants, and in the Virginia legislature at Richmond during the war of 1812. His son, General Buckner Fairfax, born 1798, was of even greater local distinction, and in the state legislature several years. Henry Fairfax, son of Jonathan, above mentioned, not only served as an officer in the War of 1812, but defrayed a part of the expenses of the Thirty-sixth Virginia regiment from his own private means, and was through life a thoroughly loyal and public-spirited citizen. Few families, settling in America at so early a period, upwards of a century before the Revolution, have left a clearer, or a more self-respectful and honorable record.

Martha J Lamb

INDIANA'S FIRST SETTLEMENT

CLARK'S IMPORTANT CONQUEST OF POST VINCENNES

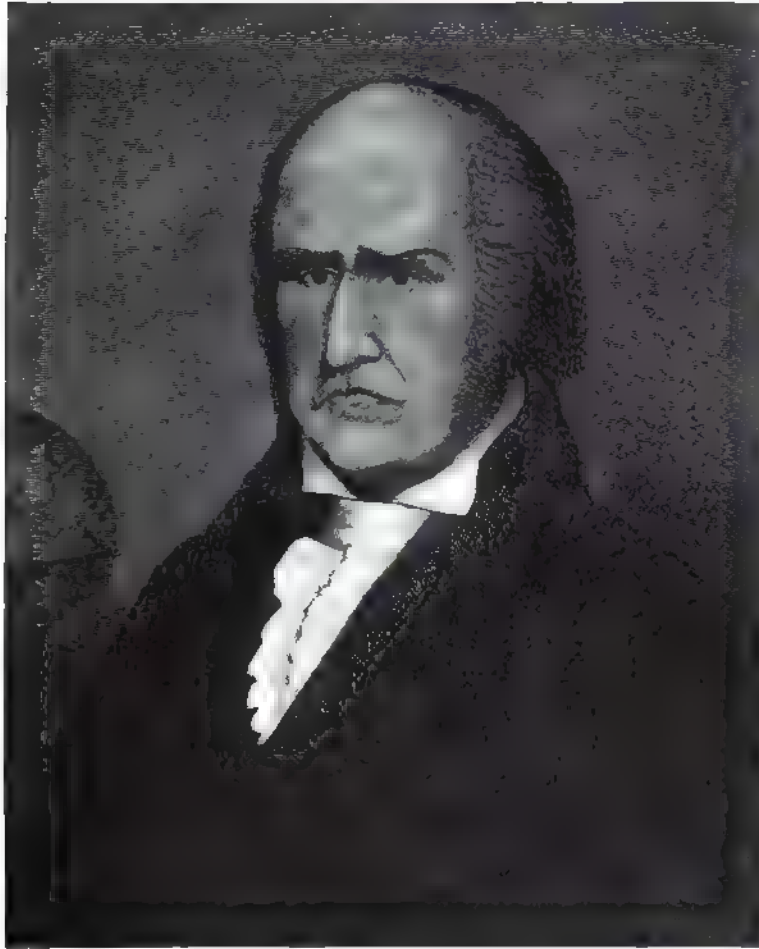
I would lead you, dear reader, to think of a time a hundred years before the first Napoleon became emperor, and of a spot on the banks of one of our own peacefully beautiful Indiana rivers. I would lead you to a time when Peter the Great was busy with his vast schemes, now making an unsuccessful stand against the "madman of the north," and now driving piles into the marshes of the Baltic for his new capital (St. Petersburg); to a time when the Elector of Brandenburg was bargaining with the emperor to be allowed to assume the title King of Prussia, and was as much pleased over his new crown as a boy over his first pair of boots; to a time when Queen Anne had just succeeded the illustrious Orange, and the world had not yet resounded with the magic words Marlborough, Blenheim, and Malplaquet; when Addison's musical page and Swift's bitter tongue had not yet won for them fame among Englishmen; to a time when Louis XIV. was pompously declaiming "I am the state," and Colbert was proving to the world the falsity of the epigram.

The thin line of settlements along the Atlantic coast was still battling with the savage wilderness and savage man. The weak line of posts along the St. Lawrence was engaged in the sharp struggle to win the Indian traffic, and to keep all others from similar advantages. The well-dressed savages of the Old World were vying in their efforts to kill each other and possess themselves of some fancied gain or longed-for revenge. The ill-dressed savages of the New World were doing the same thing, and Europe, with becoming pity at their lack of the implements of destruction, was hastening to supply that lack as speedily as possible. Yet, through that brilliant corruption of Europe at the beginning of the eighteenth century, true civilization had a living stock, and in a hundred places in that mighty American wilderness the seeds of her greater and truer growth were finding lodgment. Not as they appear to the mortal vision of man are events great or small.

"There is no great and no small
To the soul that maketh all."

And I would lead you to a spot which had a civilization previous to ours—a simpler and ruder I grant, but, nevertheless, a civilization. It is

the spot which marks the first settlements of Indiana by Europeans, called by them successively the post on the Ouabache, Post Vincennes, Au Poste (Oposte), Post St. Vincent, and Vincennes. To all Hoosiers this is a conse-



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

AFTER THE ONLY OIL PAINTING OF CLARK FROM LIFE IN EXISTENCE.

(In possession of the Vincennes University, Vincennes, Indiana.)

crated spot. The first European who saw it, gliding down the smooth, clear current of the Ouabache, between banks of tall, overhanging trees, covered with the long, sweeping drapery of vines whose graceful curves

were relieved here and there by a giant sycamore tossing its naked white arms to the sky, passed by the bold bluff on which, long after, Fort Knox stood, and in a few minutes swept out into a clear space with a broad prairie lying to his left. On the elevated left bank he saw an irregular Indian settlement, and no doubt was greeted by the whole screaming, dancing, yelping, dirty population of the native American town of Chippecoke. The men were straight and muscular, and their naked bodies were decorated with bead ear-rings and nose-rings and all the ornamentations which their lavish savage fancy could suggest. The squaws had a suggestion of clothing made from skins, and a wild aspect was given to their countenances by two great knots of hair, one behind each ear. On the bank were the lodges made of poles planted in the ground, brought together and fastened with cross-pieces and thatched over the top with bark or wicker-work, except where a hole was left for the escape of the smoke. There also stood a great circular lodge or covered house large enough for a score of families or for a great assembly of warriors. Ascending the banks to the village, our traveler looked away to the south-west over a broad green prairie, hemmed on its western border by a band of silver—the river. South and south-east, a mile or two across a marsh, a line of low hills marked the boundary of the low lands in that direction. If his eye rested curiously for a moment on a peculiar round-topped hill standing boldly out from the rest, and commanding them as well as the low land at its foot, he did not for an instant dream that here had stood the “Heliopolis of the West,” and yet there is abundant evidence that he was standing on ground on which once dwelt a great population of that wonderful and mysterious race, the mound-builders, and that that hill which had arrested his eyes had for many a long year blazed with consecrated fires and smoked with the charred bodies of human victims. The traces of human life and activity on this spot would lead us far back into the “night of time.” But our *voyageur* thinks not of this. More does he think of the unsurpassed beaver and otter grounds which for twenty miles surround it; more of the buffalo skins which the neighboring prairies will furnish; more—if he be a priest—of the success he may have in inducing the Indians to submit to the rites of his church; more, too, of its strategic value as the site of a *poste*, for your French Jesuit never failed to have an eye for this.

Time would fail us were we to attempt to recall the whole story of the French exploration and settlement of North America. At the mere mention of the names of Cartier and Champlain, of Frontenac and La Salle, what memories rise of lofty imagination and bold enterprise, of hardships endured, of merit unrequited, of undying devotion to holy orders, and to

the glory of the French name and king! The holy zeal of the Jesuits and *r collets* to rescue a race perishing without the consolation of priestly ministrations, was equaled by the fiery energy with which explorers



FRAN OIS VIGO.

(From a painting in possession of the Vincennes University.)

sought for a passage to the South Sea, as well as by the calculating but no less dogged perseverance with which the trader plied his traffic in trinkets and peltries. Nor was it long until these distinctive purposes became merged into one indistinguishable scramble on the part of monk

and explorer, soldier and trader, for fame and power and pelf. France's colonial policy, in so far as she had one, led to a combination of commercial and missionary interests with a military occupation of the vast interior of the continent, from the St. Lawrence gulf, along the river and Great Lakes, down the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico. Had this policy, originating in the great mind of La Salle, been carried out in accordance with his conception, in connection with an agricultural colonization, the mighty Mississippi valley would in all probability to-day have been the seat of a Gallic race.

But, while encouraging settlements around their military posts for the sake of their protection, the French government was guilty of the fatal policy of filling up the ranks of the emigrants from the criminal and vagabond classes, so that, along with some excellent and even noble families, there was a great mass of the scum of the population. It was from this class sprang that most picturesque character of colonial history, the *coureur de bois*. The very traits of character and environment which had driven him in civilized France—in despotic, priest-ridden, plutocratic France—to become an outlaw to society, led him here, in wild America, to seek the deep forest and the savage Indian as his near of kin. In his earlier and typical stage, we see him an Indian, as nearly as it was possible for a Frenchman to become one, often wearing the paint and feathers and tattooing his body after the Indian fashion, clothed with a scanty covering of skins, marrying the women of the tribe he happened to be with without the intervention of priest or magistrate, and readily deserting this for new alliances, violating without a twinge of conscience the trade regulations, visiting at wide intervals the posts, to barter his peltries for a supply of ammunition and fire-water, an object of suspicion to the authorities and of jealous solicitude to the priests. But the government and the traders soon found him with all his faults an invaluable aid, and hence from an object of distrust and punishment he came to be first a secret ally, then an open helper. In his later and better character the *coureur de bois*, or *voyageur*, was more like our pioneers of English and American birth, like our Daniel Boones, our Davy Crocketts, and our Kit Carsons, often coming, not from the vagabond or criminal classes, but from a class of restless, daring, imaginative men on whom fortune had not shone in sunny France. In this type we see the lonely *voyageur* threading the narrow and choked streams through the densest forests, or silently sweeping the broad current of our Western rivers, his boat filled with trinkets for Indian barter—with knives, with hatchets, with ear-rings and nose-rings and wrist-bands, with gayly colored ribbons and bits of bright-

hued cloth, with strings of French-made wampum, with charms, with packages of vermilion, with powder and lead and flint, with blankets to warm their outsides and fire-water to warm their insides. He will return soon with his canoe, in exchange for these, freighted with the luxurious skins of the beaver, which, ere long, shall add their softened splendor to the gorgeous court or the *salon* of many an old chateau of France. He is a thin-flanked, toughened man, with skin bronzed almost to the hue of the Indian, his face is seamed, his muscles are hard, his eye has a quick, roving glance. Even in this life he knows the quick changes of the "fickle goddess." Now an accident, now a band of hostile Indians or thieving whites, robs him of his precious freight. To-day he is feasting on the savory flesh of the wild turkey or the choicest cuts of venison, to-morrow he cheerfully subsists on a handful of parched corn or berries and roots, thankful that fortune has vouchsafed even these. Whether we see him in an Indian village, surrounded by a pack of greasy squaws and lazy braves, or sitting silently over his smoldering fire on the bank of some lonely river, with no sound to break the silence save the gentle murmur of the stream or the mournful note of the whip-poor-will, or may-chance the piercing cry of the wild-cat, with no protection save his ready rifle, his knife, and his keen senses, he stands out a clear-cut and unique character in American history. Not less indefatigable than the *voyageur* in his explorations was the priestly missionary. In many respects he led a life of heroic self-denial, marked by a devotion which was not less full of zeal, at any rate, for the advancement of his order than of true religion. Often he was like Marquette, filled with a burning desire for the salvation of the Indians, subordinating all other aims to this one, ready to die for the strengthening of his order and the up-building of his church. Sometimes he was like Hennepin, on whom religious vows sat lightly, selfish, vainglorious, ready to resort to intrigue and even falsehood for the advancement of personal interests, and preferring the wild, free life of the forest to the humdrum of a European monastery. Ordinarily the Jesuit or *r  collet* joined with his missionary work the advancement of the commercial interests of the government, and none were shrewder in selecting the strategic points in the vast wilderness for the outposts of advancing civilization. He instructed the Indian in the mysteries of his religion, taught him to make the sign of the cross and count his beads, confessed him, sometimes baptized him, performed the rites attending marriages, births, and deaths, grieved at the difficulty of bringing the savage to a civilized, Christian life, and at the ease with which the civilized Christian sank to the savage life.

Parkman tells us that he spent the intervals of this missionary toil in exploring and mapping lakes and rivers and looking for copper. For the most part he was a man deserving of the high praise he will receive so long as self-denial, fortitude, and endurance are honored by mankind.

These pioneers—the explorer, the priest, and the *coureur de bois*—were followed by the soldier and trader, neither differing much from their types the world over.

Around the post, whether military or simply trading, there grew a village usually of Indians and white settlers in rude lodges or adobe huts, living often the free and lazy life of the fisher and the trapper. The village and the post were a mutual protection. The government was feudal or military, the *commandant* being the despot, and little care did the *habitant* have where the seat of power rested.

He did not depend much on the slow fruits of the soil for support, for how much more easily with gun and trap and spear and net did he reap the richer harvest of forest and stream. Who first explored the Wabash, and when he did it, is not known, and probably never will be.

That it was visited during the last quarter of the seventeenth century would be strongly probable from the fame of its beaver grounds, even if it were not well established by historical data. The maps of the period, and especially one of 1684 (Franqueliuss), lay down the Wabash and also the White very correctly, and the references to the St. Jerome, or Ouabache (spelled o-u-a-b-a-c-h-e), are very numerous in documents prior to 1700. From a mass of somewhat misty evidence various dates, ranging from 1680 to 1735, have been assigned as the time of the establishment of the post at Vincennes. The large and open river, the short portage from the Maumee, thus saving the long water-route by the straits of Mackinaw, or the long portage across southern Michigan and northern Indiana, had early made the Ouabache a favorite highway for trade and travel among the pioneers. The country around the Indian village, which was the most important on the Ouabache, was full of lakes and bayous, the home of the beaver and the otter. An easily cultivated and fertile prairie lay around the town. Just below was the ford of the Wabash. This and the falls of the Ohio (Louisville) were on the line of the old Indian and buffalo trail, by which the buffalo herds passed from the blue-grass regions of Kentucky to the prairies of Illinois. The route across the country to the lower Illinois and Mississippi settlements was a comparatively easy and inviting one, affording frequent shelter, water, and game. It would be incredible that under these circumstances it should not have early become a favorite stopping-place. To present briefly the chief authorities as to

the date of founding what was called pre-eminently the "poste on the Ouabache," without attempting to decide a question which it seems impossible to decide, we offer the following: On the 14th of September, 1772, the principal inhabitants of Post Vincennes addressed a letter to General Gage, in which they assert that their settlement is of seventy years' standing—indicating its founding in 1702.

A letter written by Father Marest, at Kaskaskia, on November 9, 1712, says that Father Mermet has recently been sent to the "poste on the Ouabache" in response to the request of the inhabitants. The expression makes use of the name uniformly used in earlier times for Post Vincennes, and there is strong reason to believe that it referred to it. Denonville's declaration in 1688, that there were posts on the Wabash and Ohio, may perhaps be taken *cum grano salis*. The first bishop of Vincennes, a man of learning and great research, places the date of founding the post and church at from 1700 to 1702.

Dillon, the historian of Indiana, thinks the date 1702 highly probable. Judge John Law, who wrote a history of Vincennes in 1839, a man of fine abilities and great interest in historical research, places the date earlier than 1710. Mr. O. F. Baker and Mr. Henry S. Canthorn, local historians of ability, adhere to the date 1702, or thereabouts. Bancroft thinks 1716 probable, while Thomas H. Burton thought a post was established as early as 1680. David Thomas, a Quaker, said in 1816, after careful inquiry, that the post was established in 1702. Two gentlemen (both English speaking), who were at Vincennes in 1787—the one thought the settlement sixty years old, the other seventy years. Count Volney, an intelligent Frenchman, who visited the post in 1796, thought the settlement made in 1735—the date, by the way, of the arrival of a number of French families.

Hinsdale, in his *Old Northwest*, says that in 1702 twenty thousand skins were shipped out of the Wabash—an indication of the presence of a post. Lastly, Mr. J. P. Dunn, the author of the just published and admirable "Indiana," of the *Commonwealth Series*, fixes the date at 1727. The last-mentioned gentleman has given the fullest and in many respects the most satisfactory presentation of early Indiana history. It is to be especially commended for its abundant citation of authority, a thing which many other excellent and painstaking historians of the same period have failed to do. I would not pretend either to the ability or the research to answer all the arguments of Mr. Dunn, and yet I will venture to state my conviction that he is wrong as to the date of the establishment of the post, and my belief that the large number of historical writers placing the date very near the beginning of the eighteenth century are correct. Mr. Dunn

seems almost to grow warm in his effort to prove that the post at Vincennes was much later than the usually accepted date, and to take almost a personal interest in proving that Ouitanon, founded in 1720, was of earlier establishment. It is my belief that not only was the post established at the very beginning of the century, but that settlers were then much earlier than the influx of families in 1735. As early as 1746 six hundred barrels of flour, besides large quantities of hides, peltries, tallow, and beeswax, were shipped to New Orleans. We would hardly expect the export of such quantities of produce from an inland colony of ten years' standing. The earliest parish record of St. Xavier's church, dated July 21, 1747, is that of the baptism of Marie Josette, daughter of Nicholas and Mary Clare Chafford. At this time the Jesuit Sebastian Louis Murrin was priest of the parish. This is, however, evidently not the beginning of the records, and there is much reason to believe that the church was established at about the same time as the post, and that it was presided over by Father Murrin previous to 1712. At any rate the old cathedral at the end of Second Street marks the spot of the beginning of Caucasian civilization in Indiana, while hard by it on the river bank stood the first rude fort in Indiana, and a little later the stronger stockade Fort Sackville. Whether the post was established near 1702 by some unknown person (could it have possibly been Jean Baptiste Bissot, the elder sieur de Vincennes?), or, as Mr. Dunn would have it, it was founded by François Morgane, the younger sieur de Vincennes, must be left at present undetermined.

Whoever searches for testimony in regard to its settlement, however, must follow other than the train of influence set in motion by La Salle, for its history is closely connected with the Jesuits, the bitterest rivals of La Salle in exploration and settlement. He may find also that the post did not always have a military garrison, which would account for the scarcity of records. The year 1727 may be accepted as the time when François Morgane de Vinsenne became *commandant*, for in that year his name was attached to a document in Kaskaskia. He married the daughter of Philip Longpre, a prominent citizen of Kaskaskia.

His name is signed to a paper dated 1733, acknowledging the receipt of a marriage dower of one hundred pistoles from his father-in-law, and both his and his wife's names appear on a deed recorded at Kaskaskia, January 5, 1735, he being styled *commandant au poste du Ouabache*. Such is the extent of the authorities as to the date of Vinsenne's taking charge of the post. Through the cloudy history of that far-off time we catch but a glimpse of this gallant *commandant*, from whom the city of Vincennes received its name, but that glimpse is sufficient to show us a brave and

daring soldier, a true gentleman and hero. The post on the Ouabache, for it was not until after his death that it took the name of its heroic *commandant*, was within the territory covered by the Louisiana grant, though it still maintained a close connection with Canada, from whence it sprang. Vinsenne was ordered to join the *commandant* of Illinois, with headquarters at Fort Chartres, in an expedition against the Chickasaws on the lower Mississippi. Bienville, with a company from New Orleans, was to meet them at the appointed rendezvous, but, failing to arrive, Vinsenne and his followers attacked the Indians, were disastrously defeated, captured, and put to death with the most cruel tortures. These he endured with the fortitude of a hero and stoic, "ceasing not," as Charlevoix tells us, "until his last breath to exhort the men to behave worthy of their religion and their country." Among those tortured to death was the priest of the parish.

Soon after the death of Vinsenne, Jean St. Auge de Belle Rive took charge as the next and last *commandant pour le roi au poste du Ouabache*. He remained in charge from 1736 to 1764, when he retired in accordance with the treaty of peace at the close of the French and Indian war. He was a wise, humane, paternal *commandant*, ruling his soldiers, settlers, and Indian allies peacefully for a period of almost thirty years. The first record, which shows a change in the name of the post in honor of its gallant but ill-fated *commandant*, appears in a marriage certificate dated 1749, in which the marriage ceremony is inscribed as done *au poste de Vincennes*, the present and true spelling being used. Of the French settlers who came in 1735 and following year, many were of good and even noble families, in one case even boasting of royal blood. But the majority were simply peasant folk, enticed away from pleasant France by the glowing advertisement of wealth and power awaiting them in the new world, issued by companies who were actuated rather by personal than by philanthropic motives. It would be a pleasing picture could we bring before the mind's eye that of the old French *habitant* of the middle of the last century. His gayety and simplicity only helped to make him more picturesque.

The characteristics of his race, which the world may trace from the days of Cæsar onward, are to be seen in this brave, light-hearted, sprightly son of the wilderness. Easy-going, careless, lazy, he loves to hunt and fish, to bask in the sun, and chat gayly with his neighbors, to fiddle and dance and frolic his life away. He yields a ready obedience to his military *commandant* and to his priest, glad to be relieved of the unpleasant task of looking after his government and his religion.

You could have seen him, a dark-skinned man, with merry black eyes, a

blue cotton handkerchief around his head, a bright-colored blanket capote about him, a short pipe in his mouth, pliant moccasins on his feet, moving about the streets with easy grace, showing in every action his love of leisure and good-fellowship. Now he is entering his house. It is a curious structure, standing by itself in the midst of a little garden. It is constructed *poteaux au tent*, with posts planted in the ground, and filled in with mud mixed with straw, and the whole covered with straw, or maybe with bark. The whitewashed walls glisten in the morning sun, and, as you enter, the whitewashed walls within are not cleaner than the earthen or puncheon floor. The bright-eyed daughter, with her plump cheek of rich olive tint, greets you politely. She wears a short over-dress, below which a gay-colored petticoat reveals a pair of ankles almost as slender as her pretty wrists. Among his possessions you might have found a stout, shaggy, sleepy-headed Canadian pony, which draws a creaky, two-wheeled cart, called a *calache*, made wholly of wood. If he be "well fixed," you may find an odd-looking plow, with wooden mold-board and two wheels attached to the beam, the oxen being fastened by means of a raw-hide rope and a straight yoke fitted to their horns. Count Volney, who visited the post in 1796, after the French through contact with the more grasping and mercenary English had degenerated somewhat, says: "We must allow that they are a kind and hospitable set, but for idleness and ignorance they beat the Indians themselves. They know nothing at all of the arts of domestic affairs. The women neither sew, spin, nor make butter, but pass the time in gossip and tattle. The men do nothing but hunt, fish, or wander about the woods, or lie in the sun. They do not lay up stores for a rainy day, as we do. They cannot cure pork or venison, or make Sauer-kraut or spruce beer, or distil spirits from apples or rye—all necessary arts to the farmer. . . . To my surprise, they speak pretty good French." What a gay, careless, easy life they led! How little troubled with the "weight and fate of empires"! The French and Indian war came and went, but did not disturb the dreamy quiet of Post Vincennes. Not until five years after the death of Montcalm and Wolfe on the plains of Abraham, and a year after the treaty of Paris, was the post awakened to a sense of the change the war had brought to it. In the year 1764 the inhabitants were called upon to part with their beloved *commandant*, St. Auge, who, leaving the post in charge of de Richardville, captain of militia, departed with many a wise and kindly word of admonition to those whom he had ruled so long and so well. A little later he turned over his command finally, and all east of the Mississippi passed into the hands of the British, thus ending the French empire in America.

What now of the lofty visions and master-strokes of Joliet, of La Salle, of François Morgane de Vinsenne? Where now the invincible French power in the Mississippi valley, of which they thought to lay the foundation? Fading away. It had faded away, soon to be followed by the remnant of that pioneer population; yet it was only to give place to a better foundation in which freedom and self-government should be corner-stones. With Professor Hinsdale, I must say that "we must not allow our admiration of what the French had done in the West to blind us to the fact that the British cause was the cause of the Northwest and of America." Put in the broadest way, the question was whether French or English ideas and tendencies should have sway in North America. Montcalm and Wolfe were both gallant soldiers and able commanders, both true patriots and chivalrous gentlemen; but they stood on the Heights of Abraham that September day for very different things: Montcalm for the *old régime*, Wolfe for the House of Commons; Montcalm for the alliance of king and priest, Wolfe for *habeas corpus* and free inquiry; Montcalm for the past, Wolfe for the future; Montcalm for Louis XV. and Madame de Pompadour, Wolfe for George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. It was his clear perception of this point that led Mr. John Fiske to say: "The triumph of Wolfe marks the greatest turning-point as yet discoverable in modern history." And while we find that in many points the population which followed suffer in comparison with the old *habitant*, yet we cannot be blind to the evidences of strong aggressive force, the promise of a vigorous growth of free institutions, enlightenment, and industry, which the new race and the new language brought with it. There is little that is noteworthy in the history of the post from the departure of St. Auge to the Revolutionary war.

To know the true significance of any event, we must know its relation to the state, to the world, to the race. The crossing of the Rubicon was more than the crossing of a river. Concord was more than a skirmish.

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world."

The attack upon Sumter was more than the storming of an inderensible fort. So the event of which we are about to speak stands second to no similar event in American history (I speak advisedly) in its far-reaching importance to the nation, if not to the human race. I say *similar event*, for I will not compare it with those in which the vital element is a fundamental principle of human liberty. If you consider carefully the part this

event plays in the establishment of the American republic, and the part that this free republic plays in the destinies of the human race, you will not think this estimate an exaggeration. It is doubtful if the experiment of the new republic could have been successful without this circumstance—certainly the results would have been radically different.

And no event of American history has been so overlooked. You pick up any one of a dozen school histories, and it is a chance if you find even the merest mention of an event which, in the brilliancy of its conception, in the heroism of its accomplishment, and in the magnitude of its results, has few parallels. Can it be because our histories have been written under the influence of the sea-breezes that no breath of our inland forests has reached their authors? I refer, of course, to the conquest of Vincennes and Kaskaskia. But allow me to anticipate a recital of the events, and justify, partially, the high importance I attach to the events themselves. As early as 1787, John Jay, our minister to France, called attention to the necessity of getting possession of the lands lying between the Appalachians and the Mississippi. He declared that upon these lands it would be possible to base loans, for the large immigration, sure to follow the close of the war, would greatly increase the value of these lands. The facts in the case go to show that this representation played an important part in securing the loans. It is a well-known fact that, in the negotiations succeeding the war, the British insisted upon Pittsburgh and the Appalachians as the western boundary of the United States. Our claims to the Mississippi as the western boundary were two—viz.: First, that it formed the western boundary of some of the colonies; second, the claim of *uti possidetis*, based on Clark's conquest. The former cut little figure in the matter, though supported by bulky and chaffy arguments. The second, both before and afterward, was regarded by Jefferson, Madison, Jay, and Adams as the unanswerable argument, and was the ground of success. Professor Hinsdale assigns an undue value to the former, though attaching importance to the latter, and especially because the conquest prevented the west from falling into the hands of Spain.

To any one who attends to the facts in the case, and who is familiar with the importance of the *fait accompli* in all negotiations, there cannot be a moment's doubt that the establishment of the Mississippi river as the western boundary, instead of the Appalachians, was due to the capture of Vincennes, the post that formed the central stronghold of the west. Nor can there be a doubt that, had Great Britain then held the Mississippi valley, she would no more have surrendered it than she has

Canada. Nor to any one who will examine the third and further step can there be much doubt that, had the United States been a narrow strip along the coast, hemmed in by the wall of the Appalachians at the rear, the existence of the republic would have been problematical. For all who have weighed the difficulties and dangers attending the construction period following the Revolutionary war know that the basis of the marvelous success attending the financial management of the illustrious Hamilton lay in the millions of fertile acres which the genius and sword of Clark had won. Having hinted at the line of thought which will lead to a true comprehension of the events, I leave it to your imagination to show how it may have affected history, and turn to a brief review of the circumstances themselves. To two men above all others the success of the enterprise was due—George Rogers Clark and François Vigo—and their names deserve to be cherished as long as Americans are freemen. Close underneath these names, on one of the brightest pages of our national history, should be written that of Father Pierre Gibault, Catholic priest in charge of the parishes at Kaskaskia and Vincennes.

The name of George Rogers Clark, misrepresented, belittled, maligned though it has been, is as fair a name as adorns the roll of our Revolutionary heroes. He was a man of strong will, of lofty imagination, of unconquerable courage, of great daring combined with wonderful shrewdness, a lover of freedom and his native land. A Virginian by birth, soon after attaining his majority he had cast in his fortunes with the handful of settlers in Kentucky. It was here that the Indian massacres, which had been incited by British gold, led him to the conviction that Post Vincennes must be conquered, not only for the sake of controlling the Indians and protecting the frontier, but also for the sake of wresting this vast and fertile territory from England. Having dispatched two spies to learn the temper of the French and Indian population of the posts, and to ascertain the strength of the forts and garrisons, he goes to Virginia, lays the matter before Governor Patrick Henry, who, as does also Jefferson, sees the far-reaching importance of the scheme. With the consent of the council, Henry provides Clark with arms and supplies, and commissions him to raise troops and make the proposed conquest. In May, 1778, with several companies raised in Western Pennsylvania and Kentucky, he dropped down the Ohio to the falls at Louisville, followed by a handful of settlers who formed a settlement there. Finding that it would be perilous to attack Vincennes, he passed down the Ohio below the mouth of the Tennessee, crossed southern Illinois, completely surprised and on the 4th of July captured Kaskaskia and Cahokia without a blow. Through the influence of Father

Gibault he won over the French inhabitants, who took the oath of allegiance to the American government, and ever after remained true to their foster parent. With marvelous skill for one so young (he was but twenty-six years old), he gained a powerful influence over the Indian tribes, who came to regard Big Knife, as they called him, as endowed with divine power. Through the agency of Father Gibault, and with equal shrewdness and skill, he won over the French inhabitants of Post Vincennes, who took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and turned over Fort Sackville to the Americans—its commander being absent at Detroit.

The fort was put in charge of Captain Helm, Clark remaining at Kaskaskia. Word was soon carried to the British at Detroit, and Lieutenant Governor Hamilton descended the Wabash, retook possession of the fort, the garrison consisting of but two men, Helm and his companion. It is said that Helm stood with lighted match beside the cannon that commanded the principal entrance, and with an oath brought the British to a halt, declaring that none should enter until he knew the terms of surrender. "You shall have the honors of war," said Hamilton. Helm and his garrison of one forthwith marched out with military form and precision. The condition of Clark was now perilous. With few men, and their time almost expired, without resources, in the midst of a country filled with hostile Indians urged on to murder by British influences, the post commanding the whole country, the principal centre of population and of Indian influence in the hands of the enemy, there was no hope except in the apparently fruitless attempt at conquest. *Una salus victis nullam speran salutem.* And so he decided. And now there appears on the scene a man of whom I wish I could speak as his memory deserves, François Vigo. A Spanish trader, though a Sardinian by birth, he had commercial interests at St. Louis, Kaskaskia, and Vincennes, was a man of wealth, and had almost unbounded influence among the French. Without the semblance of selfish motive, he came forward and cast himself and his fortune into the scale of American freedom. His name is enrolled with De Kalb and Steuben and Lafayette. He supplied Clark with specie to the extent of more than \$12,000, sustained the credit of the well-nigh worthless continental currency by receiving it at his stores at par value, gave Clark the support of his great influence, imperiled his life in a trip to Vincennes to get exact information as to the situation of affairs and to win the inhabitants to the American side. He was made prisoner, but was finally released on a condition, which having fulfilled to the letter he hastened to Clark and furnished him with information which alone made success possible. Forthwith Clark began his memorable expedi-

tion. He dispatched a boat mounted with four cannon and carrying supplies to make the trip by water to Vincennes. He, with a hundred and seventy followers, set out on the 5th of February, 1779, across the country for Vincennes. A march of some two hundred miles must be made over a country at that season largely under water. It is doubtful if that march has a parallel in history. Crossing streams swollen to miles in width, wading over submerged flats for whole days at a time, sometimes to the knee, sometimes to the neck in water, breaking their way for miles through water covered with ice half an inch thick, passing one night with the garments of the soldiers frozen stiff, for days without food and at the point of starvation, the brave fellows followed a leader whose expedients and endurance and resolution were those of a Hannibal, until at last, on the 23d of February, 1779, the little band stood on a rising ground south of the town, and in full view of it. The boat with cannon and supplies had not yet arrived. A hundred and seventy men to capture a town and garrison which together numbered six hundred men! No possible chance for retreat, the water through which they had come covering the plains for miles around! Not a mouthful of provisions! It was fight or die. Not this alone, but success would be impossible if the town were against them. Now he will learn how much he owes to the good Father Gibault and François Vigo. The outcome proved their loyalty and value. By a French citizen who had been captured Clark sent the following characteristic proclamation to the citizens:

To the inhabitants of Port Vincennes.

Gentlemen: Being now within two miles of your village with my army, determined to take your fort this night, and not being willing to surprise you, I take this method to request such of you who are true citizens, and willing to enjoy the liberty I bring you, to remain still in your houses. And those, if any there be, that are friends to the King, will instantly repair to the fort and join the Hair Buyer General and fight like men. And if any such as do not go to the fort shall be discovered, they may depend on severe punishment. On the contrary, those who are the true friends of liberty may depend on being well treated: and I once more request them to keep out of the streets, for every one I find in arms on my arrival I shall treat him as an enemy.

G. R. CLARK.

A little before dark he marched his army across the plain, displaying it to the best advantage, occupied the town, invested and attacked the fort, surprising it completely. The attack and defense were carried on vigorously during the night of the 23d, Clark's men, far-famed for their skill with the rifle, doing good execution through every port and chink and crevice which the rude but strong old Fort Sackville presented. The morning of

the 24th wore away. At nine o'clock Clark sent this dispatch to Hamilton, not less characteristic than the one just read :

Sir :—In order to save your self from the impending storm that now threatens you, I order you to *immediately* surrender your-self, with all your garrison stores &c &c ; for if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as justly due a *murderer*. Beware of destroying stores of any kind or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting one house in town, for by Heaven, if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you.

G. R. CLARK.

To Gov Hamilton.

Time forbids that I should detail either the vigor with which Colonel Clark conducted his siege, or the skill with which he concluded the negotiations ; but at ten o'clock on the 25th the cross of St. George gave place to the stars and stripes, the British garrison were prisoners of war, and one of the fairest lands on earth had been secured for the nation we now love so well. Five great states, twelve million happy freemen, and untold wealth attest the genius of the man who conceived and executed the plan by which this mighty empire was added to the republic. I may not trace the story of the declining years of Clark, of Gibault, and of Vigo, so sad and illustrative of the proverbial ingratitude of republics, but I cannot leave the "Old Post " without adding my own tribute of praise and gratitude to men to whom we owe so much.

VINCENNES, INDIANA.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "E. A. Bryan". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "E. A. Bryan".

THE HARRISONS IN HISTORY

There is a subtle sentiment in old songs, a perfume in some simple flowers which no creation of the scientific gardener can excel; there is a rich flavor in old wines that time only can impart, and an interest in old letters which strangely thrills the hand turning their pages, as if invisible fingers of the dead writers touched it; and there is a strength in old blood and noble lineage which the most determined democrat, the most profane iconoclast, cannot ignore.

The Harrison name is well known in history, especially in the United States. In Bishop Meade's book on the *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, in Campbell's *History of Virginia*, and in Hugh Blair Grigsby's work on *The Convention of 1776*, there is honorable record of the Harrisons, of whom Mr. Grigsby says: "Of all ancient families in the colony, that of Harrison, if not the oldest, is one of the oldest."

John Smith, in his quaint history, mentions Herman Harrison, who came over to the colony in what was called the "second supply," and of Master John Harrison, "gentleman," who was governor of Virginia in 1623. The ancestry of Benjamin Harrison, the signer, is traced to this governor, from whom descended President William Henry Harrison, grandfather of our present President. These facts are stated in a letter from Colonel Harrison of Brandon, given in Bishop Meade's book; and from the same source we learn that the first born of the name of whom we have distinct record in the colony was Benjamin Harrison, who became a member of the council, was speaker of the House of Burgesses, and died in Southwark parish, in the county of Surrey, in the year 1712.

This Benjamin, it is added, was buried at the chapel near Cabin Point, and according to the epitaph on his tombstone was also born in Southwark parish in 1645. His will was admitted to probate in 1712, and contains the following extract: "Item, I give twenty pounds sterling to buy ornaments for the Chapel; and that my executor take care to provide them so soon as may be after the new Chapel is built; and my will is, that five acres of my land be laid out where the old Chapel now stands; and that it be held for that use forever."

It has been suggested that the noted Roundhead, General Harrison, of Cromwell's army, who is said to have sought refuge in this country after the Protector's death and the restoration of Charles the Second, was an

ancestor of our Presidents. We give as positive rebuttal testimony the following epitaph: "Here lyeth the body of Benjamin Harrison Esquire, who did justice, loved mercy, and walked humbly with his God, *was always loyal to his Prince*; and a great benefactor to his country." There were three sons left, of whom the eldest, Benjamin, settled at Berkeley, on James River, in Virginia, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Lewis Burwell, of Gloucester, who was an eminent lawyer, and some time speaker of the House of Burgesses.

This Benjamin died at the early age of thirty-seven, in 1710, leaving an only son, Benjamin, and an only daughter, Elizabeth.

There was erected a monument to his memory at public expense. The third Benjamin Harrison married a daughter of Robert Carter, of Cocotoman, in Lancaster county, the noted "King Carter," as he was called, who held a sort of viceregal and altogether despotic sway as surveyor general at that time over country and people. But one fine day at Berkeley there came a terrible thunderstorm; and, when it passed, there had been three struck dead by one fearful bolt of lightning. The victims were Mr. Harrison and his two fair daughters. There was one daughter and six sons left. The best known of these are Benjamin, the noble signer of the Declaration, and Charles, a general in the Revolution. Historians have carefully recorded the long and brilliant career of the celebrated signer. From Goodrich and Dwight we will quote a brief outline of facts it may be well to recall and accentuate at present.

The year 1764 was the genesis of his public life as a member of the legislature, and from that time his place was established in the nation's councils. Destiny had set its seal upon him as a leader of men, attracting the eyes of the royal government, who sought to enlist his talent and influence in their executive council in Virginia. But the germ of liberty springing in his soul antagonized the oppressive measures of the British ministry, and identified him with the interests of the colonists. In 1774 he was made a delegate to the memorable congress which laid the corner-stone of our country's freedom; and through all of the tremendous throes of a nation's stormy birth, the most important events of the time seemed to crystallize around his career. As chairman of the board of war, and chairman of the committee of the whole house, his sagacity, firmness, ability, and glowing eloquence fixed the attention and confidence of his colleagues and an anxious public.

The characteristic anecdote told of his joking Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, when they were affixing their signatures to our Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence, is not too trite to be interesting. Gerry

was a small, spare, sinewy man, while Harrison stood over six feet tall, with superb physique and the torso of a Hercules.

Having inscribed his name upon the immortal roll, he turned to Mr. Gerry, facetiously observing that, "when the time of hanging came," he would have the advantage of him. "It will be over with me in a minute," said he, "while you will be kicking in the air for half an hour after I am gone." So did these great men make merry over their doughty deeds. Resigning his seat in congress, he returned to Virginia in 1777, and was speedily elected to a seat in the House of Burgesses, and immediately chosen speaker, which position he held until 1782, when he became governor of Virginia. He was twice elected chief magistrate of that state, and was noted as one of its most popular governors.

He returned to private life after becoming ineligible under the peculiar provisions of the constitution, but carried into his retirement the hearts of his people, with their most unstinted approbation and esteem. Again, in 1788, he was called to the front as a member of the convention which ratified the federal Constitution, and was appointed chairman of the first committee chosen by that assembly. One of the most trenchant and successful impromptus uttered before the first congress is recorded of Harrison by Mr. Jefferson. In response to a remark of John Dickinson, who—after hectoring the members into adopting a declaration of his own, distasteful to the general spirit, and subsequently superseded by Mr. Jefferson's—had said, "There is but one word I disapprove in that paper—it is the word *congress*." Instantly Mr. Harrison rose to his feet, and with electric effect replied: "Mr. President, there is but one word in that paper which I approve, and that *is the word* CONGRESS."

Afterward, in 1790, he was again urged to be candidate for the executive chair, but positively declined the proposed honor in favor of his friend • Beverley Randolph, who was elected by a small majority.

Though declining in years and health, in April, 1791, he was again elected a member of the legislature; but his lavish hospitality and generous living had resulted in an attack of gout, from which he temporarily recovered; the day after his election, when his friends had been bidden to feast with him, there was a severe recurrence of the disease, which terminated fatally. And as the tide went out in the river whose waves rippled upon the shore below Berkeley, with the evening of that day its noble master had gone beyond, into the shadows. He was universally mourned.

So far as can be learned, there is now no trace left of the simple slab which nearly a century ago marked his grave. He was buried at Berkeley. Others of his ancestors were interred in the old Westover churchyard;

notably the first Benjamin, son of the first governor of Virginia, whose stanch loyalty asserts itself in his famous epitaph, as given in Campbell's *History of Virginia*.

Early in life Benjamin Harrison married Elizabeth Bassett, a daughter of Colonel William Bassett, of Eltham, one of the prominent men of the colony, descended from a noble English family of wealth and title. There has been a widely circulated misstatement that Benjamin Harrison, the signer, married Nancy Randolph. He was married only once, and, as history states positively, to Elizabeth Bassett, daughter of Colonel William Bassett, of Eltham, New Kent county, Virginia.

This Colonel William Bassett had been appointed by Queen Anne a member of the colonial executive council, similar to the privy council in England.

The commission bearing the queen's autograph and that of the premier, Lord Dartmouth, is still extant in the Bassett family. The mother of Mrs. Harrison was Elizabeth Churchill, of the Marlborough family of Churchills. There is a quaint piece of silver, marked with the Marlborough coat of arms and the letters "E. C.," still preserved by her descendants.

On the maternal side, the Harrison Presidents blend the blood of the Bacons, Burwells, and Churchills, the first Bassett who came to Virginia in 1649 being a royalist refugee. Driven from England after the regicide under an attainder, he took refuge first in Holland, thence came to the colony with Sir Philip Honeywood and a party of cavaliers, as is mentioned by Campbell. Large tracts of land were granted them by King Charles II. after the Restoration; and in 1660 the Eltham mansion was built—after Colonel Bassett married the sister of Governor Nathaniel Bacon.

These homes of history merit description because of the charm that clings about them—"not in the stones of the old walls," as Ruskin says, but in the haunting personality of those who have lived and died within. The Berkeley house still stands, in admirable preservation, on the James river, a lovely, quaint, picturesque place, crowned with the halo of history, for its windows have turned their calm, inscrutable gaze on the tremendous scenes of two revolutions.

On the opposite side of the peninsula, at a point where the tides of two rivers—the Pamunkey and Mattaponi—unite, forming the York, may be traced the ruins of Eltham. It was destroyed by fire in 1775, more than two hundred years after its founding. The house presented an imposing front, one hundred and fifty feet from wing to wing; the entire building, with peaked roof and gable front, rising above them like the keep of a

castle. Over the red English bricks of its walls, time and clinging tribes of lichens had thrown a soft tinting of purple and gray, while a stately avenue of Lombardy poplars led away from the mossy stone steps of the entrance, adding grandeur to the picturesqueness of the place. Many times during the siege of York were the leading spirits of the revolution gathered at Eltham (which was not far from Yorktown) as guests of Colonel Burwell Bassett, who was a brother-in-law of General Washington and of Governor Harrison, having married the sister of Mrs. Washington. Tradition tells much that should be gathered into the folk-lore of our country, of those great days and great men.

Of Elizabeth, the daughter of the house who was wedded to Benjamin Harrison, Dwight in the *Lives of the Signers* says: "She was considered in her youth a beautiful person," and in later life was "a woman of eminent piety and benevolence, uniting in herself the brightest ornaments of the female character." The offspring of this union were numerous, but many died in infancy. There were seven who survived to maturity; the third son, William Henry, being most noted as the ninth President of the United States, and grandfather to our present President. He was born at the family residence, Berkeley, on February 9th, 1773. At the age of nineteen he entered the army as ensign, and the next year was elevated to the position of lieutenant, and acted as aid to General Wayne in his expedition against the western Indians. In 1795 he was promoted to a captaincy, but resigned in 1797 upon being appointed secretary of the northwestern territory. Chosen to represent that territory in congress in 1799, upon its division in 1807 he became governor of the new territory of Indiana, and superintendent of treaty negotiations with the Indians. Upon the outbreak of hostilities with them in 1811, he won at Tippecanoe his famous historic victory, and subsequently, as major-general commanding the western army, he defeated the British forces at the battle of the Thames.

After concluding a treaty with the Indians in 1814, he resigned his commission, and in 1816 was elected member of congress from Cincinnati, and in 1819 became a member of the senate of Ohio.

His next step, in 1824, was to the United States senate, and in 1828 he was appointed minister to Colombia, which office he held for less than a year, when he voluntarily retired into private life.

At the urgent appeal of the Whig party in 1836, he became candidate for the presidency, and, though unsuccessful, was renominated in 1840, defeating Van Buren, his former opponent, by an overwhelming majority, after a campaign incarnate with enthusiasm and historic importance for

the new methods then introduced into politics. The Harrison campaign was the genesis of some of the most unique and characteristic features of western elections. He was also the author of a small work entitled *A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Ohio Valley*, which was published at Cincinnati in 1838.

But there are times when joy is suddenly strangely turned to mourning by some terrible transition, and the exultant cheers, which had greeted General Harrison's inauguration on the 4th of March, were changed to tears and sighs upon the 4th of April, when the country, irrespective of party, was mourning the death of its chief magistrate, in the very inception of his administration.

From a beautiful poem written by N. P. Willis upon this tragic event, there may be an appropriate quotation :

"What ! soared the old eagle to die at the sun,
Lies he still with spread wings, at the goal he has won;
For Harrison's death fills the climax of story,
He went on with his old stride, from glory to glory."

Of the sons left by President William Henry Harrison, the Hon. John Scott Harrison was the father of our present President. This brings the reader so closely to our own times that his honorable record need not be repeated. He was a noble gentleman, of irreproachable character, and very popular in the west, who served with distinction in congress, and might have won higher honors had he sought them. Those who best knew him speak with enthusiasm of his mental and personal gifts, which inspired the highest respect and esteem. He was twice married, and both of his wives are said to have been lovely women; the second was Miss Erwin, the mother of our President. It is pleasing to note that, like the Adams family, the Harrisons, who were also among the noble pioneers of our country's prosperity, have given the nation two Presidents, and the state of Virginia two governors.

The direct succession of our new chief magistrate from the Master John Harrison of Smith's *History* may be given in a partial genealogical tree, as follows :

Master John Harrison,
first governor of Virginia in 1623,
was father of
Benjamin Harrison, of Surrey, Virginia, born in 1645 ;
father of
Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley,
date of birth unknown, died April, 1710 ;
father of

the second Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley,
who was killed by lightning ;
father of
the third Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley,
signer of the Declaration, and
governor of Virginia, died April, 1791,
father of
William Henry Harrison,
President of the United States, died April, 1841 ;
father of
John Scott Harrison ;
father of
Benjamin Harrison,
President of the United States, inaugurated March 4, 1889.

To describe the Harrison coat of arms according to heraldic vernacular, as given in *Burke's Peerage*, would require a student of the noble art to translate lucidly, but there are strength and significance in the crest that can be readily recognized, as it is "surmounted by an anchor erect, entwined by a cable, all gold."

Honors seem to be hereditary in the Harrison family. As the historian Grigsby tells us: "From 1623 to this date, a period of two centuries and a half, the name of Harrison has been distinguished for the patriotism, the intelligence, and the moral worth of those who have borne it."

Ella B Washington

THE HISTORIC QUADRILLE

The requisites for an appropriate celebration of the centenary year of Washington's inauguration as first President of the United States, though multifarious, with proper discrimination, are not of difficult selection. Some of them are so obvious that their guidance may be confidently accepted and unhesitatingly followed. The event intended to be celebrated is the inauguration of the government—memorable by the installation of Washington as its first President. His was the figure that dominated the ceremony, and his the presence that infused with life an inert constitution and animated with motion a torpid government. At his touch the instruments of executive authority were created, and simultaneously the representatives of its legislative and judicial departments assumed and exercised the functions of constitutional government. A century of years reveals to us these instruments and representatives as the coadjutors and aids of Washington in inaugurating a government—the crowning act of his life. Their names, indelibly woven into that historic scene, are disclosed to us now through the vista of a century. They embellish the column surmounted by his figure, and are intrinsic parts, indissoluble with the event intended to be celebrated. The device, therefore, which recalls them cannot be inappropriate to an occasion designed to celebrate an event in which they were conspicuous. Of a certainty, other names there be, associated with other events of equal moment, and with other periods of equal consequence to the cause of popular government. But their derivative lustre would be without significance in a centennial celebration of Washington's inauguration as the first President of the United States.

Now, the public has at different times been informed through various sources of the struggle in places of authority, of opinions unfavorable to this obvious view. Much stress seems, not improperly, to have been bestowed upon the ladies to take part in a quadrille with which it is purposed that the grand ball of the Washington Centennial shall be opened. Its value will consist solely in the faithfulness with which its emblematic composition shall reflect the history it is meant to illustrate. The tableau of the living, to effectually represent the last century's historic scene, that it may punctually recall it, should be composed *exclusively* of the immediate descendants of those who enacted it. To intersperse among

them the representatives of names illustrious by other events would impart an incongruity fatal to its effect. The picture that would restore the lineaments of the past should at least be suggestive of its salient features. Without this, the drapery of dress will express but a senseless tabard, and the historic quadrille become but meaningless mummery.

The gentlemen of the quadrille, in the character of their present incumbents, should represent the chief magistracy of the government, and the offices subordinate to it. But its emblematic symmetry will suffer if it fail to represent those who served them under Washington, and united with him in inaugurating the government. This only can be accomplished by the ladies selected for the quadrille—selected, not for the grace and sprightliness of youth, but exclusively as the appropriate representatives by descent of the official companions of Washington—the descendants of the Adamses, the Jeffersons, the Hamiltons, the Knoxes, the Livingstons, the Clintons, the Jays, the Schuylers, the Langdons, the Duanes, the Van Rensselaers, and the Kings. Neither their histrionic competency nor their terpsichorean agility should be consulted. The venerable past should be exemplified by the dignity of their presence. Muscular vigor would be better left to the dizzy round of the genial dance.

The many difficulties of those charged with these responsible duties are not to be forgotten. A careful adherence, however, to the characteristics of the event about to be celebrated, the historic idea in all its significance, and a discreet selection of the means to illustrate them, will relieve of doubt and assure success. A slight departure might make the theme of ridicule which should be a subject of applause.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "John Lothrop". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the main text block.

March, 1889.

REMINISCENCES OF MRS. BRADFORD

THE LAST OF THE WASHINGTON CIRCLE

Perhaps the last of the old-fashioned homes of this country to retain its ancient customs and traditions, transporting one into the life of the previous century, was that of Mrs. Bradford, of Burlington, New Jersey. Susan Vergerau Boudinot was born in 1764, and married William Bradford, attorney-general under Washington, in 1784. Her mother was Hannah, sister of Richard Stockton, the signer, and her father was Elias Boudinot, president of the continental congress, who as such signed the peace with Great Britain. Being a man of letters as well as a patriot and a philanthropist, he retired early from public life and spent his declining years with Mrs. Bradford, then a widow, in Burlington. Here he built himself a home, somewhat more elaborate than the one in Elizabeth, and much in the style of his country seat near Philadelphia, in which city his town house was for some years in the near vicinity of that of President Washington. Many of the richest and most influential families in the country lived in Burlington, forming a charming society, among whom were the Binneys, Whartons, Chaunceys, Shippens, McIlvans, etc., and here was the colonial home of Governor Franklin. It was a picturesque old town, with its many colonial houses, wide streets, and immense shade-trees, and its green banks sloping down to the Delaware river. The approach to the Boudinot mansion was a half-circle carriage-drive and walk, flanked with green posts and chains, leading to the wide-pillared portico. On each side of the house, and at the back, were lawns and gardens; a serpentine, tan-covered drive encircled the lawn, which was ornamented with the most majestic trees, great pines, which seemed to shoot straight up into the sky, larch and spruce, hemlock and holly; and these, when covered with winter snows and icicles, and with the sun bursting upon them, were like a vision of fairy-land impossible to describe. And no less beautiful the spring foliage, completely arching the drive with its dogwood and judas trees, horse-chestnuts, catalpas, and maples.

Within the old mansion, all was profusion, comfort, and elegance, without waste or vain display, but accompanied with a certain old-fashioned formality and etiquette natural to the hostess and her surroundings, for she had come to us from another age, "the good old times," a perfect type of

a lady of the old school. Her early associates had been the Washingtons, Lafayettes, Hamiltons, etc., whom in their generation she had long outlived. The writer remembers her as an aged woman, but with the erect carriage and bearing of one much younger. She was rather short than tall, but there was a decided presence about her. The expression of her face was placid and benevolent, denoting the serene calm of the evening of a well-spent life; she had passed through the storms and anguish that must assail every true woman's heart, in the loss of all who are nearest and dearest, but she could, notwithstanding, clasp hands with the new generations in loving sympathy. Her soft gray eyes, however, had first seen the light in troubled times—"the times that tried men's souls." She seemed to breathe the very spirit of those patriotic days. She inherited from her ancestors courage, firmness, and decision. Her forefathers had fled from France at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, renouncing thereby their native land, so dear to Frenchmen, and estates as well, for the freedom of religious worship on foreign soil. Portia's speech has been aptly applied to Mrs. Bradford: "Think you I am no stronger than my sex, being so fathered and so husbanded?" Her character was well exemplified in an amusing incident of her childhood. One evening, as an invited guest at Governor Franklin's, she was presented with a cup of tea. The stamp act had passed, and all good patriots were filled with resentment. Our little heroine politely declined the tea, and, being again and again pressed, she took the cup and with a grave courtesy raised it to her lips, but without touching a drop crossed the room and poured the contents from the window.

The family on one occasion during the war, having been levied upon by a party of British, an officer, reminded by her that her aunt had asked protection, remarked: "Not by your advice, I presume?" "That it never was, I can tell you," she replied. Her self-possession was equally manifested when in extreme old age the house took fire in the middle of the night. To avoid opening the door by which the dense smoke would rush into her chamber, the attempt to rescue her was by reaching her room from the roof of the porch. The blinds being forced open, there she stood enveloped in a blanket, quietly waiting, showing by look and mien as well as by word that she was not frightened, though her maid had disappeared in the darkness. She was urged to remain until they could come for and carry her to her nearest neighbors; this she did with the utmost composure and a beautiful trust in those about her, evincing as well that supreme trust in a higher Providence, so strong a characteristic of her nature.

She would tell with a great deal of spirit and amusement a story against herself—how, when the family fled to Baskingridge during the war, she, being a very little girl, was sent out with her maid for exercise ; firing being heard in the distance, she took to her heels, running as fast as her feet could carry her, rushed in at the street door and up the stairs, crying, “The British are coming! The British are coming!” She was caught in Mrs. Washington’s arms, soothed and caressed and told that her alarm was needless, as what she heard was only the practicing of our soldiers. She was present during an interesting interview between Washington and a party of Indians. A temporary stage had been erected, but no sooner had the forest braves been ceremoniously seated upon it, than the structure gave way and they were precipitated to the ground, and were with difficulty persuaded that it was not a preconceived plan for their destruction. Many families fled to Baskingridge during the march of the armies through the Jerseys, and were dependent upon each other for the interchange of various kindly offices. An amusing story was told of young Master Morton, who was sent with the only darning-needle possessed by the community to a neighbor’s house. He dropped it on the way, and to his infinite terror and disgrace was obliged to return home and confess the loss on which so much of the comfort of the community depended. A more touching reminiscence is that of a scene which occurred some years later, at the Washington mansion in Philadelphia, when Mr. Bradford was attorney-general. There being none but an intimate circle present, the conversation turned upon Lafayette, then a prisoner in Germany. Washington dwelt upon his sufferings, contrasting them with his former fortunes, and, speaking of his heroism in our cause, became greatly moved, tears coming into his eyes, and his whole being apparently shaken. On returning home, Mr. Bradford wrote some verses on this pathetic scene, entitled “The Lament of Washington.” Private copies were circulated, and they were sung to a solemn air composed on the occasion of the execution of the queen of France.

Mrs. Bradford, as the mistress of her father’s house during much of his public service, together with her family connections, was brought into close relation with the most eminent characters of the country ; and now in her declining years she was a historic figure, the last relic of that famous coterie of revolutionary dames, of whom were Mrs. Rush, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Madison, and Mrs. Carroll. Our minister to England, Mr. Richard Rush, was her kinsman. He writes to her : “I have always felt a just pride in the distinguished names of the maternal stock, from which I and mine spring ; a feeling strengthened rather than diminished by my intercourse

abroad. I think I wrote to my mother from London, that she might tell it to you, in what gratifying terms my estimable friend, Lord Teignmouth, of whom I see much, used to speak to me of your father, and that he and others spoke publicly in the same way. I venture to put under cover for you two humble little articles connected with some of the public questions of the day. Washington's name is about the main staple of both and the known respect and friendship he bore for your father must naturally superadd ties in your bosom, to the veneration and homage the whole world now cherishes towards his great name. I saw much of the Lafayettes at La Grange and elsewhere when lately in France; George whom you probably knew when a youth in General Washington's family, and the head of his family during my mission to France, I am sorry to say died soon after I got home."

Mrs. Bradford's hospitality was unceasing, and seldom indeed did boat or train arrive that did not bring some guest to her house, often the most distinguished men of the day in our own or from foreign countries. How beautiful was the welcome to her home! As warm as the great fires that blazed on her hearthstones. All felt the charm of her manner who came within its influence. As Mr. Rush again wrote: "From youth, from early boyhood, my recollections of her at her own house, at my uncle's, at my mother's, with whom she was reared in part as with a sister, are all of the most grateful kind. Attaching in her manners to all, because they sprang from the many virtues and solid excellence of her heart, their peculiar grace and kindness were ever especially winning to the young, and now as I call up these recollections, through back time, associated with a thousand early pleasures they come over me like delightful visions, no, not visions, for at that time of life they are realities unmingled with anything to take from the happiness and joy they give; their vivid impressions live forever and momentarily at least renew in us the delight they once afforded." Only those who lived in her house can know what a perfect gentlewoman she was; the dignified bearing was instinct with self respect and the refined thought that "thinketh no evil, the charity that suffereth long and is kind, the love that beareth all things, hopeth all things, believeth all things," were coupled with a humility astounding in one upon whom fortune had always smiled. As Bishop Doane said of her in his funeral sermon: "There lies all that was mortal of the holiest woman that I ever knew and therefore of the humblest. She was pre-eminent for her propriety and delicacy of thought and feeling. Who of the generation that has passed away in the light of her loveliness, who that has lived to enjoy it in its lingering and declining radiance, has ever met with a more perfect Chris-

tian lady? She was instinctively refined and courteous. A courtier would have called her elegant; to the last day of her long life she never for a moment lost her native grace. It marked her through the weakness and weariness and painfulness of her mortal sickness. Even when at intervals alone, her consciousness was perfect, her words, her ways, her looks, were all alive with thoughtfulness for others and attention to their comfort, and she died as she had lived, a Christian lady of the olden time." Her charity was great, no poor man was ever turned from her doors; she gave away one-third of her income.

Among her many visitors were some very odd old people, whose visits, I was about to say visitations, called for great circumspection on the part of the younger portion of the household, and were not a little tax on the good nature and self-control of the younger hostess, Mrs. Boudinot, into whose hands was so gracefully resigned the control of this large establishment, as the older lady felt herself growing somewhat infirm for so much care. She insisted that there could not be two mistresses, and with a delicacy and consideration all her own, she would ask permission, as though herself a guest, did she wish for any change in the ménage. And how thoroughly her nature was appreciated and her wishes carried out by the one she had chosen as a daughter! Seldom have two such rare natures dwelt together under the same roof-tree. Mr. Boudinot, with his wife and children, had been persuaded to spend the winter with Mrs. Bradford before settling down at his estate near Philadelphia, they having left their home in Newark, New Jersey, for that purpose. But never for any length of time after would the elder lady part with the younger, and Burlington became their home. Mr. Boudinot was Mrs. Bradford's nearest living relative, and she, his senior by thirty years, bore towards him almost the relation of a mother. It was his pleasure as well as that of his wife to keep up all the associations of the house. Mrs. Bradford, for many years before her death, kept her room, where she received her friends. Some of the members of her household might be described as picturesque; certainly such was the little old French lady who had come there first, during the elder Mr. Boudinot's lifetime, as an amanuensis. She was a refugee from St. Domingo, whose lover had been shot before her eyes, so went the romantic story, though the youngsters wondered that so old and grotesque a little body should ever have possessed a lover. She was, however, kind to the children, making them benicake, from seed which she received once a year from the south. They compounded her sins of eavesdropping, importance, and general fussiness, with various kindly deeds and gifts. Her broken English was only outdone by that of Ambrose, the old butler, whose

African tongue could never accommodate itself to the English pronunciation. "He" with him was always "she," and "she" "he," as thus, in announcing the daily visits of Bishop Doane to his aged parishioner: "De bitchip man. Shall she walk up?"

Ambrose was a perfect servant, and, with the footman and coachman, wore still the mourning livery for the master, dead nearly half a century. The domestic grievance was not known in that household—its ten or twelve servants accomplishing their work with a magical quiet and precision. The housekeeper made her daily round with the chambermaid, to assist in arranging the large, old-fashioned, high-post bedsteads, with their gay and elaborate hangings in winter and white dimity festoons in summer. The hall was wide and contained some beautiful statuary—four groups of seventeenth century work, the only known specimens of the kind in this country. The stairs with very low steps led to a landing on which stood the old clock, a gift from Richard Stockton, the signer, which had measured out the moments of those stormy times of the Revolution, and had struck the knell of many a footsore, weary soldier on the frosty banks of the Delaware. The drawing-rooms were furnished with crimson satin, and a beautiful set of French furniture which came from the house of the French minister; and the fringes of those curtains were all solid silk, not a vain show such as are made in these days, of silk outside and cotton or worsted filling. The house possessed also a well-stocked library, with many editions of the Bible, from Mrs. Bradford's father, the founder of the Bible society in this country and its first president. There were windows from the drawing-room, which led into a conservatory extending the length of the two rooms, which was a great pleasure and resource when Mrs. Bradford would gather her friends about her of a summer evening, and have the children keep awake to witness the opening of the night-blooming cereus. Many of the beautiful trees surrounding her place she had planted with her own hand. Generations of children delighted in the "blue lions," Chinese porcelain beasts, which stood upon the lawn, and into whose grinning and capacious jaws they would stuff grass, and sometimes to their terror drop a silver spoon. There were two sets of servants, white and colored; the former took their meals in the housekeeper's room, the latter in the kitchen where Crissy the cook presided. Ambrose had pet names for his favorites—as "Honey" for one of the best women that ever lived, making sweetness wherever her influence came. She was a sort of confidential servant and nursery governess to the children, a most valuable and worthy young woman. She and her sister, Mrs. Bradford's maid, lived in the family until the children were grown up, saved their earnings with

which they bought farms in Canada, when they married, carrying with them the benedictions of all the family. Ambrose always called the two little girls "madam" and "misses"; he had quite a poetic vein in his nature, as when he was heard to tell "madam" that he could make himself carpet for her to walk on, and exclaim of the piece of statuary in the drawing-room representing an African queen, "Ah, madam, dare's de dignity!" He said of himself that he had been a prince stolen from his native wilds. He looked like a gnome, but was as good as gold. He was religious, and would on occasions retire for prayer to his chapel, an old sedan-chair, which was kept in a room in the cellar after the family had ceased to use it. This mode of conveyance was sometimes resorted to, however, up to quite a late period, when Mrs. Bradford's visits to the parish church became more difficult; she was often conveyed thither by two stalwart negroes in the very chair of which I speak, from her own hall, the wide double front doors of which admitted of its egress with ease, and she would thus avoid any exposure to the weather. Greatly she loved to listen from the old square pew in front of the chancel to her bishop's eloquent sermons, delivered in that terse and beautiful English of which he was so great a master.

Reference to the old sedan-chair reminds me of the antiquated coaches in the coach-house. The one most in use was a large double affair, lined with some rich stuff and set high upon springs, with steps which rather resembled a carpeted staircase, and which little Buttons, the footman, springing from his perch behind the coach, where he stood up and held on by the straps, would let down and fold up. There was a still older style of conveyance called the chariot. This somewhat resembled the other, but was lined with crimson satin and painted yellow, and had but two seats inside; the coachman's being very high with a hammer-cloth, the same place behind for footman. The livery, formerly blue and gold, changed at the time of which I write to mourning, was dark-gray cloth with white bands, a cord of black velvet on each side, the hat with a wide silver band and buckle. The hours for the meals were the old-fashioned ones. Breakfast at half-past eight o'clock, preceded by family prayers, consisted of something very light, as toast, Digby herring and rolls; meat was never seen, except, perhaps, as frizzled beef. Dinner at half-past two; beautiful damask—one large table-cloth and a small one which was laid on top and removed before the dessert was served by a deft movement on the part of Ambrose, catching the four corners with the help of another man from the other side—cut-glass decanters, and coasters. First came soup served from the head of the table, and then sometimes fish and sometimes not,

meats and vegetables and salad, beef, turkey, game, ham or tongue, terrapin, all placed on the groaning board at once. The dessert course was equally generous, consisting of pies, pudding, blanc-mange, jelly and custard, served on a beautiful service of silver, after which the large cloth was removed, and the polished mahogany appeared, on which were placed the wine, fruit and nuts, with finger-glasses. Grace was said before the meal and thanks returned after. Mrs. Bradford was a beautiful and skillful carver. At half-past six, tea was handed in the drawing-room, with the finest little scraps of rolled-up bread and butter, finely chipped dried beef and cake. At ten o'clock, supper—cold meat, nuts, apples, jellies, etc., with wine; then prayers, at which all the family and servants were present, after which the servants appeared with candles to light the guests to their rooms.

The house contained several interesting portraits of Washington, for in that household, veneration for that exalted name knew no bounds. There were also many interesting family portraits—two by Sir Godfrey Kneller. Mrs. Bradford had among her keepsakes a pair of bracelets, containing the hair of General Washington, the clasps of which were set with pearls, and also a small cushion made from a piece of Mrs. Washington's wedding-dress. A few of these she left by will to friends, some of the large silver service to her favorite cousins, who were Miss Bayards, and one of whom married the nephew of General Washington, another the gifted and greatly beloved Professor Dod, of Princeton college, in whose families doubtless the silver still remains. With these few exceptions, the portraits, silver and statuary remain grouped together in Miss Boudinot's house in New Jersey. One of Mrs. Bradford's relatives, when quite a lad, witnessed a stirring scene, which picture, he said, could never be effaced from his memory—Washington going to open the houses of congress in Philadelphia. This youth was one of a vast crowd of spectators which filled the streets in all directions, in front and around the state house. "The President's carriage, white with ornamental panels, drawn by four beautiful bay horses, drove slowly up through the densely packed multitude. Alighting, the President slowly ascended the steps of the state house, turned, and for a moment paused, waiting for his secretary, who followed him from a carriage behind, and who handed him a paper, probably the speech that he was to deliver. All eyes were fixed upon that majestic form, as he stood before them clad in a suit of black velvet, his hair powdered to snowy whiteness, a dress sword at his side, and his hat held in his hand. Perfect silence reigned, not a sound was heard, every heart was full, no tongue could speak their unutterable admiration, and not until the door

had closed upon him did the crowd as with one voice break forth into wild and prolonged huzzas."

I close this sketch with a letter written by Judge Elisha Boudinot, the brother of Hon. Elias Boudinot, to General Washington, the original draft of which is in my possession, together with Washington's original letter in response. Judge Boudinot writes :

"Amidst the general joy that is diffused thro. the states on the establishment of our Independence and a restoration of the blessings of peace, will your Excel. permit an individual deeply interested in your happiness, to give vent if possible to the feelings on this subject, and most sincerely to congratulate you on the final accomplishment of our most sanguine hopes. The thought that your Ex. has survived the contest adds a pleasure to the enjoyment, that no other event could possibly give. It has been my earnest prayer that heaven would preserve your life to complete the liberation of your country from tyranny and see her safely secured in peace, independence and happiness, and to receive the grateful acknowledgments of a whole people. Nothing can afford a great mind more real pleasure than the idea of being the happy instrument of giving birth to an empire, the future nursery of every principle that can enoble man, an asylum for the persecuted of all nations, and in fact rendering happiness to one-quarter of the globe. It is a satisfaction that an angel might aspire after, and which you Sir, are justly entitled to enjoy. I am confident that the idea of this has supported your Ex. in many distressing scenes you have passed through to the final completion of our wishes. You have finished your part, it only remains that your country should equal in gratitude the toils, the dangers and solicitude you have endured for them. That they will do this collectively there is no doubt, but something still remains to perfect the reward to convince you that every individual feels that real affection and gratitude for you that they ought to the Father and Deliverer of their country. This only can be done by the representation of private persons, which will, I hope, apologise for this intrusion. My public business calls me into every county of this state and a very general acquaintance with the people, and I am positive I should do the greatest injustice to them did I not assure your Excel. that there is scarcely a man or a woman among them, but what entertains these sentiments, and but have a monument erected to you in their breasts, that can only be effaced with their lives. Were it possible for your Ex. to have a view of the whole country at once, and see the honest farmers around the fires blessing your name and teaching their children to lisp your praises, you would forget your toils and labors and thank heaven you were born to bless a grateful land.

When your Excellency is retiring from the field will you indulge the inhabitants of this state by spending a short time as you are passing thro., free from care, where you have spent so much in distress and anxiety of mind, that they may have an opportunity of personally convincing you of their attachment.

I take the liberty to enclose and beg your acceptance of a copy of an Ode written by my father-in-law Mr. Smith, on the occasion of our rejoicing.

Mrs. Boudinot joins me in entreating that you will be kind enough to make our sincere congratulations acceptable to Mrs. Washington, and to assure her that we participate in the joy that she, above all others must feel on this occasion, and that you may both long,

long enjoy that cup of happiness which Providence has so completely filled. Is the fervent prayer of

Your obedient Servant

Elisha Boudinot."

Washington in his characteristic reply touches upon matters of public interest to all Americans. His letter is dated:

"Newburgh, May 10th., 1783.

Sir:—

Your letter of congratulation contains expressions of too friendly a nature not to affect me with the deepest sensibility. I beg therefore you will accept my acknowledgement for them, and that you will be persuaded I can never be insensible of the interest you are pleased to take in my personal happiness, as well as in the general felicity of our country. While I candidly confess I cannot be indifferent to the favorable sentiment, which you mention my fellow citizens entertain of my exertions in their service, I wish to express through you the particular obligations I feel myself under to Mr. Smith for the pleasure I have received from the perusal of his elegant ode on the peace. The accomplishment of the great object we had in view, in so short a time, and under such propitious circumstances, must I am confident, fill every bosom with the purest joy; and for my own part I will not strive to conceal the pleasure I already anticipate from my approaching retirement to the placid walks of domestic life. Having no rewards to ask for myself, if I have been so happy as to obtain the approbation of my countrymen, I shall be satisfied. But it still rests with them to complete my wishes, by adopting such a system of policy, as will ensure the future reputation, tranquillity, happiness and glory of this extensive empire; to which I am much assured nothing can contribute so much as an *inviolable adherence to the principles of the union*, and a fixed resolution of building *the national faith on the basis of public justice*—without which all that has been done and suffered is in vain—to effect which therefore, the abilities of every true patriot, ought to be exerted with the greatest zeal and assiduity.

I am as yet uncertain, at what time I shall be at liberty to return to Virginia, and consequently cannot inform you when I may be able to gratify my inclination of spending a little time with my friends in Jersey, as I pass through that state. I can only say that the friendship I have for a people, from whom I have often derived such essential aid, will strongly dispose me to it.

Mrs. Washington begs Mrs. Boudinot and yourself to accept her best compts., and thanks for your good wishes, and I must request the same favor. being with sentiments of esteem and regard,

Sir, Your most Obed. & most Hble. Servant,

G. Washington.

To. Elisha Boudinot, Esq."

This correspondence breathes that spirit which carried our patriot fathers through the struggle which bequeathed so much to posterity and to the world.

J. J. Boudinot

SLAVERY IN CONNECTICUT

Editor of Magazine of American History

In reading Mr. Carrick's contribution to your February number, in which he gives in full a deed of manumission of date 1801, I am reminded of a number of similar certificates which I came across in searching the records of some old Connecticut towns. They have not the formality of the Massachusetts records, yet as far as their light went there is no doubt that the town clerks endeavored to clothe them in honest legal phraseology. Connecticut passed her freedom act in 1784, but for many years before that time private manumissions were more or less common. In the interest of the negro released, a declaration was recorded in the town book of votes, testifying to the gift of lawful freedom, and the insertion was made anywhere that there happened to be a vacant space. I have found such declarations among records a hundred years older than themselves, and the fly-leaves and inside of covers were much utilized. Some of these certificates were found in the book of town votes of Wethersfield, Connecticut. The causes for such early manumissions were generally threefold: for money equivalent, as was the case in the Massachusetts document, from instincts of humanity, or for enlistment in the continental army. In the first of the quotations the reason is not given. The certificate reads:

Be it known that we, John Wright and Luke Fortune of Wethersfield, do by these presents, for ourselves, our heirs, executors and administrators, manumit, liberate and set free Abner Andrew, a negro slave, and release and relinquish to him all Rights of Service or Obedience from him during the term of his Natural Life.

Witness our hands and seals this 20th day of May, 1777.

Witness.	Titus Hosmer.	J ^{no} . Wright.	[SEAL.]
	O. Ellsworth.	Luke Fortune.	[SEAL.]

Abner must have been an industrious member of society during the next four years, for in 1781 he had earned enough not only to support but to purchase a wife, as the following record shows:

Know all men by these Presents, that I, John Robbins, of Wethersfield, in the county of Hartford, have received of Abner Andrew, Negro man, freeman, the sum of £40 in state notes, to my full satisfaction for a Negro woman named Zipporah. In consideration whereof I have sold to Abner Andrew the said Negro woman to Have and to Hold to the sole use and Behoof of the said Abner Andrew and also Covenant hereby to warrant the said Negro woman to the said Abner all claims and demands whatsoever.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this 30th day of March A. D. 1781.

JOHN ROBBINS.

N. B. Said Zipporah is not to go for him the said Abner til next winter but to work for me, I finding her cloathes.

JOHN ROBBINS.

Another briefer and less formal entry reads in this way :

"This instrument witnesseth that I, John Camp of Wethersfield, do give and grant unto my negro man, Pomp, his time, libertie and freedom on and forever after the second Thursday in May next, when he shall be and is discharged from my service."

A similar longer entry of an earlier date, November 8, 1766, in fact the earliest that I have found, records the release of a negro slave, Quash Gomer, in somewhat the same terms. It is not always easy to discover the grounds of manumission, but in the following there is little room for doubt. The declaration witnesses the release of Prince, a slave, which release has been effected because of the owner's "being convinced of his the said Prince's plea and being convinced of the Injustice of the General Practice of the country in holding Negro Slaves during Life without their consent." This is dated January 21, 1778.

The custom of freeing slaves on condition of serving in the army was encouraged and sanctioned by legislative statute. The period of service was three years, and in 1777 most of such emancipations were effected. One, however, is recorded as late as 1780. By way of specimens are these : "Daniel Griswold manumits Cæsar on condition of Enlistment and faithfully serving out the time of Enlistment." Cæsar was a soldier in the Fifth Connecticut regiment, served his time, and was honorably discharged. "This may certify that we have inlisted George Andrew, a Negro boy, into the Continental army for three years and no longer." This according to law would make him free. There are also two other certificates of this nature—one to free on condition of "Enlisting in the Continental Army in Col. Webbe's regiment," and the other after the customary three years' service and payment of all debts incurred.

Those who released slaves, who remained in the town where they had lived, waived of course all further responsibility. They generally required a release from the selectmen in writing from all charge of the manumitted slave. In the certificate releasing Bristow Miranda, the record says that "said slave shall be liberated and made a free man" for £100, "and procure for us a certificate from the selectmen of the Town of Wethersfield that they accept him as a Freeman." As a consequence of this, the former owner was "exempted by the Town from all rates arising from said servant."

Charles M. Andrews

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

LOUISBURG, 1745—BUNKER HILL, 1775

I found an odd error in an article by J. T. Headley in *Harper's Magazine* of long time ago, which suggested the following thoughts. It is "The Siege of Louisburg," and makes that historical event appear under date of 1775 instead of 1745.

There is a curious mix-up and coincidence about these two dates and the two important events. Louisburg fell into the hands of the provincials, and they marched into the "Gibraltar of America," June 17, 1745, with triumphant drum-beat. The sons of those same provincials fought the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, stimulated by the inspiration of the same old drums; but with what changed conditions! The first scene was the great victory of loyal colonies—for the British crown over the French. The later was the world-renowned battle of revolt under oppression by the government of the same crown.

How unlike they stand in history, even in this not remote day! Louisburg, the once famous stronghold of France in the New World, is hardly to be seen on the map of Cape Breton Island. On the other hand, Charlestown has been wholly blotted from our map. The disproportion between their magnitude as historical events increases from generation to generation. One, however, was the forerunner and school of preparation for the other.

Few beyond the schools give a thought to the daring and chivalric enterprise of the Yankee sailors, fishermen, and farmers who humbled the pride of France. There was not a man in the colonies who had ever seen a regular siege. There was not a regular soldier in the land. Forty-three hundred men volunteered to go down into the ice-bound north, under the command of a fish-merchant, to storm and capture the impregnable fortress—the stone walls behind which the trained soldiers of France laughed at English fleets and armies. A hundred transports sailed away from Boston, bearing the eager throng of frontiersmen, who scorned discipline and knew no fear. The celebrated preacher, Whitefield, furnished the motto for their banner: "Nil disperandum Christo duce." It seemed as wild, and was as devoted, as the early Christian crusades against the Saracen. When the ice released the shores, the French saw with amazement the white sails of numberless vessels bearing direct for the famed defenses. After incredible dangers met and obstacles overcome, the

assault was made, and for forty-nine days the earth shook and the waters were troubled by the destructive and fierce cannonade of these determined men, whose flag declared Christ to be their leader. Then the lilies of France went down and St. George and the dragon went up.

The story of Louisburg has been often and well told. It was a seeming victory for England. Boston was wild with delight. The bells never pealed nor did the cannon ever thunder in London with gladder acclaim over a great continental victory than they did over this provincial feat of arms. The fish-merchant became Sir William Pepperell—the first and only inhabitant of the colonies ever so honored by the crown.

It was, however, a fateful day in the destinies of the New World. It gave the provincials steadiness and inspiration for Bunker Hill and Washington and a continent. Louisburg seems but a tale of romance, around which the shadows of the past are fast gathering, while Bunker Hill shines as the noon-day sun.

Why? Louisburg was a great material success for the time. Bunker Hill was a moral success for the ages. England apparently won both the siege and the battle. In reality she lost both—for the first made soldiers to maintain the cause of the second. Why is the one so much forgotten and the other so radiant, when each developed the strong traits of the new American race? The answer may be found in the fact that the affair of Louisburg was but a feat of arms, while that of Bunker Hill revealed man struggling for the moral grandeur of principle and of human rights.

Nathan M. Hawkes

LYNN, MASS.

MINOR TOPICS

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF WASHINGTON

BY THE POET SHELLEY

"When I was at Leghorn with Shelley," says E. J. Trelawny in his *Recollections*, "I drew him towards the docks, saying, 'As we have a spare hour, let's see if we can't *put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes*. In these docks are living specimens of all the nationalities of the world ; thus we can go round it, and visit and examine their peculiar habits, manners, dress, language, food, productions, arts, and naval architecture ; for see how varied are the shapes, build, rigging, and decoration of the different vessels ! There lies an English cutter, a French chasse marée, an American clipper, a Spanish tartan, an Austrian trabacolo, a Genoese felucca, a Sardinian zebeck, a Neapolitan brig, a Sicilian sparanza, a Dutch galleot, a Danish snow, a Russian hermaphrodite, a Turkish sackalever, a Greek bombard. I don't see a Persian Dow, an Arab grab, or a Chinese junk ; but there are enough for our purpose, and to spare. As you are writing a poem, *Hellas*, about the modern Greeks, would it not be as well to take a look at them amidst all the din of the docks ?'

The modern Greeks, however, in sailor garb, chattering, gesticulating, eating, and smoking, bore not the faintest resemblance to the lofty and sublime spirits of the fourth century B. C., of whom Shelley delighted to sing. 'Their souls are extinguished by traffic and superstition,' he exclaimed : 'Come away !'

'It is but a step,' I said, 'from these ruins of worn-out Greece to the New World. Let's board the American clipper.' 'I would rather not have any more of my hopes and illusions mocked by sad realities,' said Shelley. 'You must allow,' I answered, 'that graceful craft was designed by a man who had a poet's feeling for things beautiful. Let's get a model and build a boat like her.' The idea so pleased the poet that he followed me on board. The Americans are a social, free-and-easy people, accustomed to take their own way, and to readily yield the same privilege to all others ; so that our coming on board, and examination of the vessel fore and aft, were not considered an intrusion. The captain was on shore ; so I talked to the mate, a smart specimen of a Yankee. When I commended her beauty, he said, 'I do expect, now we have our new copper on, she has a look of the brass serpent ; she has as slick a run, and her bearings are just where they should be.' I said we wished to build a boat after her model. 'Then I calculate you must go to Baltimore or Boston to get one ; there is no one on this side of the water can do the job. We have our freight all ready, and are homeward bound ; we have elegant accommodations, and you will be across before

your young friend's beard is ripe for a razor. Come down and take an observation of the state cabin.'

It was about seven and a half feet by five; 'plenty of room to live or die comfortably in,' he observed, and then pressed us to have a chaw of real old Virginia cake—that is, tobacco—and a cool drink of peach brandy. I made some observation to him about the Greek vessel we had visited. 'Crank as an egg-shell,' he said; 'too many sticks and top hamper. She looks like a bundle of chips going to hell to be burnt.' I seduced Shelley into drinking a wine-glass of weak grog, the first and last he ever drank.

The Yankee would not let us go until we had drunk, under the star-spangled banner, TO THE MEMORY OF WASHINGTON, and the prosperity of the American commonwealth. 'As a warrior and statesman,' said Shelley, 'Washington was righteous in all he did, unlike all who lived before or since; he never used his power but for the benefit of his fellow-creatures.'

'He fought
For truth and wisdom, foremost of the brave;
Him glory's idle glances dazzled not;
'Twas his ambition, generous and great.
A life to life's great end to consecrate.'

'Stranger,' said the Yankee, 'truer words were never spoken; there is dry rot in all the main timbers of the Old World, and none of you will do any good till you are docked, refitted, and annexed to the New. You must log that song you sang; there ain't many Britishers that will say as much of the man that whipped them; so just set these lines down in the log, or it won't go for nothing.'

REMINISCENCES OF PRESIDENT AND MARTHA WASHINGTON

(By the late Mrs. John M. Bowers, of Cooperstown, N. Y.)

"My earliest recollection of General Washington was in the spring of 1781, when a guest of my mother at Hackettstown, New Jersey. Although but three years of age at that time, I distinctly remember the grand appearance of that great and good man. The brilliancy of his epaulettes, and his peculiar cocked hat and plume, made an impression on my infant mind never to be effaced. August and dignified as he was, however, he could condescend to amuse children. During an interval of a few minutes' absence of my mother from the parlor, the general placed me on his knee, and, trotting me merrily thereon, sang the following ludicrous lines—

'There was an old, old man, and an old, old woman,
They lived in a vinegar bottle together.
Shelter'd alike from wind and from weather,
They lived in a vinegar bottle together.'

repeating the last line several times for a chorus. When my mother returned to the parlor, the general alluded to what had occurred in her absence, saying: 'The little jade wished to know how the old people escaped from the bottle, and before I had time to reply to her question she had anticipated me by saying, "I guess, general, they knocked off the neck."'

Were any proof wanting to illustrate the reverence inspired by the dignity and superiority of the presence of the general, I might cite an anecdote of a Mrs. Graffe—an ignorant woman, a foreigner by birth, an inveterate Tory, who resided near my mother. She had been accustomed since the commencement of the war to speak of George Washington as 'George the rebel,' until at length curiosity, predominating over prejudice, induced her to catch a glimpse of him as he passed through our hall, when she burst into tears and exclaimed, involuntarily: 'Elealeh! Elealeh!' meaning godlike; and from that instant became a confirmed Whig.

When my mother resided at Union, in Hunterdon county, New Jersey, Mrs. Washington was her guest two nights and a day, while on her way from New Windsor to Philadelphia. She came in her chariot attended by Colonel Washington (a nephew of the general) and two servants—colored—a coachman and a waiting-maid. My mother was greatly pleased with the affability and simplicity of the manners of Mrs. Washington, from whom she learned much of the economy of the Virginia housewives. To show her own idea of economy, Mrs. Washington remarked that, in view of the high price of goods at that time, she had raveled some old and almost worn-out crimson satin damask chair-covers, which had descended to her, had caused the same to be carded and spun, and by the addition of cotton yarn, woven with a narrow strip of silk and a wide one of cotton alternately, out of this fabric she had made two morning dresses for herself, one of which she exhibited to mamma, who thought it quite pretty."

THE MOUND-BUILDERS AND THEIR ANCIENT WORKS

NEW YORK, *April 10, 1889*

Editor Magazine American History:

I have read with interest in your February number the article by Dr. Patton, and also the one by Dr. Cyrus Thomas in the April issue, concerning the mound-builders and their ancient works. The discussion of these differing theories is the true avenue of investigation, providing it continues, and observant people will tell what they know.

Having lived all of my life in the Miami valley, and having heard elderly people talk about the mounds and their origin, I have naturally become interested in them. In the near vicinity of Dayton, Ohio, in the Miami valley, there was, fifty years ago,

a gentleman who lived to be over ninety years of age ; his name was Levin Cottow, and he often would tell of his early days in that region, and among others of the traditions handed down to him by his father and the old settlers. "Who built these mounds?" he would say ; "no one can tell, but I can remember," pointing to a large line of hills several miles distant, "seeing the ruins of an old fort on yonder hills ; and on the line of hills where I now live," it being opposite, "was another. Now, strange to say, there were three mounds in direct line with each other between these forts, and my impression has always been that whoever built these mounds did so for the purpose of displaying beacon-lights as a warning against an enemy. This may have been the work of various tribes of Indians, or, if the mound-builders were a different people, they thus used them for the same purpose as a defense against the Indians."

The city of Dayton, Ohio, has long since encroached upon these monuments of the past, and two at least have been leveled to the ground. While no trace of bones or anything that would indicate an Indian burial-place was found, save the ashes and charcoal of former fires near the surface (which might have been left later by hunters), the fact remains that the mounds exist and evidently were built by human hands. Their exact site is well authenticated by many old settlers now living, the writer being one of them. One mound exists at this time, also the outlines of the ancient fortifications. The Indian mound referred to is marked by a large new brick house upon its summit, and is on a line northward of Central avenue, in Dayton, and, if said avenue was extended, it would pass directly through it. The second mound was leveled several years ago by David Wogoman, corner of Harris and Dayton streets, who took great interest in the work, hoping to find relics of the past. Another was on a direct line, and near the Butchers' Exchange, in Miami city ; the fortifications were on a direct line across the Miami river. It must be remembered that the city of Dayton is in a large valley, and at this point it trends from the southwest to the northwest ; and the bend of the river to the northwest, with its beautiful hills, afforded, with these mounds to display the beacon-lights, ample means to give warning of the approach of an enemy. About eight or nine miles southwest, in this same valley, near Miamisburg, is the largest mound in the state, covering two or three acres of ground, and a curiosity well worth visiting. The large trees upon its summit can be seen by the passengers on the C. C. C. and I. railroad, and on the C. H. and D. railroads, when in the vicinity of Miamisburg station. The railway conductors in former years pointed it out to the passengers as one of the sights and scenes of the Great Miami valley.

J. O. ARNOLD

THE WINDSOR, NEW YORK CITY.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS
THREE UNPUBLISHED FAMILY LETTERS

FROM WASHINGTON, JOHN ADAMS, AND THOMAS JEFFERSON

[Contributed by Charles Sigourney Knox.]

[The first of these letters, from Washington to Chief Justice McKean, afterward governor of Pennsylvania, bears upon our civil service problem in an interesting manner. The second, from Jefferson, at the age of eighty-one, to Mrs. Lydia H. Sigourney, in connection with that lady's writings on the American Indians, is chiefly remarkable for his words on the future of slavery. The third, from John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, is, particularly in its closing sentence, a touching instance of warm friendship surviving the bitter conflicts of party politics.]

[FIRST LETTER]

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON TO CHIEF JUSTICE MCKEAN

New York, January 24th 1790.

Sir

I have been favored with the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant together with its enclosure.

As no determination has yet been taken respecting the erection of Hospitals for the reception of sick and disabled seamen, the object, to which your letter relates, is not before me—and, as I have undeviatingly considered freedom of choice, in all nominations to office, essential to the public service, I am persuaded you will have the goodness to excuse an adherence to that sentiment on the present occasion, which forbids any previous engagement, however satisfactory the pretensions of the Gentleman who wishes the appointment.

I am, with great regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

G^d Washington.

The Honorable

Thomas M^cKean Esquire.

[SECOND LETTER]

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO MRS. SIGOURNEY

Monticello July 18. 1824

I thank you Madam, for the kindness of your letter of June 30, and the partial notice you are so good as to take of the part I bore in our great revolutionary struggle. I was one only of many, very many indeed who exerted their best endeavors in the accomplishment of that change in our condition. Its success will make it the greatest event in human history, and although rivers of blood are yet to flow for the general establishment of its principles and its consequences toward the amelioration of the condition of man throughout the universe, they will be finally established. We have had to be sure one great example of retrogradation in the improvement of man, in the extinction by the Northern Barbarians of the science of Greece and Rome. But the art of printing was then unknown, that renders impossible the loss of lights once gained.

I rejoice also in your advocacy of the Indian rights and concur in all your sentiments in their favor. I once had hopes that the Southern tribes were nearly ripe for incorporation with us. The facility with which the cotton plant enables them to clothe themselves renders their civilization easier than that of the Northern tribes, who are obliged to resort to the beasts of the forest for covering; but my hopes in the south are damped by the transactions of the late war which in destroying many of them have produced in the rest so implacable a hatred of us as to revolt them against all counsels coming from us. The happy numbers in which you have so strongly and so feelingly expressed their wrongs will ensure their being read, and felt by breasts which humble prose can rarely touch. reading they will reflect, and feel the duties we owe to that race of men. I wish that was the only blot in our moral history, and that no other race had higher charges to bring against us. I am not apt to despair; yet I see not how we are to disengage ourselves from that deplorable entanglement, we have the wolf by the ears and feel the danger of either holding or letting him loose. I shall not live to see it but those who come after us will be wiser than we are, for light is spreading and man improving. To that advancement I look, and to the dispensations of an all-wise and all-powerful providence to devise the means of effecting what is right.

I pray you to accept assurances of my high and respectful consideration.

Th: Jefferson.

M^{rs} Sigourney.

[THIRD LETTER]

JOHN ADAMS TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

Quincy, 19th April 1825.

My Dear Sir

M^r. Charles Sigourney and Lady, a respectable pair in Hartford Connecticut, the Husband a Son of my old friend in Amsterdam, and the wife a very conspicuous literary Lady, have requested a line to you, as they are bound on a journey to the seat of your University and wish I suppose an apology for visiting Montecello—

I have lost your last letter to me, the most consolatory letter I ever received in my life, what would I not give for a copy of it,

Your friend to all eternity

John Adams

President Jefferson.

REPLY OF HOWELL LEWIS TO WASHINGTON

[Contributed by William Alexander Smith.]

[*Editor of Magazine of American History.*—In the April number of your magazine you publish the fac-simile of General Washington's letter to his sister, Mrs. Betty Lewis, proposing that her son Howell should reside with him and act as his secretary. I find among my autographs the original reply of Howell, which is at your service for your readers.—WM. ALEXANDER SMITH.]

Fredericksburg April 24th 1792.D^r Uncle

I should have done myself the pleasure of replying to your letter on its receipt by my mother, but was at that time engaged in her business in Frederick. I consider myself extremely favored by your proposal of a birth (sic) in your family & shall chearfully accept it provided my probation is deemed satisfactory. I lament that I have not been more attentive to the improvement of my writing, tho' hope that I shall soon be qualified to do the business for which you mean to employ me. With my best respects to my aunt, I remain,

Most respectfully yours,

Howell Lewis.

NOTES

MOTLEY ON HOLLAND—In one of his letters to his mother in 1851, published in the volumes of *Correspondence* recently issued by Harper & Brothers, John Lothrop Motley writes: "Holland is a stranger and more wonderful country than I imagined. I did not think that you would so plainly observe how it has been scooped out of the bottom of the sea. But when traveling there you see how the never-ending, still-beginning duel, which this people has so long been waging with the ocean, remains still their natural condition, and the only means by which their physical existence as a nation can be protected a year. They are always below high-water mark, and the ocean is only kept out by the most prodigious system of dykes and pumps which the heart of man ever conceived. It is like a leaking ship at sea after a tempest, the people are pumping night and day for their lives. Tell the governor that the low land at Riverdale would be an excellent miniature Holland. He has only to dyke out the Charles as the Dutch do the Rhine and the Meuse, cut twelve or fifteen canals at right angles, and keep them dry by a series of mighty pumps worked by twenty or thirty windmills. Such an apparatus would add very much to the picturesqueness of your place, and would improve the value of the land incalculably. We could cut up an immense quantity of English grass and pasture the cows afterward."

JOHN GALLOP—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: In the recently issued

Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography, vol. ii., p. 581, two persons, each bearing the name of John Gallop, are blended into one. The John Gallop who found John Oldham's pinnacle was father to the John Gallop who was killed at the Narragansett fort. The former died in January, 1649-'50; the latter, December 19, 1675.

ELROY M. AVERY

THE VALUE OF WASHINGTON—There is force in the words of George William Curtis, who says: "The value of Washington to his country transcends that of any other man to any land. Take him from the Revolution, and all the fervor of the Sons of Liberty would seem to have been a wasted flame. Take him from the constitutional epoch, and the essential condition of union, personal confidence in a leader, would have been wanting. Franklin, when the work of the constitutional convention was completed, said that until then he had not been sure whether the sun depicted above the president's chair was a rising or a setting sun, but now his doubt was solved. Yet it was not the symbolic figure above the chair, it was the man within it, which should have forecast the great result to that sagacious mind."

From the moment that independence was secured, no man in America saw more clearly the necessity of national union, or defined more wisely and distinctly the reasons for it. He is the chief illustration in a popular government of a great leader who was not also a great orator. Perhaps that fact gave

a solid force to his influence by depriving all his expressions of a rhetorical character, and preserving in them throughout a simplicity and moderation which deepened the impression of his comprehensive sagacity. He was felt as

both an inspiring and a sustaining power in the preliminary movement for union, and by natural selection he was both president of the convention and the head of the government which it instituted."

QUERIES

TELLING THE BEES—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Will you, or some of your readers, tell me upon what ancient custom Whittier founded his little poem "Telling the Bees"?

M. B. WINTERBOTTOM

MONTREAL, CANADA.

NOYES—Information is wanted concerning:

(1) Name of wife and date and place of death of Moses Noyes, born in New-

bury, Mass., 12 May, 1744, son of Moses and Susannah (Jaques) Noyes.

(2) Name of wife and date and place of death of Moses Noyes, born in Newbury, Mass., 16 December, 1743, son of Moses and Hannah (Smith) Noyes.

(3) Rev. William Noyes, rector of Chalderton county, Wilts, England, 1602 till 1616, when he died. When and where was he born, and what were his parents' names?

J. ATKINS NOYES

Box 950, NEW YORK.

REPLIES

THE NEAREST RELATIVES OF WASHINGTON [XXI. 340]—The correspondent, who writes that from the half-brothers of our first President are descended the Washingtons who represent the Washington family of to-day, is evidently not aware that there are living direct descendants of the full brothers of President Washington. Samuel, born November 16, 1734, was five times married, and left six children, five sons and one daughter, and their descendants reside in Jefferson county, West Virginia. John Augustine, born January 13, 1736, married Hannah, daughter of Colonel John Bushrod, and left five children. Charles, born May 2, 1738, was a colonel in the army, and laid out the town that now

bears his name, "Charlestown," Jefferson county, West Virginia. He married Mildred, daughter of Colonel Francis Thornton, of Spottsylvania, and left four children, two sons and two daughters, who attained their majority.

Corbin Washington, the fourth child of John Augustine (President Washington's full brother), born in 1765, married Hannah, daughter of Hon. Richard Henry Lee, and left five children. His third son, John Augustine, born in 1792, married in 1814 Charlotte, daughter of Major Richard Scott Blackburn, U. S. A., and lived and died at Mount Vernon. His son John Augustine, born in 1820, was the last individual owner of Mount Vernon; he was aid-de-camp to

General Robert E. Lee, and was killed in battle in 1861. His wife was Eleanor L. Selden, and his six children were all born at Mount Vernon; two of his sons, Lawrence and George, are now living. Richard Blackburn Washington, brother of the last-named John Augustine, born in 1822, married his cousin Christine Maria Washington, a direct descendant of Samuel, brother of the President, and their children are therefore descended from two of the full brothers of the illustrious "Father of His Country." Their sons are John Augustine, born 1847; Samuel Walter, born 1853, a lawyer in Charlestown; Richard Blackburn, born 1854, in business in New Mexico; George Steptoe, born 1860, in business in Philadelphia; William de Hertburn, born 1864, in business in Mexico. There are two other members of the Washington family residing in Charlestown, West Virginia—Bushrod C. and his brother Thomas Blackburn Washington—who are direct descendants of John Augustine, the brother of President Washington. The approaching celebration has awakened such interest in the genealogy of the Washington family that I send this to the *Magazine of American History* as a record that ought to be preserved.

MARCUS J. WRIGHT

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MIDDLE TENNESSEE [xxi. 85]—*Editors of Magazine of American History*: In the interest of the truth of history, I would correct a statement in your notice

of *The Advance Guard of Western Civilization*, by James R. Gilmore. You say of the people led by Robertson to Middle Tennessee: "The men whom he led were the ancestors of those who made such a noble stand for the Union during the civil war." The truth is, the stand was on the other side altogether. The roll-books of Confederate officers and soldiers for Middle Tennessee will be found to contain names of descendants of about all the families led to this region by Robertson. These families, as soon as they could safely do so, spread out from the French Lick, or Nashville, into all the great basin of Tennessee and beyond, but few Union soldiers went to the late war from all this territory. These have ever been a brave people, as the records of 1812, Creek, Seminole, and Mexican wars, and many a Southern field from 1861-'65 will testify. People at a distance often confound East and Middle Tennessee, hence you talk of mountaineers in connection with settlements by Robertson. So far from being destitute of schools, Nashville has a larger number of first-class schools, and more thousands of pupils in attendance, than almost any city of its size in the land; and in proof of its zeal it is to entertain in July next the National Teachers' Association. To this the MAGAZINE is heartily invited. We do not wish to remain "new fields in historic research" any longer.

S. A. LINK

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a stated meeting, held on the evening of April 2d, the Hon. John A. King presiding, Mr. Isham, the librarian, announced that Mr. John McKesson, an old and honored member of the society, had presented papers relating to the history of New York, including manuscripts, printed books, pamphlets, and broadsides, supplementing a gift made by the father of the donor in the early days of the society. On motion of the librarian, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

“Resolved, that the thanks of the society be presented to Mr. John McKesson, in acknowledgment of the valuable collection of manuscripts and books donated by him to the society.”

Mr. King, after some remarks on the life and achievements of the late John Ericsson, a former member, introduced the Hon. George S. Boutwell, ex-governor of Massachusetts, who read the paper of the evening, entitled “The Progress of American Independence,” wherein the growth of a spirit of independence, stimulated but not originated by the acts of parliament, was traced from the settlement of the charter colonies to the final separation. The thanks of the society were voted at the conclusion of the address, and a copy requested, with permission to print. The society then adjourned.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its first annual meeting last evening at the residence of Gilman H. Perkins. The reports showed that the society was in a healthy condition financially, had

held a number of interesting meetings, and had done much valuable work throughout the year. The custodian, H. K. Phinney, reported a valuable collection of relics and works relating to the history and traditions of western New York, mainly derived from contributions from members and others. A very interesting paper was then read by Mr. Howard L. Osgood on “The Titles to the Pulteney Estate,” including the title to the hundred acre tract. Mr. George T. Parker presented to the society from the late Dellon M. Dewey certain records relating to the institution of the Union League in the city of Rochester in March, 1863, which Mr. Dewey claimed was the *first* organization of the famous Union League of America. Professor Morey, from the Board of Managers, reported a list of topics and assignments supplementary to that which has already been published, as follows:

“The Geology and Physical Geography of the Genesee Valley.” Professor H. L. Fairchild.

“The Aboriginal History of the Genesee Valley.” George H. Harris.

“Pioneer Settlements in Monroe county.” H. E. Rochester.

“History of the Municipal Government of Rochester.” John Bower.

“Financial History and Statistics of Rochester.” George W. Elliott.

“History of Transportation in the Genesee Valley.” George Moss.

“History of the Secret Societies in Rochester.” Thomas Gliddon.

“History of Music in Rochester.” Herve D. Wilkins.

Professor Morey in reading this report said that it was desired that the persons to whom topics were assigned should not consider their duty ended by the mere preparation of papers, but would regard themselves as in continuous charge of the departments confided to them. The old board of officers was re-elected: president, E. M. Moore, sen., M. D.; vice-president, Rev. A. H. Strong, D.D.; recording secretary, William F. Peck; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Jane Marsh Parker; treasurer, Gilman H. Perkins.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting on the 19th of March, President Gammell in the chair. An interesting paper was read by Lieutenant-commander John R. Bartlett, U. S. N., on the "Physical Geography of the Sea." The special feature of the theme elaborated was the basin of the Atlantic. The speaker described his work in the Caribbean sea, where it was found that within ridges at the bottom of the sea the temperature of the deepest part was the same as the temperature at the top of the ridge, while on the outside of the inclosed space it was much colder. By this method he found the contour that governs the temperature of the entire Caribbean sea. It has been supposed that the Gulf Stream flowed in a deep trough, because by former insufficient methods of sounding no bottom could be found. But in reality the bottom is perfectly level where the Gulf Stream flows, as recent soundings have shown. The speaker also explained the great system of currents that flow in the north and

south Atlantic Ocean, caused primarily by the greater heat at the equator, which, by rarefying the air at that point, caused the trade-winds. Much of what he said, especially as to the contour of the bottom of the sea, was illustrated by charts and by relief-maps, showing the rapid advance made in recent years in matters pertaining to the subject.

At the close of the address, ex-Governor Hoppin spoke in warm praise of it and of Commander Bartlett, of whom, he said, Rhode Island should be proud.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY—

At its regular winter meeting in its new quarters, the Hon. James W. Bradbury occupied the chair. After the reports of the librarian and other officers were read, President Bradbury addressed the meeting. He said: "We appreciate the generous provision made for our society, and it is our privilege and pleasure to tender to Mr. Baxter our hearty thanks for it, and our best wishes for his health, prosperity, and happiness, and that he may be graciously spared, by a kind Providence, many, many years to come, to witness the good fruits of his beneficent labors for his fellow men."

Men engaged in large and extensive business affairs are usually so absorbed in the pressing daily claims upon their time and thoughts, that it is rare indeed to find one to pause in the hot pursuit of success, and make to himself the grand inquiry (better than that made by one of old to the Saviour): 'What good thing can I do to benefit my fellow men?' And rarer still to have him stop and make the purpose practical by carrying it into execution."

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

One of the most impressive features of the centennial occasion in New York will be the exhibition of historic paintings and colonial silverware. The valuable portraits of Washington by the various celebrated artists are sufficient in themselves to form a superb gallery. In addition, however, the interesting pictures of Washington's contemporaries will command wide attention. Portraits of Chancellor Livingston, John Jay, General Philip Schuyler and Mrs. Schuyler, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, Stuart's Vice-President Adams, Mrs. Adams, Rufus King, and Stephen Van Rensselaer; Copley's portrait of Ralph Izard, which comes all the way from Charleston, loaned by Dr. Manigault; Sully's Patrick Henry, comes from Richmond, loaned by William Wirt Henry; Stuart's portraits of Nelly Custis and Egbert Benson; Inman's portraits of James Madison and Richard Varick; Waldo's portrait of Elias Boudinot; Vanderlyn's James Monroe, and others too numerous to be cited here.

The educational and moral effects of this approaching celebration should be remembered by all who are concerned in its conduct and success. In an affair of such magnitude it is not easy or possible for committees to render every citizen comfortable and play the host to all the invited world at the same time. New York is a hospitable city, and self will not fail to be put out of sight for two or three days, while the once dry study of history is told in the churches, on the platforms, at dinner-tables and entertainments, in the streets, and on the housetops, vivified by such illustrations as cannot be seen and studied again for a whole century. All personal discomforts will be ignored in view of the great general benefits this commemoration and demonstration will confer upon the country of our birth.

When John Lothrop Motley resided at the Hague, he occupied a house that was once the residence of Frank van Borselen, the last husband and consoler of the unhappy Jacqueline of Bavaria. Later on it belonged to Count Hohenlo, who figured in the war against Spain, and who married one of the daughters of William the Silent. In describing it in one of his letters to Dr. Holmes, Mr. Motley said: "It is a square, commodious brick mansion, and looks something like the rather old-fashioned-looking houses one used to see in Boston or Salem, with a large garden, and the air of unmitigated respectability. It was the residence of John DeWitt, who walked out through the garden just two centuries ago towards the prison, a stone's-throw from here, to speak with his brother Cornelius, who was locked in it, and whence they were both dragged and torn to pieces by the rabble on the square which is before my eyes. Looking up the street instead of down, I see the house, not very much altered, of the great John van Olden Barneveld; and not very far off is the court-yard of the castle where he was beheaded."

In a letter to Lady William Russell from the Hague, during the same summer, Mr. Motley mentions a long excursion with the queen, going to Haarlem by rail. "We were

met there," he says, "by M. and Madame Boreel van Hoogeland, in their carriage, and taken to see the picturesque ruins of Brederode castle, built nine hundred years ago by one of the hard-fighting, hard-drinking, most obstreperous sovereign counts of Holland. Thence we went to a charming country place of the Boreels, called Vaterland, a very Dutch designation, to dine, and returned to the Hague before midnight. I live much among the dead men, and have been solacing myself for several months in reading a considerable correspondence of John van Olden Barneveld, who had the ill luck to be decapitated, as you remember, two centuries and a half ago. If they had cut his head off on account of his abominable handwriting, no creature would have murmured at the decree who ever tried to read his infinite mass of manuscripts."

An interesting and characteristic letter from James Russell Lowell, dated Cambridge, July 28, 1864, appears in Motley's recently published *Correspondence*. He says: "My dear Motley. I write you on a matter of business. You may have heard that Norton and I have undertaken to edit the *North American*—a rather sisyphæan job, you will say. It wanted three chief elements to be successful. It wasn't thoroughly, that is, thick and thin, loyal, it wasn't lively, and it had no particular opinions on any particular subject. It was an eminently safe periodical, and accordingly was in great danger of running aground. It was an easy matter of course to make it loyal—even to give it opinions (such as they were), but to make it alive is more difficult. Perhaps the day of the quarterlies is gone by, and those megatheria of letters may be in the mere course of nature withdrawing to their last swamps to die in peace. Anyhow we are with our megatherium on our hands, and we must strive to find what will fill his huge belly, and keep him alive a little longer. You see what's coming. Pray imagine all the fine speeches and God-bless-your-honours, and let me proceed at once to hold out the inevitable hat. Couldn't you write us an article now and then? It would be a great help to us, and you shall have *carte blanche* as to subject. Couldn't you write on the natural history of that diplomatic cuttlefish of Schleswig-Holstein without forfeiting your ministerial equanimity? The creature has bemuddled himself with such a cloud of ink that he is almost indescribable to the laic eye, Or on recent German literature? Or on Austria and its resources? Or, in short, on anything that may be solemn in topic, and entertaining in treatment? Our pay isn't much, but you shall have five dollars a page, and the object is in a sense patriotic. If the thought be dreadful, see if you can't find something pleasing in it, as Young managed to do in 'Eternity.' Seriously, you can help us a great deal, and I really do not care what you write about if you will only write."

BOOK NOTICES

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, D.C.L. Edited by GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, with Portrait. Vols. I. and II. 8vo, pp. 395 and 423. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1889.

This sumptuous and charming work needs no commendation for those who are familiar with the brilliant and instructive pages of the "History of the United Netherlands," the "Rise of the Dutch Republic," and the "Life and Death of John of Barneveld." The gifted author's domestic life and intimate friendships, revealed through his correspondence, will naturally possess a charm for every reader. These letters have been edited and arranged by an accomplished scholar—the editor of Harper's periodicals—in excellent taste, and it is hardly possible to open the volumes at random without finding something to interest and delight. The opening pages are devoted to the early years and school-life of Motley, his first voyage to Europe, university experiences, and travels in Austria, France, and Italy. In 1837 Mr. Motley was married, and in 1839 appeared his first novel, "Morton's Hope." In the autumn of 1841 he was appointed Secretary of Legation to the Russian mission. His letters from St. Petersburg, chiefly to his wife and mother, are gems of information. In one of these he says: "One of my acquaintances here is Miss Porter, the authoress of 'Thaddeus of Warsaw.' She is staying here this winter with her brother, Sir Robert Ker Porter, who is British minister at Venezuela. She is a very agreeable, sensible person, and so is he. He was aid-de-camp to Sir John Moore at the battle of Corunna, and has been seventeen years in South America. I like them both, for there is something frank and expansive about them, which is refreshing after these frigid and rigid Russians." Of Count Nesselrode he writes to his wife in January, 1842: "I don't know whether I have ever described to you the great bureaucrat of the great autocrat. He is a small man, with a hooked nose and spectacles, of affable and supple manners, and apparently gifted with ubiquity, for I have seldom been where he was not. I have been honored with several short interviews with him, and I regret that I did not take down his conversation in shorthand, that I might transmit it to you. The topics have usually been the state of the weather, the heat of the rooms, and a comparative view of the thermometer this year and this time last year. Upon all these subjects of general and exciting interest he seemed full of general information, and delivered his opinions with decision, and at the same time with frankness hardly to have been expected of a man so deeply versed in the wiles of diplomacy."

A few months later he writes from London to his wife: "A few days before I left Paris I went with General Cass to one of Guizot's *soirées*. I was introduced to him, and 'huge Plinlimmon bowed his cloud-capped head.' but said nothing, for just as he was going to observe that the weather was cold for the season, somebody else was announced to whom he was obliged to repeat his bow, and upon whom he probably bestowed his atmospheric observation. Guizot has a fine monastic sort of face, and a short uncourtly figure. Unfortunately, though I went several times to the Chamber of Deputies, I did not hear him speak." In the winter of 1853 Mr. Motley was in Dresden, and describes to his mother the Saxon court, and comments humorously upon the profusion of orders and decorations: "Each manly chest, like the spacious firmament on high, was covered with stars innumerable." He tells her of costumes and customs, saying: "The king and queen receive masculine friends on New Year's morning. His majesty is a mild old gentleman, wadded and bolstered into very harmonious proportions. He has a single tooth worn carelessly on one side, which somewhat interferes with his eloquence. I do not think that I took notes enough of his conversation to be able to give you a report. He was glad to hear, in answer to a question, that I proposed passing the winter here. And as I felt how much unalloyed satisfaction the circumstance must really cause to his bosom, I internally resolved not to change my plan. The queen is very tall and very queenly. Nothing can be more elegant or more winning than her manner. I am not at liberty to mention her conversation with myself. Indeed, I did not understand a single word she said, and was entirely ignorant in what language she was speaking, but I have since ascertained that it was probably French." Matters of public interest are more or less discussed, but in every letter the writer's pleasantry, generous sympathy, and affectionate disposition are revealed. With all his interest in literary pursuits and in state affairs, Mr. Motley was essentially a domestic man. The first volume contains an exquisite portrait of the historian, and the work is very handsomely printed.

AN ESSAY ON THE AUTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS OF THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AND OF THE CONSTITUTION. From Vol. X., Wisconsin Historical Society Collections. Revised and enlarged. By LYMAN C. DRAPER, LL.D. Square octavo, pp. 117. New York: Burns & Sons. 1889.

The gathering of material for this monograph was commenced six years ago, and, aided by his wide experience in the pursuit, and an unlimited measure of patience and perseverance, Dr. Draper has achieved a result which cannot fail to be a source of inspiration to every historical scholar in the land. He gives some interesting sketches of the efforts of the early autograph collectors in England, and a brief history of the pioneers in this beautiful employment in the United States. He says the progress of forming sets of the autographs of the signers has been slow from the start. "It took from 1815 to well on toward 1834 for Dr. Sprague to complete his first collection; and till 1837, before Dr. Raffles succeeded in procuring the last of his fifty-six autographs. The Gwinnet autograph is rare—no full letter of his has yet been discovered. Documents signed, of various kinds, have been preserved, so that each of the twenty-two full sets of the signers have been supplied, and several of the incomplete sets have also a specimen." In speaking of the collection of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York, Dr. Draper says: "His series of letters and MSS. of Washington contain specimens of the handwriting of 'the Father of his country,' from boyhood to the year of his death; as well as letters of his mother, Mary Washington, and of Martha, his wife, his brother Lawrence, etc., etc. The total number of Washington letters in the collection is eighty-eight, aside from many A. D. S. and MS. documents." He further says that Dr. Emmet began the collection of autographs and illustration of books at the early age of twelve, and commenced the formation of his first set of signers about 1860. The work is issued in handsome style, and will necessarily occupy a niche in every library of importance in the country.

EASTER BEAUTIES. FROM SNOW TO SUNSHINE. By ALICE WELLINGTON ROLINS and SUSIE BARSTOW SKELDING. **HEAVEN AND EARTH.** An Antiphon. By EDITH M. THOMAS and W. ST. JOHN HARPER. **HARK! HARK! MY SOUL.** By FREDERICK W. FABER. Illustrated by W. St. John Harper. New York: Frederick A. Stokes & Brother. 1889.

The first mentioned of these gems of beauty presents fac-similes of water-color drawings of butterflies, with appropriate thoughts in sweetest verse. The second is of same size and oblong shape, and the text is exquisitely illustrated by half-tone engravings after original designs, as, for instance, "The Guardian of the Lilies" and "The Seraph-child of Rapture." The third is a small square 12mo, more beautiful if possible than either of the others, the words opening,

"Hark, hark my soul!
Angelic songs are swelling
O'er earth's green fields
And ocean's wave-beat shore;
How sweet the truth
Those blessed strains are telling
Of that new life
When sin shall be no more!"

We have seen nothing more appropriate for Easter gifts among the issues of the season.

REPORT OF THE CANADIAN ARCHIVES. By DOUGLAS BRYMNER, Archivist, 1888. (Being an appendix to Report of the Minister of Agriculture.) 8vo pamphlet, pp. 1,028. Printed for the Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery. Ottawa, Canada: A. Senécal. 1889.

An immense amount of valuable material and information is embodied in this publication. The continuation of the calendar of the Haldimand collection occupies about half of the volume, the importance of which is well understood in all countries. The letters concerning the condition of Washington's army in the various years (particularly 1779, 1780, and 1781), from those who were unfriendly to the patriotic cause, must, if we may judge by the glimpses given, be remarkably interesting from our present point of view. "Hudibras" (George Smyth) writes frequently from Albany. March 11, 1780, says the lives of the friends of government are miserable; provisions cannot be had; generals resigning; army between hope and despair; congress and their adherents in a state of desolation; wishes the friends of England in Canada were more active. January 31, 1781, says most of the people are sick of the times; Washington's army mutinied; Vermont people not true to either. April 23 following, says he was obliged to hide when instructions came, and urges striking a decisive blow *at Albany*, which *many would join*. This is only an example of hundreds of communications which exist in the collection. There are 232 volumes of the Haldimand collection, and the Boquet collection numbers 30 volumes, both covering an important period in the history of the country; and there are no other copies of these collections on this continent.

HISTORIC FAMILIES OF KENTUCKY. By THOMAS MARSHALL GREEN. First Series. 8vo, pp. 293. Cincinnati: Robert Clark & Company. 1889.

The object of this work, as stated by the author in his preface, "is to trace from their origin in this country a number of Kentucky families of Scottish extraction, whose ancestors, after having been seated in Ireland for several generations, emigrated to America early in the eighteenth century, and became the pioneers of the valley

of Virginia, to the communities settled in which they gave their own distinguishing characteristics. A later generation of these families of the valley were also among the early pioneers of Kentucky, and here, too, impressed the qualities transmitted to them upon the people of the commonwealth they helped to found. Connected with them by marriage are many families of a different origin, and from other parts of Virginia." The author has not attempted a merely genealogical skeleton, nor does he introduce trees or tables, but he has sketched the history of the generations in a clear, readable, and instructive style, with the public services of many well-known members of the numerous families treated in the book. He opens with the McDowells, and he writes of the Bufords, the Logans, the Stuarts, the Nashes, the Marshalls, the Washingtons, and fifty or sixty others. It is a valuable contribution to American history.

THE LEE GENEALOGY. JOHN LEIGH, of Agawam (Ipswich), Massachusetts, 1634-1671, and his descendants of the name of LEE. With genealogical notes and biographical sketches. Compiled by WILLIAM LEE. Square 8vo, pp. 499. Albany, New York: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1888.

This is a very carefully prepared and well-printed work, containing, besides the matter mentioned in the title, interesting chapters on the origin of the name and families of Lee, Lea, and Leigh; the various families of Lee in Great Britain, as well as in America; and the early descendants of Henry Lee, of Manchester, Massachusetts, 1650; of Thomas Lee, of Boston, Massachusetts, 1707; of Thomas Lee, of Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the Woodis, or Woodhouse, family. The material has been the gradual accumulation of many years, and the book contains many personal sketches of interest. It is illustrated with original engravings of a map showing the Woodis-Lee farm at Concord, and a fine photo-engraving of the old mansion on the Woodis-Lee farm; also a few old Lee seals and autographs. The index to the book contains *every* surname and given name in it, a feature which is so often lacking, and it is tastefully bound in muslin, antique, with uncut edges.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF OHIO.

An Encyclopædia of the State. In two volumes. The Ohio Centennial Edition, contrasting the Ohio of 1846 with 1886-1888. By HENRY HOWE. Vol. I., 8vo, pp. 749. Columbus: Henry Howe & Son. 1889.

Historical scholars throughout the country are familiar with the publications of Henry

Howe, but few know perhaps that the venerable author, who traveled through Ohio on horseback in 1846, when it was a new land and its habitations chiefly of logs, has at the end of forty years been able to repeat the journey, and issue a fresh edition of his former work, with a modern view of the state. When he made his first tour of exploration in Ohio, that very year, the present Governor, J. B. Foraker, was born in a cabin in Highland county. The capitol building of the state, where the young legislature then assembled, was a crude structure that scarce any Ohio village of this day would tolerate for a school-house. The story of the author's recent tour, told in his preface, is one of surpassing interest. He says: "When, in 1847, I had written the preface to the edition of my work issued that year, I could little imagine that forty years later I should make a second tour over Ohio and put forth a second edition. Not a human being in any land that I know of has done a like thing. It is in view of what I have been enabled to do for a great people I regard myself as having been one of the most fortunate of men." Mr. Howe says that to call his work a history tells but a part of the truth; "it is figuratively the state itself printed and bound, ready to go into every family, to show every part concerning the whole collectively." We certainly cannot see how any intelligent family in Ohio can afford to miss the knowledge it contains or the book itself from their library shelves. It is crowded with solid information, and contains about five hundred engravings from drawings by the author in 1846, and photographs taken in 1886, 1887, and 1888, of cities and chief towns, public buildings, historic localities, monuments, curiosities, antiquities, portraits and maps. At the close of the volume are some entertaining reminiscences of the author's travels in New England, New York, New Jersey and Virginia in company with Mr. Barber—prior to the production of his "Historical Collections" of these several states. The work on New York was published in 1841; that on Virginia in 1845. Of his tour in Western Virginia he says: "I was for weeks footing it through the mountains. The population was very sparse; that of an entire county in some cases could be got into one of our churches. Their houses were generally cabins with a single room, standing in the narrow valleys of the mountain streams. The people dressed in homespun, and lived the lives of half hunters and half agriculturists."

This encyclopædia of Ohio has a very useful table of contents, and, although Mr. Howe says he does not expect for it any large sale outside of Ohio, we predict that the six thousand or more good libraries in the country will not wish to be deprived of a copy; and, as for the general public, such a work is liable to be more generously read than any regular state history. It is sold exclusively by subscription.

MISCELLANEOUS

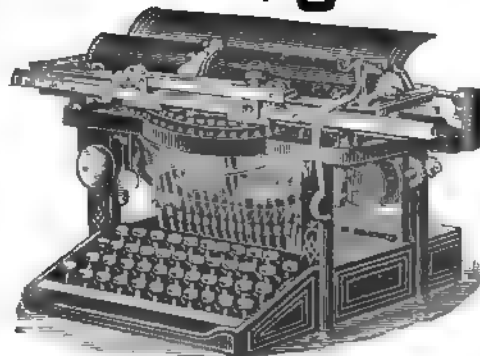
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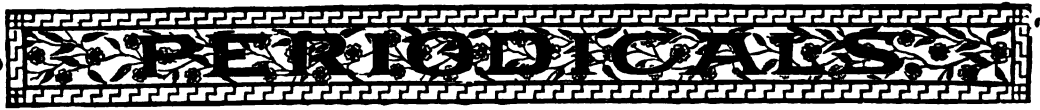
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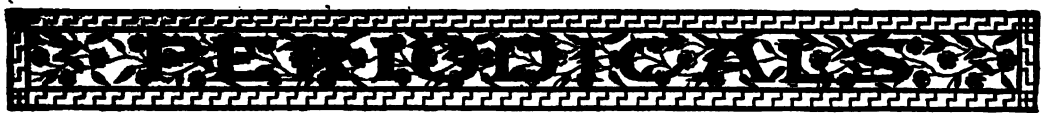
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TOTAL ASSETS, - - - \$126,082,153 56

Increase in Assets,	\$7,275,301 68
Surplus at four per cent.,	\$7,940,063 63
Increase in Surplus,	\$1,645,622 11
Policies in force,	158,369
Increase during year,	17,426
Policies written,	32,606
Increase during year,	10,301
Risks assumed,	\$103,214,261 32
Increase during year,	33,756,792 95
Risks in force,	482,125,184 36
Increase during year,	54,496,251 85
Receipts from all sources,	26,215,932 52
Increase during year,	3,096,010 06
Paid Policy-holders,	14,727,550 22

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Bonds and Mortgages,	\$49,617,874 02
United States and other securities,	48,616,704 14
Real Estate and Loans on collateral,	21,786,125 34
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,813,277 60
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit, etc.,	3,248,172 46
	\$126,082,153 56

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,681,420	\$351,789,285	\$4,743,771
1885	46,507,139	368,981,441	5,012,684
1886	56,832,719	393,809,203	5,643,568
1887	69,457,468	427,628,933	6,294,442
1888	103,214,261	482,125,184	7,940,063

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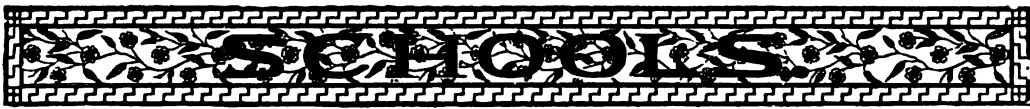
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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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THE HISTORIC CAPITAL OF IOWA

"AMERICA ANOTHER NAME FOR OPPORTUNITY"

ONE May morning, fifty years ago, a thin column of smoke rose on a bluff overlooking a picturesque forest of oak and hickory; a banner might have been seen waving in the air, and a fresh-hewn slab bore the inscription:

Seat of Government, Iowa City, May 4, 1839.

This was the birth of Iowa city, and all of Iowa then open to settlement was a strip fifty miles wide bordering the Mississippi river. That little strip of territory, which had been a part of Louisiana, Missouri, Michigan, and Wisconsin, had actually set up housekeeping for itself in the great national family, and needed a governmental home. To establish this, three commissioners, appointed by the first territorial legislature, had pressed beyond the line of the old Black Hawk Purchase to one of nature's fairest scenes and choicest collections of water, stone, and wood, and for the first time the stars and stripes fluttered among the oaks that for generations had guarded the hunting-grounds of the Sacs and Foxes. By fiat of congress, these red-skinned warriors retired to the Indian territory twenty miles to the west, and over the graves of their fathers was re-enacted the daily miracle of our century. Never was capital located in a wilder spot. Iowa, "The Beautiful Land," lay in its primeval splendor of forest, stream, and emerald prairie—that land that had reminded the adventurous Frenchman of his own loved champagnes, wanting only the vineyard and the curling smoke of the cottage to deceive his longing heart; that land that had been a football for the sport of kings, tossed from France to Spain, from Spain to France again, and was sold to us at last because Napoleon needed gold; that land where the Indian trail was trodden still, where the trader coursed the rivers with his scanty wares, and the trapper lived in solitude.

Pressing through thickets and tangles of slough-grass, winding over prairies brilliant with rich-hued flowers, fording bridgeless streams, came

the wagon of the emigrant. The news of the founding of the capital spread to the east, and in those days before the California rush Iowa became the westward point of the homeseeker and the fortune hunter. Some came to speculate, others to stay. In that first bright summer, half a century ago, some slept under the trees of the forest with slumbers broken by the wolf's long howl, others dwelt in tents, and as cabins were erected their floors were covered at night with the tired pioneers who sought refuge from the chilling dew. Old "Leanback Hall" was built of logs cut from the city plot, and, tradition says, was furnished with a single bed, large enough to accommodate thirty-six men. Many of the first settlers were from Ohio, and by instinct, as it were, took to the woods, leaving the broad open prairie for later comers.

Ten years before Chicago saw her first locomotive, when thousands of acres lay unclaimed in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the sum of \$45,000 was realized in this corner of Iowa through the original sales of lots. With temporary homes and scanty provisions, some apprehension was felt at the approach of the first winter, but the weather was mild, and wood was abundant. As there were no mills nearer than the Mississippi river the people ground their corn by hand, and many a prairie-fowl and noble deer that sped over College hill fell before the hunter's rifle. The wild turkey gobbled in the hazel thicket, quails and chipmunks skurried through the village streets, and along the river the beaver, musk-rat, mink, and otter unwarily walked into the snares of the trapper.

Immigration had heretofore been guided only by old Indian trails or the haphazard ox-wagon track, and in groping its way to Iowa city its wagons were often like ships at sea beating about to find an uncertain harbor. This ended when Iowa's first delegate to congress, driving by slow stages from his corn-field near Burlington to the national capital, secured an appropriation for the opening of a military road from Dubuque to Iowa city, which became the highway of travel to the interior.

The first court was held in the old log hut of a fur trader, and there being no room for the jury they, like the old Saxon Witenagemot, went out into the open air to deliberate, and the sheriff meted out their bounds by nature's barriers of creek and river, including in this august jury-room more than half a section of breezy, billowy prairie, as well as some scores of ill-clad Indians. The petit- and grand-jury rooms were divided by the trail leading up to Wapashasheik's Indian town near by. The grand jurors wanted to go a-fishing, but unfortunately the river was on the petit-jury side. In the saffron files of a Philadelphia paper of half a century ago may be found an account of this court, written by an attorney, in which he

relates that on one evening, after a prisoner's conviction, *the judge played the fiddle and said prisoner danced* for the amusement of the company.

When the new town was scarcely twelve weeks old, there dashed into its midst one day a gay cavalcade, led by the blue-coated figure of His Excellency Governor Robert Lucas, white-haired and stately on his bay pacer, with his daughter and niece and General Fletcher all intent on seeing the seat of government. The logs of rising cabins rested as the work-



THE OLD STONE CAPITOL. IOWA CITY. NOW THE STATE UNIVERSITY.

men came out to pay their homage to the distinguished visitors. The best cabin in the town, the only one with an attic, was placed at their disposal, and that night the governor went to his slumbers by the primitive ladder against a narrow hatchway in the upper floor.

The father of Governor Lucas was a descendant of William Penn, and a captain in the continental army of the revolution; and this son Robert was born in 1781, about the time of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in a low-roofed old homestead on the Potomac about fifty miles from the home of Washington. The year following Washington's death, when Robert was a youth of nineteen, the family removed to the wilds of

Ohio, where he surveyed Scioto county, a town of which still bears his name. He was a captain in 1812, and guided Hull's army through the woods to Detroit. Lucas county, in northern Ohio, was also named in his honor. He served in the Ohio general assembly in its old Chillicothe days, and removed with that body to Columbus in 1816, when the new halls of state were warmed by cozy fires in huge old-fashioned fire-places, with big brass andirons, and when stumps and logs still obstructed the streets of Ohio's capital city. For nineteen successive years Robert Lucas had presided in one or the other branch of the Ohio legislature, and in 1832 was elected Ohio's governor. Having served two terms he declined a third, and retired to private life, and was soon appointed by President Van Buren to the government of the newly organized territory of Iowa. And here we find the old hero inspecting his new domain, walking along the sod-paved avenues, scattering the leaves with a cane which tells this story of its own:

Presented by Judge Overton, of Tennessee, to Governor Lucas, of Ohio, for presiding over the First Democratic National Convention, nominating Andrew Jackson to the Presidency, Baltimore, Maryland, 1832.

"Somewhat back from the village street,
Stands the old-fashioned country-seat"

that Governor Lucas erected in that early time, and children and grandchildren perpetuate the name of the first territorial governor of Iowa.

A contract having been made with the firm that built the capitol of Illinois at Springfield, to construct a similar structure at Iowa city, a large force had accomplished by July 4, 1840, ten thousand dollars' worth of work on the foundation, therefore the corner-stone of the edifice illustrated was laid amid the booming of guns and the waving of pioneer hats. Governor Lucas addressed the assemblage. The celebration of the day closed with a barbecue under the forest trees, in what is now the city park.

From the "Old Capitol Quarry," till then untouched, save in the crude age of Indian art, stone was cut and hauled to the top of Capitol square, where busy workmen piqued the curiosity of the squirrel above and the lurking red man below, with the steady click of hammer and chisel. Slightly varying from the original plan by Father Mazzuchelli, the blocks of gray limestone shaped themselves in Doric symmetry, aspiring columns rose on the porticos, and the dome curved its fair calyx above the oaks of ages. No costly wood carving or pillars of marble graced the primitive capitol. The great Wisconsin pineries were not yet opened—the interior was finished with Alleghany pine, the floors were of

native oak, and the shingles were bought in Cincinnati. All this, however, was not done in a day, nor in a year. The stress of poverty that hampers all new states was heavily felt in Iowa; droughts and floods, financial crises, and cholera kept the exchequer low. Delay followed delay, so that the rear portico stands unfinished to this day.

In cold wind and icy sleet the first legislature assembled in Iowa city, just thirty months after it was founded, and met a cordial welcome in the busy little town of seven hundred people. No railroad brought them to the seat of government but the tedious lumbering coach, or the solitary



THE FIRST STEAMBOAT APPROACHING IOWA CITY.

horseman threaded his lonely way in the face of a fierce December storm. As the capitol was yet unfinished the first legislators occupied a temporary frame structure erected by a public-spirited citizen for the purpose; this was decorated by the patriotic ladies and furnished with the outfit sent on from Burlington, the temporary seat of government.

The second governor, John Chambers, a Kentuckian, came with this legislature. He had been an aide of General Harrison, and of great service in the presidential campaign of 1840. President Harrison remembered him immediately after his inauguration with this appointment to govern Iowa. He brought from his plantation a colored body-servant, and his secretary to be in fashion purchased a bright mulatto boy in town for

two hundred and fifty dollars. That boy, the only human being ever sold in Iowa city if not in the state, afterward died in southern bondage.

One day the little isolated world of pioneers heard a puffing in the river, and lo! the pennon of a Mississippi steamer fluttered back of the capitol. The delighted inhabitants honored the captain and crew with a public dinner, and the boat carried back to Burlington twenty thousand pounds of fossil sponges and corals, the deposits of which have since lured even Agassiz himself to the banks of the Iowa.

Soon afterward another steamer came, "converting the deep black waters of the Iowa into foam of milky whiteness," as expressed by an editor of that day. "On the further bluff, withdrawn timidly from the presence of the white man and seated in dismal silence, a small group of the natives of the forest regarded with astonishment and awe the approach of the big fire-canoe, believing it to be a curse of the Great Spirit, marking the progress of the pale-face feeding upon their own loved Iowa."

Down the terrace back of the capitol nearly half the town flocked, greeting the arrival with enthusiastic cheers, but the fond hope that tonnage from Cincinnati could be landed in the heart of Iowa was doomed to disappointment. Still, for many years, occasional steamers continued to ruffle "the deep black waters of the Iowa."

One bright June day in 1842 business was suspended, and the cornerstone was laid of the first academy of the future Athens of Iowa. The Mechanics' Academy was for a long time the finest school edifice in the territory. Here the young people of the forties studied Latin and geometry, here men who are the leading orators in the state to-day plumed their callow wings, and here a boyish band of cadets of temperance foreshadowed prohibition in Iowa. Through some failure in the grant, the property reverted to the state, and is now Mercy Hospital, connected with the medical college.

The annals of the west afford no parallel to the Hummer Bell. Rev. Michael Hummer was pastor of the Presbyterian church in 1841, and through his solicitation a beautiful bell had been presented by the Troy foundry and friends in the east. Upon it was inscribed the names of the donors and the church for which it was cast. Rev. Mr. Hummer had a falling out with his people and left. The citizens all felt a pride in this bell, as it was the only one in the capital, and, in fact, the only one whose chimes had broken upon the Sabbath air in all that region west of the Mississippi towns. Great, then, was the indignation when it was rumored one morning that Rev. Mr. Hummer had come back and was going to take the bell to his new field at Keokuk. The people rallied to the church. Mr.

Hummer had climbed into the belfry, and with the aid of an accomplice had let the bell down. At this interesting juncture the citizens arrived, and coolly removed the ladder, leaving the gentleman and his friend up in the belfry. While loading the bell into a wagon, sticks and stones and lath and plaster were showered down from above, but the indignant people carried the trophy away, and a trusted few sent it to the bottom of Iowa river, to remain until the disputes could be settled. All day long the prisoners pined in the belfry, but after dark a good Methodist brother took pity on them and let them down. Court was in session at the time, and Hon. John P. Cook, then a rising young sprig of the law, perpetrated the following impromptu verse, to the delight of his legal associates :

“ Ah, Hummer's bell ! Ah, Hummer's bell !
How many a tale of woe 'twould tell,
Of Hummer riding up to town,
To take the brazen jewel down ;
And when high up in his belfree,
They moved the ladder ; yes, sir-e-e !
Thus while he towered aloft, they say,
The bell took wings and flew away.”

Three other stanzas were added by the embryo judge, Wm. H. Tuthill, and the words were set to music. In a few days the whole town was ringing with the song,

“ Hummer's Bell ! Ah, Hummer's Bell ! ”

Nothing, down to the days of “ John Brown's Body,” ever attained such sudden and lasting popularity.

A traitor in the chosen few played the city false, for when they came to look for the bell in the river it was not found. Nearly a generation after a returned Californian reported that the bell was in Salt Lake city, whither it had been spirited away (hauled overland) and sold to the Mormons. A letter to Brigham Young brought back word that it was there, and Iowa city could have it by refunding the money paid for it. Hummer heard of it, and journeying to Salt Lake city found the bell in the school-house for Brigham Young's children, and engaged a lawyer to take it by replevin ; but Brigham was awake, and when by night they reached the belfry, lo, the bell again had flown ! I would like to add that it *was* finally returned and hung in triumph in its old place where it tolls to-day as cherished as any old bell of Rotterdam or Ghent, but truth compels the statement that Iowa city did not choose to pay seven hundred dollars for a mere sentiment, and therefore the bell rests from its travels in a museum in Salt Lake city.

As early as 1848 the railroad question was agitated in Iowa city. In

1849 the first road reached Chicago ; in 1854 the first railroad touched the Mississippi at Rock Island. On New Year's eve, 1855, the Mississippi and Missouri company laid their last rail to Iowa city by the light of burning tar-barrels at midnight. Far out along the track the bonfires blazed and crowds of citizens laid rails with a right good will, to enable the contractors to complete the work before the advent of the new year. Preparations had been made to celebrate the event with befitting splendor. Thousands of invitations had been sent to the east summoning the world in general to participate in their jubilee. Here is the form, raked out of the ashes of the old capitol days :

GRAND RAILROAD FESTIVAL !

IOWA CITY AND THE ATLANTIC CITIES CONNECTED BY RAILWAY !

**THE NATIONAL TRUNK ROAD HALF COMPLETED TO
THE PACIFIC !**

IOWA CITY, DEC. 18TH, 1855.

Dear Sir :

You are respectfully requested to attend a celebration, at Iowa City, of the

OPENING OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND MISSOURI RAILROAD

TO THE CAPITAL OF IOWA,

ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 3D, 1856.

We hand you herewith a card, which will serve you as a PASS over the Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, over the Mississippi and Missouri Railroad, to and from Iowa City, and to the hospitalities of her citizens.

This was signed by Le Grand Byington and others of the committee of invitation. January 3 was ushered in by one of the coldest days of

winter, the mercury twenty degrees below zero. The crisp snow creaked under foot, the trees glittered with frost, and the keen air nipped the unprotected ear. For weeks the whole town had been busy—turkeys by the hundred, butter by the ton, cake and pastry, fruit and flowers in sumptuous profusion awaited the bidden guests. At 2 P. M., the booming of cannon announced the arrival of the first passenger train with seven car-loads of people. Sleighs and carriages were in waiting, but, in that fierce cold, no one waited for conveyances, but rushed wildly to the warmed and decorated capitol. All the country round about was pouring in; up the winding stairs of the legislative halls, a thousand, two thousand poured to a welcome and a banquet that in point of magnificence has not to this day been surpassed by anything of the kind ever attempted in Iowa. It was the very blossoming of hope in the ambitious capital of a proud young state. At that feast, multitudinous lights shone over as fair women and as brave men as ever assembled in the west. Among the dignitaries from abroad were, General John A. Dix, of New York; Henry Farnum, the great railroad magnate; the mayor of Chicago; and capitalists and editors from many leading cities. As night sped on they heeded not the wintry blast. Within were speeches and music and dancing; without, the frost sparkled on the snowy breast of the glad New Year; and not till the wee, sma' hours of morning did the last strain die away, and the last footfall resound among the corridors of the capitol. Such was the welcome accorded the first railroad into the heart of the great world west of the Mississippi.

In those early days, when legislators lived in log cabins, and were chosen for worth, not wealth, they met in that old stone capitol to frame laws and constitutions, to discuss banks and boundaries, to establish counties, state institutions, and public improvements, and thus firm and sure they laid the corner-stones of Iowa. Three constitutional conventions and four territorial and six state legislatures held their sessions in those halls. Among their members were future judges, generals, and eight governors, who here read their first lessons in the science of government. Almost every member of the earlier legislatures attained distinction. Emerson says: "America is only another name for opportunity," and nowhere is this greater than in a state just doffing her territorial frock and pinafore.

There were some exciting sessions in that old state house, as when the territory was about to assume statehood, and two United States senators and three Supreme Court judges were to be elected by the legislature. The death-like silence of the crowded house was broken only by the roll-call of the clerk, as one by one the vote of each member told

upon the fortunes of whig or democrat. No choice was made, and none could be made, so for two years after Iowa became a state she was unrepresented in the United States senate. In 1855, during the fifth general assembly, the galleries were thronged with the eager ladies of Iowa city when a prohibitory liquor law was discussed, a question that had its birth in the very first message of the first governor, and that, like Banquo's ghost, would not down until it became a law in 1882. A few days after this the election of James Harlan to the United States senate called out the rank and file of both parties. Just out of college, Harlan came to Iowa city to take charge of a proposed Methodist college. The eloquence of the young minister marked him for political favor. The Whigs nominated him for governor, and the Democrats proved him too young. He was elected superintendent of public instruction, and through some technicality the election was declared of no effect; but now the budding strength of a party yet unnamed bore the young preacher into the senate, where for seventeen eventful years he continued to represent the state of Iowa. His only child, Mary Harlan, born in Iowa city, is the wife of Robert T. Lincoln, of Chicago, so that among the queens of Garfield's cabinet there were two Iowa city ladies, as we shall presently see.

At the time of Harlan's election, a miller in his flour-covered suit made daily visits to town in the pursuit of his avocation who was destined to become the most illustrious of the men who sought their fortunes in early Iowa. On that memorable day when the Republican party of Iowa had its birth in the old capitol, the miller drove into town as usual and went into the meeting a mere spectator. At that crisis, after many others had spoken, the miller was called upon to express his opinion. Flour-dusted as he was, he came forward. "Come upon the platform," said the chairman, as he stopped at its foot.

"No, I always prefer to stand on a level with the people," was the reply, and the prompt and persuasive eloquence that followed electrified the house and made Samuel J. Kirkwood the leader of the new-born party. Some weeks after, a delegation waited upon the miller and told him he had been nominated for the state senate. Slowly he tied up a sack of meal and seating himself upon an old log told them he could not be a candidate, that he loved the music of his mill better than the strife of politicians.

"But you *must* run," was the verdict of the visitors. That year he went to the state senate, and three years later ran for governor against Hon. A. C. Dodge, who had been in the United States senate, and minister to Spain. Dodge came home for the campaign, and a series of joint debates was arranged for the rival candidates. Dodge had been nom-

inated with the expectation that his personal popularity and brilliant oratory would carry votes with the grand una-



THE GOVERNOR LUCAS HOME.

THE HOMESTEAD OF SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD,
THE WAR GOVERNOR OF IOWA.

nimity of old. Kirkwood was comparatively unknown, a plain-spoken, homespun-clad pioneer. Kirkwood has been called another Lincoln; Dodge was his Douglas. In the

newspaper language of the day, Kirkwood "flayed him alive," and he ran away from the debates. At one place where they were to speak, Dodge's party met him with a carriage and four beautiful horses. Kirkwood's people met him with a hay-rack and a yoke of oxen. By storm he carried the hearts of the pioneers, and by storm he carried the state for three gubernatorial terms with ever increasing majorities.

During his first term as governor the war broke out, and through private contributions Governor Kirkwood fitted out the first Iowa regiment, and sent it to the front long before the general government was ready for that duty. Kirkwood was governor of Iowa at a time when the office implied exalted honor and power. By virtue of that office he signed the commissions for the most part of the officers who commanded the eighty thousand men Iowa sent into the field; he levied armies, and was the faithful custodian of vast sums of public treasure. With a firm hand he quelled incipient rebellion in Iowa, and by his firmness, his economy, and his liberality, the "Old War Governor" of Iowa caused one of the youngest

states to stand foremost in the annals of honor. His nomination for the third term was after a period of retirement. The convention was divided as to candidates, when, without his knowledge or consent, the name "KIRKWOOD" startled the contending sides.

"By whose authority is Kirkwood's name brought here?" asked a member in deprecating tones. "*By authority of the great Republican party of Iowa,*" thundered the speaker, towering above the heads of the convention. The magic of the name reconciled the rival factions, and rolled up the greatest majority Iowa ever had known.

In his two congressional terms Kirkwood seldom spoke, but when he did he was awarded strict attention from both sides of the senate. At the close of one of his speeches, Ben Hill of Georgia rose and said:

"The senator from Iowa has made a speech worthy of a senator anywhere and in any age. I want my friend to know and I want his people to know that the patriotic, the manly, the catholic, the national, the unsectional sentiments which fell from his lips and which I know animate his bosom, meet with a warm response in mine and in the bosoms of my people. He, and such as he, whether Republicans or Democrats, we can take to our arms and our hearts and call our fellow citizens."

Blaine once said of him that he would rather have Sam Kirkwood on his side before a Maine audience than any other public speaker he knew, because of his knack of pleasing the common people. Garfield said, when he chose him to his cabinet, he "loved him because he got so near the people." In Kirkwood the days of old simplicity lived again. That the homespun senator from the west did not "live up to his blue china," was well known in Washington. A tailor there once put a fashion plate in his window of Garfield's cabinet in the latest style. An old friend in passing was so amused that he bought a lot of the plates and sent them to Kirkwood's friends in Iowa.

On a part of the old Governor Lucas estate is the Kirkwood home, where he who has been honored as no other man in Iowa was ever honored is spending his declining years. On any pleasant summer's day the ex-governor's patriarchal figure can be seen on the vine-clad porch, or lounging under his favorite linden reading the news. In winter he sits before the genial open fire of his pleasant library and greets with a warm hand-clasp the frequent visitor, and ever by his side is his sunny-tempered wife, domestic in her nature as Martha Washington herself. In their cabinet days a Washington correspondent said of Mrs. Kirkwood, "I saw her enter the marble room at the capitol the other day attired in a quiet, elegant costume of black velvet, and I thought how proud Iowa ought to

be of her representative woman, who was by her manners and dress every inch a true and noble lady."

When Kirkwood began his public career the capital was at Iowa city, and after its removal the governor's headquarters were at the miller's old home. For nearly twenty years, and under the administration of five governors, Iowa city held the sceptre, but by a new treaty with the Sacs and Foxes a further unsettled territory was opened, and a new centre created; then the capitol was removed to Fort Des Moines, a promising town with four thousand inhabitants in the heart of the prairie. Wrath and despair seized Iowa city, her business seemed paralyzed, her hopes were blighted, and when one sagacious citizen thought of securing the state university, many in anger refused to sign the paper he circulated; but in 1857 the legislative property was removed to Des Moines, and the students of the state university appropriated the abandoned capitol, which was left as a legacy to education forever.

The archives were gone. The old days were ended, but a new era began, rich with the romance that always pervades a university town. From being the seat of politics and politicians, it became the seat of linguists and of learning. Historical rooms, libraries, museums, academies arose, and schools, classical, scientific, commercial, law, medical, and dental, clustered around the state university. The grim old capitol, designed to resound with legislative eloquence, is now the scholastic retreat of the ambitious law student, and on that historic height other buildings have arisen to be the conservators of science and art. To the younger generation the old capital days are a myth and a legend, but to their parents the actors of that old drama live as yesterday.

Judging from its history and its buildings, from its trees and gardens and elegant homes, Iowa city is an old town in a new state. There is a haze of the past over it, a tinge of conservatism, through and behind which dashes the fresh red blood of youth. Scholars love it; clubs, literary, historic, and scientific, haunt its libraries, and numerous visitors annually bear witness to its continued hospitality; yet as compared with the east Iowa city is young, with a future unfolding full of promise as any university town of new or old world fame.

Eva Emery Dye.

IOWA CITY, IOWA.

THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY

THE OLDEST MILITARY ORGANIZATION IN AMERICA

The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts is the offspring of The Honourable Artillery Company of London, the oldest military organization in the world. The latter was incorporated by King Henry VIII. in 1537, as a nursery or school for training soldiers. This London corps antedates by more than one hundred years the formation of any other British military company, and has already celebrated its three hundred and fiftieth birthday. Nor is age its chief distinction. It has been commanded by kings and princes, officered by dukes and earls; the proudest families of the realm have been glad to enroll their sons among its members, while it has been granted and still enjoys many privileges and immunities peculiar to itself. From the time of its foundation until the present it has been wholly distinct from all other military bodies, is self sustaining, receives no aid from the public funds, is the only corps outside of the regular British army that bears the "Queen's colours," and its government is based upon royal warrants that have been confirmed by each succeeding sovereign from the time of Henry VIII.

When the American branch of the Honourable Artillery Company was organized, it adopted not only the plan and purpose of its famous prototype, but also many of its customs; and it is probably due to this circumstance—though many of these customs have been discarded by the London company—that the relations existing between the two are now so unique. Each is absolutely independent of the other, the English company recognizes the American as its offspring, while the latter is pleased to claim so illustrious a parent, and every year strengthens the bond uniting these, the oldest affiliated military organizations in existence.

Yet the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts was founded in a manner characteristically American. It did not lean on the parent corps for support; it was not begun by men sent out from London for the purpose of establishing it; but was the direct outgrowth of a military spirit which the dangers of an unexplored country compelled the early settlers to cultivate.* The "Pilgrim fathers" were brave men,

* In the preparation of this paper every important authority has been consulted, Whitman, Raikes, Winthrop, the "Records" of the company, etc., and acknowledgments are also due to Colonel Henry Walker of Boston for original material. Conflicting statements have been in every instance closely scrutinized.

understanding the use of warlike weapons, and, though coming to the new world for peace and freedom to worship God in their own way, they came with musket in one hand and Bible in the other. Every reader of New England history knows how the flint-lock hung over the door of each rude cottage, how the Puritan went to church carrying his loaded musket, and stood at the entrance to his pew during the long prayer, not daring to kneel lest the sentry on guard outside should shout "To arms!" and when that cry came these men at once formed their company in the aisle, and the meeting-house became an armed fortress.

Regular bodies of militia were of necessity organized in the very earliest days of the Plymouth colony, and were regarded of such importance as to be mentioned in the "Charter of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," it being therein stated that the governor has authority "to train, instruct, and govern the militia—to assemble in martial array and put in warlike posture the inhabitants, to conduct them in service, within and without the province, by sea and land, to resist invasion, and to attack and destroy, pursue and capture, the public enemy."

At the close of the first Indian war in which Massachusetts engaged—that short and bloody conflict with the Pequods—the rulers of Boston feasted the victorious militia-men. Some of the soldiers and a few merchants and "gentlemen" of the infant colony, former members of the Honourable Artillery Company of London, suggested a military organization, the aim of which should be to instruct men in the art of war and introduce a better and uniform system of military tactics. After shaping the new company, they petitioned the general court for a charter. This petition was not at first favorably received; the need of a substantial military organization was generally admitted, but the fears of the court, the jealousy of the council, and the apprehensions of the governor combined to crush it. "Divers gentlemen and others," so writes Governor Winthrop in his journal,* "being joined in a military company, desired to be made a corporation. But the council, considering (from the example of the Pretorian band among the Romans and Templars in Europe) how dangerous it might be to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily, in time, overthrow the civil power, thought fit to stop it betimes." The governor, however, soon perceived that such a company would strengthen his power rather than diminish it, and through his influence the charter was finally granted. Winthrop adds to the notice in his journal, "Yet they were allowed to be a company, but subordinate to all authority." On the seventeenth day of March, 1638, the much-discussed petition was

* Winthrop's *History of New England, from 1630 to 1649*.

approved, by order of the general court. At the time this charter was granted, Boston, in Massachusetts, says Josselyn, was "rather a village than a town, there being not above twenty or thirty houses." Yet the Puritans, while tilling the soil and fighting savages and wild beasts, had not been idle in the matter of extirpating heresy and trying to keep pure the faith. Roger Williams had escaped through the snow-enshrouded forests to Rhode Island rather than be sent over the sea in chains, Henry Vane had gone to his glorious life and heroic death in England, Mrs. Hutchinson had fled to Long Island, and not even the great popularity of Captain John Underhill, the hero of the Pequod war, who had stormed Fort Mystic and won the skirmishes on the Zuyder Zee, could save him from the ignominious surrender of his sword and the decree of banishment. Many distinguished soldiers were required to surrender their arms to the first commander of the new military company, and none of the charter members of the organization were allowed to place their names on its roll until they had been examined by the council "as to their views concerning the doctrine of justification by faith and the work of the Holy Ghost." The General Court of Massachusetts Bay had already, in 1636, granted a charter to "the Corporation of Harvard College," the first ever granted by the court; the second, and the only other granted for more than one hundred years, was the charter of this ancient artillery company.

The document reads as follows :

"Whereas divers Gentlemen and others, out of their care of the public weal and safety, by the advancement of the military art, and exercise of arms, have desired license of the Court to join themselves in one company, and to have the liberty to exercise themselves, at such times as their occasions will best permit; and that such liberties and privileges might be granted them as the Court should think meet, for their better encouragement and furtherance, in so useful an employment; which request of theirs being referred by the Court unto us of the *Standing Council*, we have thought fit, upon serious consideration, and conference with divers of the principal of them, to set down an order herein as followeth :

Imprimis. We do order that Robert Keayne, merchant; Nathaniel Duncan, merchant; Robert Sedgwick, gentleman; William Spencer, merchant; and such others as they have already joined with them, and such as they shall from time to time take into their company, shall be called the MILITARY COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS."*

* The name was soon changed to "The Artillery Company," and, even after the use of artillery was abandoned by its members, in 1690, the name remained unchanged. The general court recognized the organization as "The Artillery Company" until about 1738, after which it is spoken of as "The Honorable Artillery Company" or "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company." The records use the word "honorable" for the first time in 1743, and the full title only after 1786. These changes in name have been confirmed by acts of the state legislature.—*Raikes's History of the Honourable Artillery Company of London.*

The charter then goes on to state the privileges granted the company, which certainly were remarkable: "They . . . shall have liberty to choose their captain, lieutenant, and all other officers, . . . and no officer by their own bound to at- other military meetings ing-days; they themselves," and collect of their own exceed not twenty shillings for any one offense"; they might assemble, for military exercises, in any town within the jurisdiction of the court, at their own pleasure, and they were granted one thousand acres of land, "for providing necessities for their military exercises, and defraying of other charges, which may arise by occasion thereof." Then, as if the council still feared the ultimate supremacy of the military power, it was "*provided* always, that this order, or grant, or anything therein contained, shall not extend to free the



SEAL OF THE COMPANY

shall be put upon them but choice." No member was tend "trainings" in any organization unless an officer trainings, or ordinary town could be held on their train- could "make order amongst manage their own affairs, levy fines and forfeitures on any members, "so as the same



DEVICE ON THE NEW COLORS OF THE COMPANY.

said Company, or any of them, their persons or estates, from the civil government and jurisdiction here established." The four persons mentioned by name in the charter were chosen from the four important towns in the colony, in order that it might be understood, once for all, that the company, though having its headquarters in Boston, belonged to the commonwealth. It was also understood that it was a "training-school"—the West Point of New England, as it has since been called—that its members might hold commissions in any of the militia organizations in the colony, and that all of its own officers should be chosen annually, so that each member might know how to command, as well as obey. It is a fact worthy of

note that the "Military Company of the Massachusetts" was the only training-school for officers in America for nearly two centuries.

On the first Monday in June, 1639—somewhat more than a year having elapsed since the granting of the charter—the company held its first election of officers, and Robert Keayne was chosen commander, Daniel Haugh, lieutenant, Joseph Weld, ensign. These and many others of the original members had belonged to the Honourable Artillery Company of London, and it was owing to their influence that so many of the customs of that venerable corps were adopted: the ceremonies incident to the annual inauguration of officers, the sermon, dinner, etc., dating from this time.

It is noticeable that the charter members and early commanders of the company were men of wealth and station, some of them occupying important political positions, some famed as leaders of society, others noted for their benevolence. Keayne, Duncan, Sedgwick, Spencer, mentioned in the charter, were men of great political and social influence, and another charter member, Nicholas Upshall, became notable a little later by reason of the manner in which the government rewarded his philanthropic efforts. He furnished food to the Quakers imprisoned in the jails of that time, and built a board fence about the Potter's field to keep the dogs from the bodies of those who had been hanged for their religion—such being left unburied in accordance with the decree of the court; for these and similar acts he was driven at length from Boston into the wilderness, befriended by Roger Williams for eleven years, and then, daring to revisit Boston, was at once imprisoned and kept in confinement until he died. Few, indeed, were the men of note of that day who were not made to feel, to a greater or less degree, the operation of the severe laws of the commonwealth: not even Robert Keayne, the founder and first commander of the company, escaped. He was born in England in 1595, became a merchant tailor by trade, and in religion a Puritan of the sterner sort. On account of his liberal donations, not only to the Plymouth colony as a whole, but to many individual members of it, he was widely and favorably known among his brethren, and in 1635 came to America and settled in Boston. His great wealth was surpassed by his generosity, he at once took an active part in promoting the public works of the new town, was a deputy to the general court for many years, and also a member of the colonial legislature. He materially assisted in placing Harvard college on a sound financial basis, and gave liberally to all religious and charitable objects. Yet, in 1639, the general court, of which he was a member, charged him with "great oppression in the sale of foreign commodities," in that he took "above six-pence in the shilling profit; in some above eight-pence; and,

in some small things, above two for one." He was found guilty, sentenced to pay a fine of £200, and was sharply rebuked for his "covetous practice 1. He being an ancient professor of the gospel: 2. A man of eminent parts: 3. Wealthy, and having but one child: 4. Having come over for conscience' sake, and for the advancement of the gospel here: 5. Having been formerly dealt with and admonished, both by private friends and also by some of the magistrates and elders, and having promised reformation; being a member of a church and commonwealth now in their infancy, and under the curious observation of all the world." As to the fine, however,



MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN WINSLOW. COLONEL HENRY WALKER. MAJOR THOMAS SAVAGE.
COMMANDERS OF THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY, 1767, 1887, 1860.

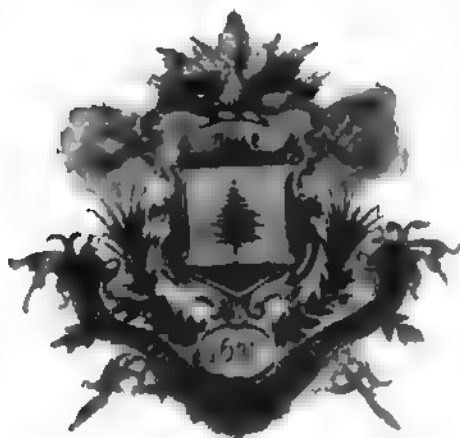
the magistrates thought £100 sufficient for such an offense, and a lively discussion arose between them and the deputies concerning the amount; but the deputies gave way at last, and the merchant paid the £100.

The first period of the artillery company's history extends from the date of its charter to 1686, when its meetings were suppressed by Governor Andros. In this period occurred its first great decline and revival, the first rules and regulations for its governance were adopted, while the colony organized its militia and finally took part in the war called King Philip's. The most noted of the commanders during this period were Gibbons, Sedgwick, Savage, and Leverett.

Major-General Edward Gibbons, the second commander of the company, was born in England, and came to America in 1629. His military career began the very year he entered the colony; for he was a member of one of the first formed militia corps, and not only commanded the artillery company, but also the Suffolk regiment, and finally became major-general of all the Massachusetts militia. He was deputy to the general court nearly ten years, a member of the commission which framed the New England union of 1643, a man of indomitable energy, an enthusiast in military affairs, and contributed liberally from his private means to further the carrying out of plans for improving the defenses of Boston. The third commander, Major-General Robert Sedgwick (in 1640, 1645, and in 1648), one of the founders of the company, was "a man of education and distinction," who had been a member of the Honourable Artillery of London. He settled in Charlestown in 1635, was for many years a deputy to the general court, organized and led the first "train band" formed in his own town, was made colonel of the Middlesex regiment, and subsequently commander of all the militia of the commonwealth. Of the many important military expeditions in which he engaged, probably the most noted was the one against the Spanish West Indies in 1655, that resulted in the capture of Jamaica. He died there in the following year, just after Oliver Cromwell had appointed him governor of the island with the rank of major-general. But the most popular commander of the time, the first of whom the company possesses a portrait, was Major Thomas Savage. Five times* he was chosen to lead the company, and it was owing chiefly to his exertions that the organization was carried safely through its first great crisis. He, too, had belonged to the Honourable Artillery Company of London, was well informed on all military matters, and, being a person of intelligence and the possessor of wealth, he seems to have been regarded with favor by the Boston people as soon as he made his home among them—for many important offices were conferred upon him, and he was one of the trustees to whom Madam Norton conveyed the "Old South" property. The history of Sir John Leverett, the last of the early commanders above mentioned, is comparatively well known. The story of his early life in Boston, his return to England to serve under Cromwell in the struggle against his king, how he gained the friendship of the great Puritan general and was made commander of a company of foot-soldiers, has been many times told. His subsequent life in America, however, is of more importance to the student of colonial history than the stirring events of his

* In 1651, 1659, 1668, 1675, 1680. His five sons were members of the company, and one of them, as well as two of his grandsons and one great-grandson, commanded it.

career in Europe. Three times (1652, 1663, 1670) he was elected commander of the artillery company, and he was successively a delegate to the general court, one of the governor's council, major-general of the militia,

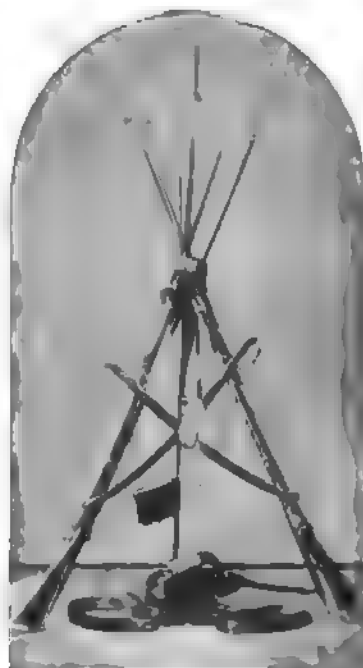


STANDARD OF THE COMPANY.

deputy-governor, and governor of the commonwealth, all the while retaining his membership in this "ancient" organization. The ease and skill with which he transacted the public business and the ability displayed by him as governor during King Philip's war attracted the favorable notice of Charles II., who knighted him in 1676, three years before his death.

The company began its career under the most favorable auspices,

and seemed to realize the design of its founders by training men to be efficient officers in all branches of the service; so, when the first real organization of the scattered militia companies was effected, in 1644, many of the officers were chosen from it. The militia as at this time organized consisted of four regiments—one in each county of the colony—each commanded by a sergeant-major, the entire body being under the command of an officer styled major-general, or sergeant-major-general, who was annually appointed by the legislature. As no high-sounding titles were tolerated, so no military regalia was allowed, and even as late as 1775 the officers wore only knots of ribbon, of different colors, as insignia of their rank. These bodies of militia were to perform military duty at least eight days in the year, under penalty of a fine of five shillings for failure to comply with the requirement. "None were exempt," the record states, "save tim-



STAND OF ARMS.

orous persons, . . . and, for the honor of the age, they were but few."

Yet, though founded and upheld by the most prominent men in the colony, warmly supported by Governor Winthrop and his sons—three of whom had become members of it—though the militia was officered by men chosen from its ranks, while its friends were lavish of praise and did not withhold the money necessary for its support, the prosperity of the company was short-lived. Two hundred and seventy-eight names were placed on its rolls during the first decade of its existence, and but forty-seven during the second. It had sustained heavy losses, too, by reason of transfers, by death, and especially because many of its most active and influential members had gone back to England to assist the "Roundheads" in their struggle with the "Cavaliers"; and the fact that some of them afterward won fame in the ranks of Cromwell's "Ironsides" was of no material benefit. It met with a further loss, in 1656, in the death of Captain Keayne, its founder and warmest friend. The deep interest he took in the welfare of the "noble Society of the Artillery Company" is shown by his will, a document, which not only illustrates his own character, but throws light on the condition of the company in that period.* It is of priceless value, as, except an imperfect list of members, all the early records of the organization were lost. In this will, the captain, after stating that he had received a military education, had fostered the military spirit in every way possible, and had founded the artillery company, asks "to be buried as a Souldier, in a Military way." He leaves to the city the sum of three hundred pounds with which to build an "exchange," and directs that "a Convenient fayre Room in one of the buildings be Set a part for an Armory & the meeting of the Artillery." He leaves the company five pounds "to be Layed out in Pikes and Bandals," five pounds toward erecting a platform for "two mounted peeeces of Ordnance," and then adds the unique legacy of *two cows*, "to be kept as a stocke, Constantly, the increase or profit of these Cowes yearly to be layed out in powder, Bullets, &c." Nor is this all. He states that he had intended to enrich the company by means of other gifts "of some consequence," but that the poor appearance of the corps, coupled with the fact that it seemed to be growing smaller day by day, caused him to fear its final dissolution, "and so all gifts will sink with it and come to nothing." Another legacy, by no means despicable, is the good advice the captain

* Remarkable, among other things, for its great length: it fills one hundred and fifty-eight of the folio pages of Vol. I, of Records in the probate office. Portions of it are given, with more or less accuracy, in *Raikes's History of the Honourable Artillery Company of London*, and a few extracts from it may be found in Vol. VI. of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Record*.

gives, in his quaint English, as to how the idleness and extravagance of the "noble society" may be abolished. He calls on the organization to observe its field-days regularly and faithfully; to practice constantly all the known military evolutions, study the science of fortification, strive to advance in knowledge as to the use of the "great artillery," improve its tactics, etc., and do all in its power to fulfill its obligations to the commonwealth—advocating the imposition and prompt collection of fines as a means of punishing its negligent or recalcitrant members. It was, perhaps, owing to this will that the organization did not actually cease to exist. For, though the interest created by it was neither deep nor lasting, it certainly checked the downward tendency of affairs, and led the next year to the drawing up of certain "rules and regulations" for the government of the corps, which are said to be the first laws ever formulated for this purpose, and they were sanctioned by the governor September 7, 1657.

The languid interest awakened by Captain Keayne's will and the publication of these orders brought about a more prosperous condition of affairs, but it was not until 1670 that a genuine revival was effected. Many new members were then added, and, owing to the activity of certain prominent citizens of Boston, "the Artillery" started forward with the vigor and buoyancy of a new organization. This thorough "awakening" was fortunate, for it was by reason of the persistency with which its members maintained their discipline and drill that the year 1675 found the militia companies officered by men fully prepared to contend successfully with so able and crafty an enemy as the notorious Metacomet, or "King Philip." The company was well represented in King Philip's war, several of its members taking part not only in the battles fought in Massachusetts, but also in those of Rhode Island.

Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston as governor of New England on the twenty-first day of December, 1686, and at once entered upon that system of administration stigmatized as "tyrannical." By removing from office all magistrates elected under the old charter, by restraining the liberty of the press, by compelling land-owners at great expense to procure new titles to their property, and by bringing even the legislature and general court almost entirely under his control, he succeeded in precipitating the catastrophe that brought his administration to a sudden close. When he landed in Boston, the artillery company was commanded by Colonel John Phillips, of Charlestown. It had admitted several members at the beginning of the year, was in every way prosperous, and already was making preparations to celebrate its coming June anniversary in an unusually impressive manner. But the governor, either fearing that his prerogative

might be endangered by the coming together of this body, or desirous of displaying his authority in ways as many and various as possible, forbade any meeting whatever of the organization, and did all in his power to destroy it; thus the June anniversary was not celebrated, nor did the company again meet or admit any new members during his short rule.

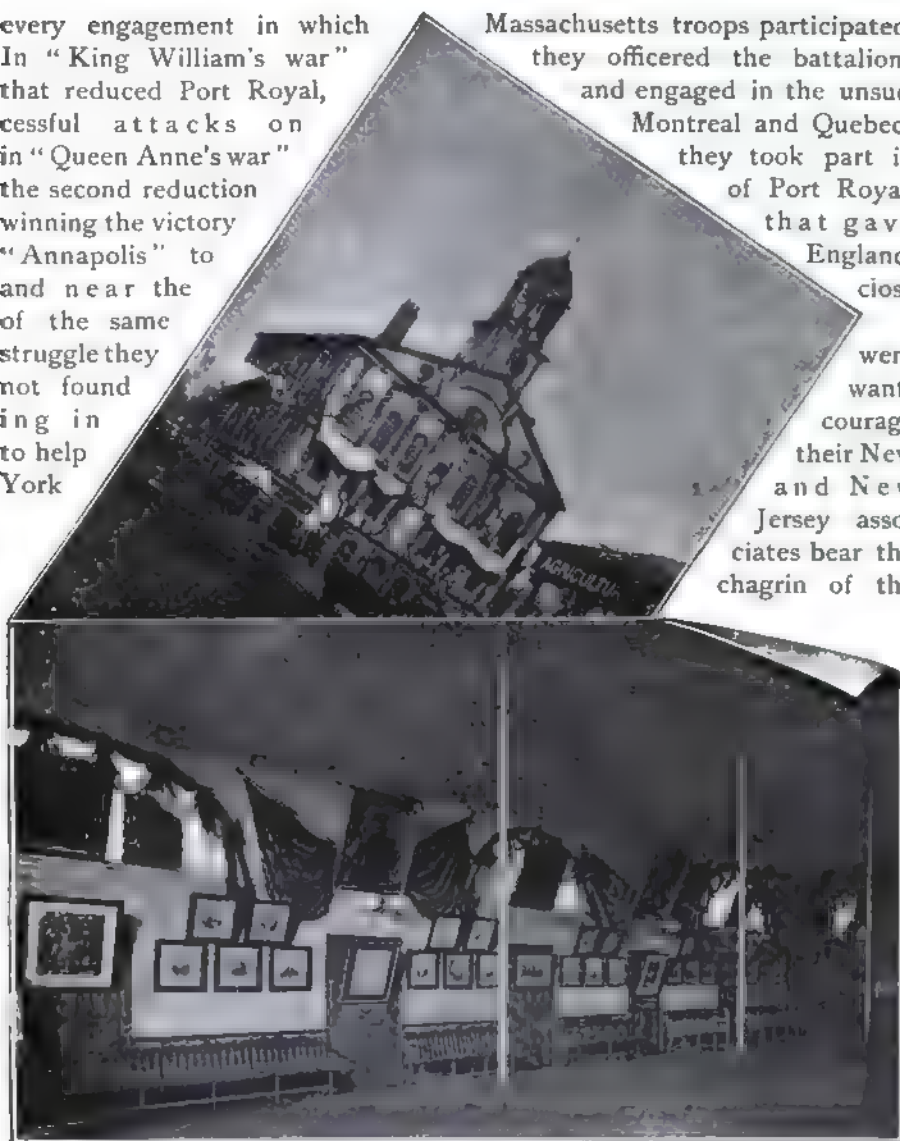
What may be called the second period of the history of the organization, extending from 1689 to 1775, opens with the revolt of the citizens of Boston in connection with the English revolution, and ends with the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Hardly had the news of the accession of William and Mary reached Boston when the whole town was in an uproar. Crowds of excited people rushed through the streets—the magistrates themselves being the leaders. A summons for the arrest of the governor and his council was prepared and signed, and William Stoughton and ten other members of the artillery company were sent to him with it; but, while he was deliberating as to what he should do, a small body of men led by Captain John Nelson appeared, and Sir Edmund was escorted to prison, and a council of safety was chosen to manage public affairs until directions should come from England. Captain Nelson and his associates in this exploit were all members of the artillery company, he being the same Nelson who was prohibited from holding any office in the colonial government on account of his Church of England proclivities, and who afterward was imprisoned in Quebec and in Paris because he revealed to the Massachusetts people designs against them by the French.

On the first Monday in April, 1690, the scattered members of the company again assembled, and, having lost all their old officers either by death or removal, they elected Colonel Elisha Hutchinson, of Boston, as acting commander until the coming anniversary day, and appointed Dr. Cotton Mather to preach the sermon at that time. Successful efforts were made to place the organization on a sound footing once more, many distinguished men added their names to the lengthening roll, regular meetings were held, field duties were again performed, and, until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the meetings were interrupted but once—in 1721—when they “were omitted in consequence of the General Assembly, at their last session, having forbid all training and trooping in Boston, by reason of the vast number of people exercised with the small-pox.”

During this period of the company's history the colonies were engaged in four wars, the final result of which gave the mother country that far-reaching territory she still holds, but which brought few advantages to the New England people who won it for her. The company could take no part in these or any other wars as a body, yet its members fought in

every engagement in which
In "King William's war"
that reduced Port Royal,
cessful attacks on
in "Queen Anne's war"
the second reduction
winning the victory
"Annapolis" to
and near the
of the same
struggle they
not found
ing in
to help
York

Massachusetts troops participated.
they officered the battalions
and engaged in the unsuc-
Montreal and Quebec;
they took part in
of Port Royal,
that gave
England;
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were
want-
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Jersey asso-
ciates bear the
chagrin of the



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON. DRILL-ROOM OF THE ANCIENT ARTILLERY COMPANY.

disgraceful failure of the great expedition against Canada—a failure for which the English officers of the royal army were alone responsible. In "King George's war" they led the troops that stormed and won the

"impregnable" fastnesses of Louisburg, furnishing from their own number the engineer who planned the attack.

At home, however, the company underwent various experiences—periods of stagnation, decline, advance—its history as an organization almost disappearing in the events that ushered in the Revolution—events in which nearly all of its members participated, and which ultimately aided in preserving the very body it seemed inevitable they should destroy.

The first evidence of an unsatisfactory condition of the company's affairs appears in the revision of the "Rules and Orders" that was effected in the year 1700. The rules, as revised, were never sanctioned by the general court or the council, though they were enforced during many years. Probably it was regarded as unnecessary for the court to stamp them with its approbation, as few changes were made from the old orders of 1657.

Prior to the year 1700 the rolls contain the names of six hundred and sixty-two members, nearly all of whom are declared to be "persons of note," belonging to some one of the "orthodox" churches in or near Boston; in fact, certain of the founders of Brattle Street church, King's chapel, Old South church, as well as the first ministers at Andover and Gloucester, were members of this organization, while Harvard college was represented in its ranks, twenty-one of its members being graduates of that institution. The company seems always to have been kindly disposed to the college, its members donating land, buildings, live-stock, and money. Among the noted families of old Boston whose names are found on the company's roll at this time are those of Borland, Checkley, Davenport, Dudley, Gibbons, Leverett, Mather, Oakes, Oliver, Saltonstall, Savage, Townsend, Wainwright, and Winthrop.

At the close of the first half of the eighteenth century, few of the older families were represented in the ranks of the "Ancient and Honorable," and for twenty years it declined in numbers, reputation, influence. It is difficult to determine what led to this state of things, but, if tradition may be true, the extravagance of its entertainments and the formation of the cadet corps were the chief causes. The cadet corps was formed as an especial escort, or body-guard, for the governor on occasions of ceremony. Its founder and presiding genius was the famous Colonel Pollard, high sheriff of Suffolk county, one of the first Americans to make a tour of Europe, the organizer of the earliest "fire society" in this country, and the first to introduce the bayonet among the militia companies of Boston. Captain Thomas Edwards, commander of the artillery company, protested against the granting by the legislature of a charter to the new corps, fearing it would obtain privileges and exemptions not enjoyed by his own

"If souring is scarce and dear, then the sergeants to provide wine only, that the sum of £1 18s. be not exceeded." After some other advice as to how the expenses may be kept to a more economical standard, the report concludes: "If the members of the company were a little industrious, and would communicate to such as they are connected with, who may be likely to join us, how trifling the expense is like to be now, to what it was formerly, we should soon have as sufficient number as desired." It is gratifying to note that the effect of these measures was such that the company grew rapidly in numbers, and before three years had gone by nearly all of the officers of the Boston militia, and many other persons, had joined it. The various measures by which it was saved from dissolution and once more brought into a prosperous condition were chiefly due to the unwearied efforts of Major-General John Winslow, of Plymouth, who had been elected commander the same year in which he was enrolled as a member—a rare honor, conferred only on persons of high military rank distinguished for public services. General Winslow was the great-grandson of the first governor of Plymouth colony, and at this time one of the most distinguished military leaders in America. Among the important commands conferred on him was that of the Boston company, which served in the Cuban expedition of 1740; he also fought in the French and Indian war, and was at one time commander-in-chief of the northern forces, while as special commissioner from his colony he had assisted in settling territorial claims, adjusting boundaries, etc., and in many other ways had been of service to the colony. He was a warm friend of the artillery company, freely spending money and time in its service, and endeavoring in every possible way to preserve its prestige and augment its power.

The first "misunderstanding" between the company and his majesty's troops arose on a field-day in 1768. Several British regiments were quartered in Boston, but, according to custom, the men proceeded to the Common and performed their usual field-day evolutions, when, as it became evident the exercises would not be finished before the time for the roll-call of the British troops, the commanding officer sent orders to Lieutenant William Heath (then acting-commander) to allow no firing on returning the colors. The lieutenant, thinking it his duty to obey his superior officer in his majesty's service, marched the company to Faneuil Hall, and into the armory in silence; but the men, highly incensed at what they regarded an infringement of their privileges, bitterly upbraided their commander for obeying the order. It is reported of Orderly-Sergeant Hoptestill that after reaching his home, he gave vent to his feelings by firing his musket three times from the top of his house, and many years

after refused to vote for Heath—then major-general—as governor, because of his “cowardly action” in this instance. Major-General Heath was elected commander in 1770, and, besides holding many important positions in the state, took an active part in all the actions in and about Boston preceding the Revolution, as well as in the war itself. He was one of the first five major-generals appointed in 1775, and was the last surviving major-general of the Revolutionary army.

At the company's annual meeting in June, 1774, the anniversary sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. John Lathrop of Boston. The occasion is noteworthy in history, not because the sermon itself was earnest and patriotic but because there was a body of British troops stationed outside the church, while a sentry stood “on guard” on the pulpit stairs to intimidate the good doctor, lest he should be guilty of “seditious or rebellious utterances.” Dr. Lathrop afterward said he had preached republicanism with a British sentry, armed, on the pulpit stairs, to watch his words. This was the last anniversary celebrated before the Revolution—the last annual meeting held for twelve years—and with it closes the second period of the company's existence.

Its patriotic members, however, were conspicuous actors in the events that ushered in the great struggle, many of whom rose to be officers of high standing before it had ended, and few, indeed, assembled at its close. Though no anniversary was held in 1775, the April field-day was observed by a majority of its members, who, on reaching Boston Common, which had always been their drill-ground, were refused admittance, it being then occupied by British troops. Captain Bell, the commander, marched his men to Copp's hill, where they went through with their regular exercises. The captain, soon after, was brought before the authorities, and asked why he had taken his men to the hill. He replied that the hill was their own property, and that no one had a right to forbid them the use of their own ground for their own legal purposes. On being asked what he would have done had a party of British troops been in possession of the place and had forbidden his entrance, he answered: “I would have charged bayonets and forced my way, as surely as I would force my way into my dwelling-house if taken possession of by a gang of thieves.”

When the war for independence began, a few members of the company remained firm in their loyalty to the crown, but by far the greater number were active in striving to maintain the rights of the colonists. They did this in many ways: Colonel Josiah Waters marched on foot behind Ebenezer Dorr, as he rode his ancient steed over Boston Neck to warn the neighboring towns of the approach of the British, at the time of the raid

on Concord; Captain Joseph Eaton hauled down the first British flag lowered during the Revolution, and was one of the unknown "Indians" that assisted at the great "tea party"; Henry Knox, the Boston bookseller, raised a regiment of artillery for the patriot army, brought fifty-five guns from the Canadian frontier forts to Boston in mid-winter, and during the war became noted not alone for his brilliant qualities as an officer, but as "Washington's friend," and Secretary of War in the first cabinet; Major-General Benjamin Lincoln was active in organizing and training the continental troops, and afterward conspicuous at White Plains, Saratoga, Savannah, etc. These are only examples of what was done by members of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

To certain members of this body the continental army was indebted, at the very beginning of the war, for its ordnance. The American forces had no artillery whatever. Boston, entirely in the power of the British soldiery, was effectively guarded. As the patriots were assembling in the neighborhood, and their officers uncertain what course to pursue, it became known that two field-pieces remained in the old gunhouse, at the southern end of the town, and Samuel Gore with two others entered this building one dark night, after carefully removing some boards from the side of it, and dismounted the guns and concealed them, first, as is said, in the capacious wood-box of the neighboring school-house, then in a load of manure, in which they were carted from the town next day, under the very eyes of the unsuspecting guard, and to the American camp, proving of very great assistance to the colonists. These guns were used in many battles, were captured and recaptured several times, but fortunately were in the possession of the Americans when the fighting was over. They had been christened by the patriotic names of "Hancock" and "Adams," and at the close of the war were confided to the care of the artillery company, and were ornamented with the following inscription, the name alone being changed:

"THE HANCOCK. Sacred to Liberty.

This is one of the four cannon which constituted the whole train of Field Artillery possessed by the British Colonies of North America at the commencement of the war, on the 19th of April, 1775. *This cannon*, and its fellow, belonged to a number of citizens of Boston; were used in many engagements during the war. The other two, the property of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, were taken by the enemy.

By order of the United States, in Congress assembled, May 19th, 1788."

The field-piece called "Adams" was split at target practice under Captain G. Wells. The governor and council afterward gave both pieces to the Bunker Hill Monument Association, to be placed in the monument.

It would be impossible, in a brief sketch of the history of this ancient organization, to mention all its members who distinguished themselves in the Revolution, or in the eight other wars in which they have borne part. In the greater struggle two colonels, one major, and three captains of the continental army were ex-commanders of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, while several of its privates became officers in the same army during the war, and one, whose conscience would not suffer him to swerve from his allegiance to King George, distinguished himself by founding the professorship of law at Harvard. After peace was established, the greatest apathy in regard to military affairs seemed to oppress the citizens of Boston. The fortifications on Fort Hill fell into decay, the militia apparently was non-existent, and the faintest indication of military spirit was not to be found. Indeed, at the general election in 1786, the governor was escorted by the Roxbury Artillery under Major Spooner, the *Centinel* of that day complaining that it was impossible to raise in Boston even so small a body of militia as twenty-five to attend the governor, adding that there was not one commissioned officer or soldier who would turn out. Many sarcastic references to the unchivalric character of the Boston militia appeared in this newspaper, and in the issue of 5th July there was published what purported to be a letter from Roxbury, detailing plans for the formation of a new militia company by "the ladies."

But the cloud suddenly disappeared. Men saw the necessity of military organizations, and in the autumn of that year several bands of militia either began their existence or were reorganized, the military spirit of emulation then aroused bringing about results that have affected even our own day. The cause of this awakening was the coming together again of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery.

Major William Bell, the last commander the company had chosen in 1774, summoned the surviving officers and members to Boston Common, the officers bearing their espontoons, with hangers slung at their belts and carrying fusees on their shoulders, the men with their firelocks, snapsacks, well-filled cartouch boxes, and each with "a worm and priming wire fit for his gun"; and once more were heard the well-known commands: "Poise firelocks; cock firelocks; take aim; fire!" etc.,* once more the marchings and countermarchings were regularly performed. It did not seem a mere holiday parade. The men were not clad in "natty" uniforms, their accoutrements did not gleam with the brilliancy of newness, nor were their evolutions graceful. The fatigues of long and weary marches, the suffer-

* The system of tactics prepared by Baron de Steuben, adopted by congress March 23, 1779, was certainly used by the company at this time, though statements to the contrary have been made.

ings of hunger and thirst, exposure to heat, cold, storms, had hardened their frames and stiffened their hands. The terrible winter at Valley Forge had been endured by some of them with a fortitude equaled only by their bravery in fighting an army as well drilled and well equipped as the world then could show. In themselves they were an epitome of what the whole country had undergone, and their pitiful number told its own story; for, of the one hundred and fifty "ancients" who had gone forth from Faneuil Hall to marshal their companies and offer their services to the great commander at the beginning of the war, but fifteen assembled to take part in the parade on that September day. Yet even this was encouraging and showed that company's career had not ended. The *Centinel* of 6th September, 1786, gives the following account of this affair:

"On Monday last, for the first time since the commencement of the late revolution, the ancient and honourable artillery company, commanded by Major Bell, paraded at the State House in this town, and, preceded by a band of musick, marched into the common, where they performed a number of military exercises—after which they marched to Faneuil-Hall, discharged a volley of small arms, and finished the day much to their honour, and the credit of the town. It was gratifying to the real friends of this country, to see our aged citizens, some of whom were near 70 years of age, equipped in the accoutrements of soldiers, and setting an example to the younger part of the community, that should their country require their aid in the field, they might be found ready disciplined, and fit for immediate service."

Major Bell, who had the honor of holding the office of commander for a longer period than it was ever held by any one else, was a typical Puritan, a deacon of the Brattle Street church, regarding his military and religious duties as equally solemn and momentous. Jealous of the privileges of his command, he resented the least infringement of its rights, adhered strictly to the earliest forms and ceremonies of the organization, and maintained in it a discipline of the severest and most rigid kind. Just before his retirement from office, he presented the company with the two esponsos that have been borne, ever since, by the two highest officers as the peculiar insignia of their rank, in place of the pikes and half-pikes in use up to that time. The major and his diminutive corps were called upon to take the lead in organizing military bands for the defense of Boston during what is known as Shays's insurrection, in October, 1786. The organization was quite effective, and no doubt was entertained as to what would have been the result had these bands been called to active service. But the insurrection was so quickly suppressed by the measures adopted by government that the assistance of the militia was not required.

The company began the third period of its existence—that which has lasted up to the present time—by admitting as a member, and at once

electing commander, Major-General John Brooks. The "ancients" regarded him with a just pride, for he was noted as soldier, physician, author, and his fame had begun when he drilled and equipped at Reading a band of minute men, "to assist in resisting the arbitrary measures of Great Britain." This was the eighth company that offered its services to the commonwealth—"the bloody eighth," it was called—"the first in and last out of battle." Though Brooks was not its first commander, its fame is identified with his name alone, for with this band he fought at Lexington, assisted in fortifying Breed's hill, and undertook the expedition to relieve Fort Stanwix; he commanded it at Saratoga and in other engagements, was made major after the fight at Lexington, and colonel before Monmouth, where he acted as adjutant-general; was inspector-general under Baron Steuben, and, amid the plots and conspiracies of the time, was always faithful to Washington. While a member of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery" he held several important positions under government, was one of the state committee that ratified the Constitution in 1788, inspector of the revenue, adjutant-general of the state, and finally its governor through several terms. In his efforts to improve the artillery company he was ably assisted by General Lincoln who succeeded him the next year as commander—that gallant soldier of the Revolution, who was commended by Washington in a letter to congress, and who was deputed to receive the sword of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Under such a leader as Brooks the company rapidly increased, and in a single year, by reason of the number of its members and their influence in both the political and social world, became a power in the commonwealth, leading to the formation of many bodies of militia in the various towns of the states—bodies whose officers were instructed in the art of war in this ancient "school of artillery." Since that time, despite financial reverses and many other obstacles to advancement, the career of the old corps has been progressive, and in many ways remarkable. Many of its members were in the war of 1812, and officered the companies of Massachusetts militia that took the lead in that sudden movement which garrisoned the New England seaboard towns in twenty-four hours, while the remaining portion of the company alone guarded Boston so effectively that it was well prepared to resist the threatened attack by sea. On its rolls are the names of men noted for their bravery in the Mexican war; and of those who were among the Massachusetts troops to shed the first blood in the great rebellion; of others who, as the struggle continued, "rushed to the front in defense of the Union and Constitution"—until one hundred and fifty had either fallen or were fighting in the ranks.

Meantime, while so many of its scattered members—graduates, they might be called—were winning glory in the wars, or renown in high civic positions, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company was doing its work at “headquarters,” observing its field-days, celebrating its anniversaries with more or less splendor, its fortunes varying with the changing times. During the first and second decades of the present century it experienced two periods of financial depression, caused partly, it is believed, by discussion as to who should and who should not become its members, and partly because its uniform was unlike that of the state militia organizations. So much, indeed, has been said and written anent this “uniform” that it has become an historic topic.

The first uniform consisted of a dark-blue coat and buff waistcoat. This gave place to a gorgeous costume of scarlet-and-gold—the long coat and knee-breeches, all of scarlet, ornamented with gold lace, the “scarlet silk stockings adorned with large gold clocks,” the enormous cocked hat heavily weighted with gold lace, while buckles of silver gleamed from the shoes. Truly, the “ancients” of those days presented a dazzling spectacle! Nor did the next change detract greatly, if at all, from their showy appearance; for the orders (September 2, 1754), simply decree that in future the officers and men shall appear, on training-days, “in white silk hose”; but two years later the royal color gave way to blue—blue coats and gold-laced hats. Afterward (July 28, 1772) in order “to raise the spirit and reputation of the company, and keep up the honor they have so long sustained,” it was decided to change to “blue coats and lapels, with yellow buttons, the cock of the hat to be uniform with the militia officers—wigs and hair to be clubbed.” But this did not last, for one reads that shortly afterward the coats were of “white cloth,” with blue lapels, trimmed with blue, with white linings; waistcoats and breeches of white linen, and a *cap* covered with white cloth, and trimmed with gold binding. This seems to have been regarded by some of the older and graver members as in rather questionable taste, for before two years had passed it was ordered (January 27, 1787), that the uniform should consist of “dark-blue cloth coats, faced with buff, shoulder-straps, plain yellow buttons; buff vest and breeches, with same buttons as on the coat; plain black hat with black buttons, loop and cockade; white linen spatterdashes to fasten under the foot, and come partly up the thigh, with black buttons, and black gaiters to buckle below the knee; white stocks; the hair to be queued; white ruffled shirts (*sic*) at wrist and bosom.”

This was the uniform worn in 1810, when occurred the first of the two periods of depression to which reference has been made. But thirty-two

appeared in the ranks on the June field-day of that year, and a committee was appointed to devise means for inducing more of the officers of the militia to join the company. This committee advised that the uniform be changed to conform to that worn by the militia, so that those officers who wished to join would not be compelled to provide themselves with two outfits. The former array was laid aside entirely, and dark-blue coat substituted faced with red and lined with blue, with blue shoulder-straps, red-edged, "diamond on the skirts, and white convex buttons stamped with the arms of the state and the word Commonwealth"; waistcoat of white marseilles; white small-clothes, "with white metal buttons at the knees"; gaiters of "fine white linen, to come up to the knee-pan over the small-clothes, with black buttons, a black velvet knee-strap, with a white buckle"; the shoes were "to be short-quartered and tied"; the hat, a "*chapeau de bras*, ornamented with a fan-tail cockade, silver loop and button, and a full black plume,* eighteen inches long"; while the hair was "to be braided and turned up, and the whole to wear powder on the anniversary"; a white stock was worn with this costume, though on "common field-days" it and the gaiters were black, and the hair was not powdered. A new stand of arms and a complete set of accoutrements were purchased at this time, the admission fee was increased, a donation of eight hundred dollars from the citizens of Boston replenished the treasury, and the officers of the militia, pleased with the concession in regard to the uniform, sent in their names at the next meeting, to the number of twenty, as candidates for membership.

Such exertions, however, beneficial as they seemed, did not free the organization from its financial embarrassments, and a few years later it petitioned the state for aid, which was denied. Its friends then came to the rescue. A subscription was started that soon reached the respectable figure of \$700, and difficulties were again adjusted.

In spite of many changes and divers "concessions" to the body of the state militia, the "uniform question" was still unsettled, and in June, 1820, a committee, which had been appointed "to enquire into the expediency of allowing such members as hold commissions to appear in the uniform of their rank and regiment," presented a report that was the subject of earnest and long-continued debate. This document clearly states the objects for which the company was formed, its privileges and duties, its relation to the militia organizations in the state, etc., and that the committee, having "unofficially conferred with some of the most influential

* In 1819 the plume was changed to white, ten inches long, and on common field-days the commissioned officers were to wear military boots instead of gaiters.

members of the civil government of the state, and with many military officers who are not now members of the company, . . . are unanimously of the opinion" that "members of the company who hold, or have held, commissions in the militia, may appear in the uniform of their respective offices; provided that the commissioned officers of the company only shall be permitted to wear in it the insignia of their militia offices"; and, as there was a regulation prohibiting any person under twenty-one years of age from joining the corps, the committee recommended that "officers of the militia, though under the age of twenty-one years, be admitted into the company as members." Again and again attention was called to the fact that the organization was "a company of *officers*," hence it was urged that the "singularity of appearance" occasioned by so great a variety of uniforms ought to occasion no serious objection to the adopting of the report—nor did it, for the recommendation became a law in the autumn of the same year. This law is still in force, and accounts for the odd appearance of a certain portion of the company that, when on parade, so often causes expressions of surprise among those who know nothing of its history. *All* the members have not served in other military organizations, hence it is not difficult to understand the order, issued in 1841, that the "continental uniform" should be adopted for the infantry, "as the same appears in Washington's portrait in Faneuil Hall," nor the more recent regulation concerning the "left wing," that "the uniform of that portion of the company designated as artillery shall be a dark-blue cloth coat; style, full dress United States Navy, 1849, pants, same cloth as coat. Red piping one-eighth inch in size down outside seam, white gloves, and a *chapeau* bearing the insignia of the company, and a red plume." Referring to the report of the committee of 1820, it is to be noted that the adoption of it closed the last period of serious depression of the "ancients."

The privileges conferred on the company by its charter have been confirmed again and again by the insertion of special clauses in the militia laws of the commonwealth, and such only are lost as were voluntarily laid aside. By the terms of this charter, no other military organization is permitted to train or exercise in or around Boston on any of the field-days of the Artillery Company; but in 1657 the captain was empowered to "allow" other bodies to assemble and parade *with* his command. Still, it has never been admitted that the militia have a *right* to assemble on those days, and as late as 1808, when the company had met in Faneuil Hall, and word was brought that the "Winslow Blues" were coming together for drill, an order to disperse at once was sent to them, and was unhesitatingly obeyed. Of late years, however, this privilege has been suffered to lapse.

Certain officers of the militia, who at times have fancied themselves members of the ancient corps by reason of their position in the state troops, and have endeavored to enforce their claim to membership and to join the ranks on training-days, have found that their repulse by the company was invariably sustained by the law. Again, it chanced in 1748 that the magistrates had appointed a town meeting in Boston, to be held April 1st; but the records show that "the meeting was declared null and void, as being contrary to the Artillery charter"—April 1st being a "regular field-day." The company was also allowed to parade with two drums and two fifes, the militia having but one each; and by many little privileges and favors it has been distinguished with honor from all other organizations. At times discussions have arisen concerning the validity of certain rights and privileges claimed by the corps, but in general they have been unquestioned.

Most of the curious customs of the company pertain to the observance of field-days and anniversaries. In years gone by, each newly admitted member, before signing "the book," was obliged to procure two sureties, to be held responsible not only for his good conduct, but for all fines and assessments due from him. Indeed, the clerk was once instructed to call on the sureties of delinquent members and demand payment of their arrears; but the order was not enforced, and the custom is now obsolete.

As before stated, when the company was first organized, the training-days—or "field-days," as they came to be known—occurred once each month, but by the regulations of 1657 they were reduced to five each year; later, it was decreed there should be but two, the first Monday in October, and the first Monday in June. Anciently, the members were reminded of their duty, on the morning of each monthly field-day, by the playing of fifes and drums through Boston streets, and by the "colors, displayed at Major Henchman's corner"—State Street and Cornhill—where they were to be seen from early morning until the company was formed, when the lieutenant was sent, with an escort, to bring them on parade.* After this fife-and-drum call was abolished, it was customary for the drummer to march down Middle street to Winnesimet Ferry, between the hours of eleven and one, beating "the troop" as he marched. When he arrived at the ferry he beat a "roll" three times, then went his way. This performance was known as the "first drum."

The men met at the old state house, their only armory (if it could be called such) for many years, and, weather proving unfavorable for out-door duty, they "drilled" on the lower floor of that now venerable building. But this "training in the town-house" was never popular, and the evolu-

* This ceremony was "ordered" in 1743 and abolished in 1796.

tions were performed on the Common whenever practicable. At the beginning of the parade the "company book" was brought forward, from which the clerk called the roll, each member being "called by his title, of what class or description soever." On the pages of this book were inscribed all resolutions, laws, amendments, proposals for membership, etc., with the names of the bondsmen secured by those proposed; and in it, too, were recorded the proceedings of the day; for, prior to the Revolution, all records were made on a field-day—none at any other time. The marching was all in "slow time," though after the British soldiers were quartered in Boston, in 1768, "quick time" was adopted—it had been unknown before. "Common time" is a more recent innovation. The captain and lieutenant each bore, as a symbol of his office, a "pike"—a weapon consisting of a pointed, quadrangular blade of polished steel, eight or ten inches in length, affixed to a long shaft, the foot of which terminated in a heavy brass ferrule. These weapons were laid aside for espons-tons when Major Bell was commander. Halberds were borne by sergeants, who never wore swords until the vote of October 4, 1790.

The state house will be remembered as the home of the company for many years after its formation; the lower portion was occupied by the company, while the colonial legislature held its sessions in the upper chambers. But when Peter Faneuil presented Boston with that famous building called by his name, the "ancients" were given certain rooms in it for an armory; and all the changes wrought in that venerable structure by fire, rebuilding, and addition, have not been able to dislodge them. To-day, "Upper Faneuil Hall" is known as the armory of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. Here is the large drill-room, its walls adorned with portraits of past commanders—some in military uniform, some in the garb formerly worn by members of the bar or by college professors, others in quaint colonial costumes—while among them may be noticed many beautifully illuminated manuscript "resolutions" and "memorials" sent to the company on various occasions by its illustrious progenitor, the Honourable Artillery of London. Here, also, are stands of the company's "colors" of different periods, the most ancient of them, its faded surface bearing the date 1663, being the oldest military standard in the United States. These "colors" deserve a brief explanation: first, the colonial flag, quartered blue and white, bearing on its white quarters the red cross of St. George, was changed at the beginning of the Revolution, a pine tree taking the place of the cross. When the state of Massachusetts sprang into being, a white banner was adopted, on one side of which the armorial bearings of the new state were emblazoned, on the other those

of the United States. The next change was made when Boston became a city, at which time the armorial bearings of the nation gave place to the heraldic devices of the municipal government, the state emblems being retained; while a new banner, the "stars and stripes" itself, was borne alongside the ancient ensign to attest the patriotism and loyalty of the corps. The present colors consist of the national banner ornamented with the full name of the company, and a white flag, on one side of which is emblazoned the state arms, on the other a full-length figure of an officer of the Revolutionary army bearing aloft the old pine-tree flag, with the motto, "Appeal to Heaven." The illustrations will serve, better than any written explanation, to give a clear idea of these beautiful standards. Adjoining the drill-room are several smaller apartments for the use of officers, committee meetings, the storage of arms and equipments, etc., and, most important of all, the museum, which is the treasure-room of the organization, and its steadily increasing collections are of great value. Here are rare books of colonial time pertaining to military affairs, manuals, public documents, war-songs, music, etc.; histories, published regulations, and various pamphlets concerning the Honourable Artillery of London, together with portraits and autographs of the Prince of Wales, its present commander; maps and plans of many American battle-fields; portraits and autographs of nearly all past officers of the company; swords worn by certain of its commanders in the war of 1812, the Mexican war, the civil war, their dimmed appearance serving as a foil to the splendid presentation swords with which so many distinguished members of the organization have been honored; and a large collection of pictures of army life, badges and jewels of various kinds, implements of war, personal belongings, relics, *curios*, etc., to which no reference can here be made. But one object must be mentioned, and that is the old punch-bowl, so dear to every "ancient," and so prominent a feature of all anniversary banquets. Its history is romantic, as punch-bowl histories go, and is to the effect that Captain Ephraim Prescott, while in China, about 1795, procured this ten-gallon bowl as a present to his comrades-in-arms; but the captain died on his homeward voyage, the bowl fell into strange hands, and the Ancient and Honorable knew nothing of its good fortune until thirty years later, when the Hon. Jonathan Hunnewell ascertained the whereabouts of the wandering piece of crockery, bought it for the paltry sum of fifteen dollars, and presented it to the company.

While the October field-day is celebrated with more or less pomp, and has the ceremony of a formal dinner, etc., pertaining to it, the great event of the year is the June field-day, commonly called the "anniversary."

And it is a remarkable fact that the ceremonies incident to the celebration of it have varied little since the first decade of the company's existence. At sunrise, on the morning of this high festival, the drummers and fifers sound the *reveille* in front of the residences of each of the commissioned officers and past commanders that are "within a reasonable distance of the armory," and a little before nine o'clock the entire corps assemble at the armory, in full uniform, march * to the state house, receive the governor and invited guests, and escort them to the church to listen to the "annual sermon." Though the sermon was preached but twice before 1654, it has not been omitted since that time. The clergyman who preaches this "annual" becomes chaplain of the company for the ensuing year, and surely no military organization in the world can boast of so illustrious an army of chaplains as can this one. The Cottons, Mathers, Eliots, of the olden time, and nearly all of those whose names are noted in the theological annals of New England, besides many eminent clergymen from New York, are in it. After the sermon, a grand banquet is served in Faneuil Hall, at which the commander officiates—the governor of Massachusetts with the adjutant-general on his right, on his left the mayor of Boston and the president of Harvard college. The various tables are presided over by officers of the corps, and there are generally thirteen "toasts," and as many responses. At 4.30 P.M. the company re-forms and marches to the common, where, as the governor enters attended by his escort, an artillery salute of seventeen guns is fired in his honor. Then, seated under a pavilion, his excellency reviews the company, superintends the election of officers for the ensuing year—the ballots being deposited by the men upon the head of a drum, about which they are ranged in the form of a hollow square—receives the insignia of the retiring officers, bestows the same, with suitable remarks, on those just elected, and finally is escorted to the state house with great pomp, after which the company marches back to Faneuil Hall, and the affair is over. But it must be borne in mind that the giving up of the official insignia by the retiring officers and the installation of the newly elected are accompanied by a series of military evolutions which, with the great variety of richly decorated uniforms, music, the gleam of the antique halberds and pikes, and the crowds of invited guests and spectators, produces a unique impression—one not easily forgotten by those who witness the spectacle.

Of late years the company has taken part in many "celebrations" of

* The company still retains its old organization as a company of infantry, commanded by a captain and first and second lieutenants; but really parades as a battalion having an adjutant, and sometimes as many as twelve companies, all commanded by sergeants.

note, has paid visits to the militia of New England and New York, and has entertained bodies of militia from various states. It participated in the centennial celebrations of the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill, the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Boston, the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Daniel Webster, at Marshfield, and the affair that signalized the completion of the great Washington monument. In the summer of 1873 it inaugurated a reunion of all the "ancient" military organizations of New England; it has visited the Amoskeag veterans of Manchester, New Hampshire, the militia companies of Concord, Worcester, Lowell, New Bedford, Hartford, and other towns, has entertained the Continental Guards of New Orleans twice, as well as the Old Guard of New York, and other companies, and has exchanged visits of courtesy with the Honourable Artillery Company of London.

In spite of the wars between the United States and England, a very friendly sentiment has always existed between the oldest military organizations of these two countries. This feeling first received official expression in 1857, when, at the instance of Commander-Colonel Marshall P. Wilder, the captain-general and colonel of the Honourable Artillery Company of London was made an honorary member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts. The captain-general at that time was H.R.H. Prince Albert—the Prince Consort—and in the correspondence that preceded and followed his election to membership in the American company, he spoke in high terms of the "offspring" of the organization he commanded, and presented to Colonel Wilder a copy of Highmore's history of the London corps. When the Prince of Wales, who is now commander of the London company, was in Boston, in 1860, he held a long conversation with Colonel Wilder concerning the relations of the two organizations to each other; and in 1878, when he too was made an honorary member of the American company, he expressed as much gratification as did his illustrious father.

The London company has striven to reciprocate all the courtesies of its "offspring"; for, besides official communications of a complimentary character, portraits and autographs of commanders, resolutions, such as the beautiful tribute of respect paid to the memory of President Garfield, that have from time to time been sent from over sea to the armory in Faneuil Hall, it has welcomed and entertained in a truly royal manner such members of the American company as have visited their "mother." Colonel Wilder was tendered a complimentary review of the Honourable Artillery in 1867,* and, when Lieutenant Edward Everett

* He could not accept, however, on account of previous engagements.

Allen was present in London at the annual banquet in 1882, no toast of the evening was so enthusiastically applauded as that "To the health of our only child—the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston."

The events of the year 1887-'88, more than any that preceded them, tended to strengthen the friendly feeling so long subsisting between these organizations. The anniversary of June, 1887—at which Colonel Henry Walker, of Boston, was chosen commander—was hardly over before a delegation of members, with the newly-elected commander at its head, sailed for London to assist the Honourable Artillery Company in celebrating its three hundred and fiftieth birthday. Judging from the past, it was expected the delegates would be kindly received, but the warm-hearted brotherly welcome was a surprise to all. Every possible attention was shown the American guests, and during the parades, reviews, etc., they were assigned the place of honor just behind the Duke of Portland,* and at the grand banquet, given in the evening in the "great hall" of the armory, Colonel Walker and Minister Phelps occupied the seats of honor, the duke presiding. This was an occasion not likely to be forgotten. More than one thousand persons were present, and whatever fascination is found in the splendor of costly decorations, countless lights, flashing jewels, or whatever charms in the meeting of persons of noble birth and high-sounding titles was not wanting to make this banquet an affair of rare brilliancy. The regular toasts were: "The Queen," "The President of the United States," Mr. Phelps responding, being most heartily cheered, "The Prince of Wales," "The Royal Family," etc., and then came "The Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston." Colonel Walker responded in a speech that, often interrupted by applause, was received in a memorable manner, for "the entire assemblage rose to their feet, cheered again and again, and waved handkerchiefs, and in every way demonstrated their delight and approval."

The reception given Colonel Walker by the Prince of Wales, the many courtesies shown the American delegation by the Honourable Artillery Company of London, and the memorials presented by the Duke of Portland to the commander, must be left for other pens to describe. Nor can a full account be given here of the home-coming of the delegation, the reception tendered them on their arrival in Boston, the parades, speeches, etc.; the trip to Montreal in October—when the entire company stood for the first time on foreign soil—where the city government and the militia

* The duke is lieutenant-colonel of the Honourable Artillery Company. The captain-general, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, was unable to be present.

entertained them with reception, feast, speeches, drives, etc., being banqueted in return by the honored, happy "ancients."

The memorable anniversary of 1888 was the two hundred and fiftieth birthday of the company, and was by far the most splendid celebration it ever attempted. The Honourable Artillery of London, not to be outdone by its "child" in acts of courtesy, sent a delegation of officers and privates to assist at this joyous affair, and surely no foreign embassy was ever more warmly welcomed or better entertained. Met, in New York harbor, by a revenue cutter bearing Colonel Walker and a committee of the "ancients," they were soon taken to a "spread" at the Windsor Hotel, after which, comfortably arranged in a "special," they were whirled away to Niagara. The following days were eventful ones to the English visitors, who were escorted to Washington, where a reception by the president was added to the many courtesies extended them by various members of congress; Mount Vernon and Arlington were visited; also Gettysburg, where they followed the changing positions held by the contending armies during that terrible three days' battle; and West Point, where they saw all that could be seen in the short time allowed them there; in New York, the Old Guard joined them as guests of the "ancients"; and thence to Boston. In startling head-lines, the *Boston Herald* announced, the next day: "The British capture Boston, aided by troops from New York. They enter the city this morning, and meet a fusillade of greetings." Indeed, the entire business portion of the city was decorated with British and American flags, standards of the two companies, mottoes, dates, etc., each relating to the event of the day or expressing some happy international sentiment. Thus the great "anniversary" began; thus, too, the British soldiery, returning after many years, again entered Boston.

On the evening of Saturday, June 2, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company gave a reception to its guests in the Music Hall—a most extraordinary affair, at which the British delegation was the centre of attraction and the Old Guard by no means lost to sight, though representatives from almost every military organization in New England crowded the floor, while members of the Albany and Troy "corps" gave additional variety to a gathering sanctioned by the presence of the governor of the state and the mayor and council of Boston. Then came a quiet Sunday, followed by the "anniversary," held, as always, "on the first Monday in June." All the time-honored customs were carefully observed: the morning *reveille*, the gathering of the company at Faneuil Hall, the march to the state house to meet the governor and invited guests, the services at New Old South church—where the Rev. Phillips Brooks preached a

sermon memorable for its eloquence and power—and lastly the banquet. Never did Faneuil Hall look more beautiful; seldom, if ever, has it contained a more brilliant assemblage. The governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, members of congress, officers of the army and navy, veterans of the rebellion, representatives of the militia of New England, New York, and Montreal—Canada being especially represented by Lieutenant-General Sir F. Middleton of Ottawa—together with the mayor and council of Boston, the president of Harvard university, eminent clergymen, journalists, and the especial guests so often mentioned—the Old Guard of New York, and the delegation of the Honourable Artillery Company of London—produced an impression never to be forgotten by those present. The beauty of the various uniforms and elaborate decorations, the excellence of the “substantial” portion of the banquet, were, however, but a prelude to eloquent addresses: the whole being a fitting close to a historic year—a year that Commander-Colonel Walker justly called “the most eventful one in the company’s life,” a year that will be noted always as the one in which much was done by this organization to unite more closely than ever the two great divisions of the English-speaking people. After the banquet the usual exercises were held on the Common, the governor receiving the insignia of office from the retiring officers and commissioning those newly elected. The new commander chosen was Henry E. Smith of Worcester.

The question is sometimes asked, why is this ancient organization still kept up? It is no longer a school of instruction for officers of the state militia, and its whole character has changed since its original projection. Yet, as long as men care to keep alive the traditions and influence of those whom we justly call “the fathers” of our nation, so long as their hearts glow with something more than pride in their country, and they care to perpetuate sentiments of loyalty, devotion, and honor, to strengthen ties that already bind together the nations, so long will they realize that the mission of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company has not ended, and that its right to exist is as unquestioned as when it fired the funeral volley over the grave of that governor by the stroke of whose pen it was called into being.

C. G. S. Raray

GEORGIA AND THE CONSTITUTION

The recent centennial anniversary of the meeting of the first congress and the inauguration of the first President of the Union under the Constitution, fills the thoughtful mind with interesting reflections and reminiscences touching that immortal instrument.

When the men who framed it met in convention in Philadelphia, in May, 1787, one of them—James Wilson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence—said: "When I consider the amazing extent of country, the immense population which is to fill it, the influence which the government we are to form will have, not only on the present generation of our people and their multiplied posterity, but on the whole globe, I am lost in the magnitude of the object." "In the closing hours of the convention," says Mr. Bancroft, "the members were awe-struck at the result of their councils; the Constitution was a nobler work than any one of them believed possible to devise; and Washington, at an early hour of the evening, retired to meditate on the momentous work which had been executed." Fifty years later De Tocqueville, the French statesman, and the most eminent political writer of the century, said: "This Constitution rests upon a wholly novel theory, which may be considered as a great discovery in modern political science." Lord Brougham declared it to be "the very greatest refinement in social policy to which any state of circumstances has ever given rise, or to which any age has ever given birth"; and a hundred years after its creation, Gladstone, the greatest living statesman of England, said: "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

It is to Georgia's potential agency in giving life to and shaping that Constitution, that I would now call attention.

Perhaps the most impressive and important episode in the state's career recalled by the historical retrospect induced by the occasion, is the one that is now least generally known; and yet, at the time of its occurrence, it absorbed the attention of the entire Union, for in its issue was involved the preservation of that state sovereignty without which the Union could not have had existence nor been perpetuated. It was in the year 1792, just five years after the formation of the Constitution, and a little more than three years after it went into operation, when Washington was President, and Edward Telfair was governor of Georgia, that a suit

was brought in the United States Supreme Court against the state of Georgia by a citizen of South Carolina named Chisholm, for a sum of money alleged to be due to him from the state. The state, through her official agents, the governor and attorney-general, was duly notified of the suit, and served with summons to appear before the court and make answer to the claim against her. Taking the position that a sovereign state, which she claimed to be, could not, by the federal Constitution, be sued by a citizen of another state, Georgia refused to obey the summons. Whereupon the attorney-general of the United States, as counsel for the plaintiff, moved that, unless Georgia appeared at the next term of the court, judgment should be entered against her by default, and a writ of inquiry of damages awarded. Due notice was given the state of this motion, the consideration of which, however, was postponed by the court till the next term, that the state might have time to deliberate on the course she would take. Georgia paid no more attention to this notice than she had to the first one. Still standing upon her rights and immunities as a sovereign state, she asserted that the United States government had no judicial power over such a case, and, simply entering a written protest to that effect, without deigning to recognize the jurisdiction of the court even so far as to enter into an argument of the matter, she refused to appear at the next term; and thus was the first great constitutional question brought before the supreme judicial tribunal of the government for decision—the question of a broad construction or a strict construction of the powers conferred upon the government by the states through the Constitution—the question of state sovereignty and state rights—the question upon which the convention that framed the Constitution would, in all probability, have split irremediably in two *but for the opportune patriotic action of a Georgia delegate in that convention*. That body, as is well known to those familiar with its history, was divided into two parties, the nationals and the federals. The federals were those who were in favor of forming a strictly federal government which would preserve unimpaired the rights, equality, and separate sovereignty of the states; while the nationals contended for a government more national than federal—a centralized, consolidated government, in which the idea of states should be almost annihilated. From an incorrect political nomenclature, which has been permitted to take historical root so long that it is not likely ever to be eradicated from the public mind, the nationals, or consolidationists, of that convention—Hamilton, Madison, Randolph, Morris, Wilson, and their allies and followers—are commonly said and believed to have been the federalist leaders in it. The very reverse of this is true. They contended

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most strenuously against the federal state-sovereignty idea. They wanted, as was expressly declared by Mr. Randolph, "a *consolidated Union*, in which the idea of states should be nearly annihilated."

The federals finally succeeded in having the state-sovereignty principle incorporated in the Constitution, and this secured their adhesion to it. But afterward, when the Supreme Court was organized, and they saw that the judges were nearly all nationals, they feared that, under color of its power to construe the Constitution, that court would, by a broad construction of its power, attempt to extinguish the great vital principle of the Union, which they had so hardly saved from annihilation at the hands of the nationals in the convention. They had not long to wait for proof that their fears were well founded. The court had been in existence but three years when the apprehended attempt was made by commanding the sovereign state of Georgia to appear before it on a level with a private individual, a citizen of another state, and defend herself against a prosecution by that individual. Georgia, as we have seen, refused to obey the command. The command was repeated, and so was the refusal. Then the Supreme Court issued its ultimatum "that, unless the state of Georgia shall either in due form appear, or show cause to the contrary in this court, by the first day of next term, judgment by default shall be entered against the said state." The next term came, but Georgia defied the power of the court, and came not with it. The court then rendered judgment against her and awarded a writ of inquiry. By this time there was much excitement in the public mind throughout the Union over the situation. The decision of the court was regarded as a direct attack upon the sovereignty of the states and a breach of the conditions upon which the Union was formed, and it would have certainly ended in the destruction of the government had not congress at this juncture proposed an amendment of the Constitution, declaring in explicit terms that "the judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state." The amendment was speedily adopted, and the Supreme Court then unanimously decided that the case against Georgia could be no further prosecuted, and it was swept at once from the records of the court. Such is the history of the way in which the eleventh amendment came to be adopted.

The Supreme Court at that time was presided over by John Jay, of New York, chief justice; with William Cushing, of Massachusetts; James Wilson, of Pennsylvania; John Blair, of Virginia; James Iredell, of North

Carolina ; and Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, associate justices. Jay, Wilson, and Iredell were unquestionably the ablest of the number, and of these three, Jay, on account of his longer public career and the exalted positions he had held, was the most distinguished, and Wilson the most erudite. Of Iredell, it is enough to say that North Carolina never had a brighter exemplar of that wisdom and integrity, and that simple dignity and modesty, so characteristic of the illustrious men of that state. In the great case of which I write, he was the only judge who upheld the constitutional right asserted by Georgia, and it is impossible to arise from the reading of his dissenting opinion without being convinced that, as a constitutional lawyer, he had no equal on the bench. The soundness of that opinion was attested by the subsequent overthrow of the judgment of the court by the eleventh amendment. Chief Justice Jay's opinion in this case was by far the most elaborate ever delivered by him while on the bench. That of Judge Wilson is a striking display of the wide range of his erudition. The momentous nature of the question under consideration was stated by him in the following words: "This is a case of uncommon magnitude. One of the parties to it is a state, certainly respectable, claiming to be sovereign. The question to be determined is, whether this state, so respectable, and whose claim soars so high, is amenable to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States. This question, important in itself, may depend on others more important still, and may, perhaps, be ultimately resolved into one no less radical than this, 'Do the people of the United States form a nation?'"

Profoundly impressed with a sense of the consequences which he foresaw would flow from the doctrine of his associates on the bench, Judge Iredell, in closing his dissenting opinion, said: "I pray to God that, if this doctrine as to the law be established by the judgment of this court, all the good predicted from it may take place, and none of the evils with which, I have the concern to say, it appears to me to be pregnant." Nothing but the amendment compelled by Georgia's unyielding attitude averted the evils which this great judge so feared.

To the mind of the student of those times one remarkable fact must occur in connection with this decision of the Supreme Court. When the Constitution had been framed, and was submitted to the states for that approval from them which was necessary to put it in operation, it was so strongly opposed in some of the states as to make the required ratification doubtful. The opposition to it was based chiefly on the alleged ground that it made the United States government too strong and left the state governments too weak; that it took from the states the sovereignty which

was theirs and ought to remain theirs, and conferred it on the United States, making of the latter a consolidated *national* government, which would, sooner or later, "annihilate" the states, instead of making them that *federal* government which was the avowed object of the convention that framed the Constitution. "It squints towards a monarchy," said Patrick Henry. "The government established by the Constitution will surely end either in monarchy or a tyrannical aristocracy," said Mason, of Virginia.

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, who were leaders of the national party, accepted the Constitution as a compromise between the nationals and the federals (state-rights men) of the convention, and they advocated its adoption because, as Mr. Jay said, they thought it "improbable that a better plan could be obtained." To answer the objections, dispel the fears, and win for it the votes of those who thought the states were left too powerless by the proposed plan of government, they wrote in conjunction a series of papers in which they vindicated it from the charge of despoiling the states of their rights or sovereignty. These writings exercised a powerful influence on the public mind. They were published in the newspapers of the day, and subsequently in the form of a book called the *Federalist*, of which Chancellor Kent said: "I know not of any work on the principles of free government that is to be compared in instruction and intrinsic value to this small and unpretending volume." This book was then, and is still, regarded as the ablest contribution to American political science.

One of the specific suggestions urged against the Constitution was that it would, if adopted, place the states in a situation where any one of them might be subjected to prosecution by the citizens of another. To this the *Federalist* replied that the danger intimated was "merely ideal," and that there was "*no colour* to pretend that the state governments would, by the adoption of the Constitution, be divested of the privilege of paying their own debts in their own way, free from every constraint but that which flows from the obligations of good faith." "To what purpose," it added, "would it be to authorize suits against states for the debts they owe? How could recoveries be enforced? It is evident that it could not be done *without waging war against the contracting state*; and to ascribe to the federal courts, by mere implication, and in destruction of a pre-existing right of the state governments, a power which would involve such a consequence would be *altogether forced and unwarrantable*."

That not more than five years had elapsed, after the penning of these words, when this power *was* assumed by a court presided over by one of the authors of the *Federalist*, is what, I say, must strike the reader as remarkable.

Those who are familiar with the case, and who have also read the *Memoirs* of the late Associate-Justice Curtis, of the United States Supreme Court, must have been surprised when they read that learned judge's reference to the "very able opinion of Mr. Chief Justice Marshall in the case of Chisholm against Georgia." It is indeed surprising that Judge Curtis committed such an anachronism in a paper prepared with so much elaborateness and reviewed with so much care as the one in which this reference is made. It was nearly ten years after the case cited before Chief Justice Marshall went upon the Supreme Court bench.

I have said that the federal convention would, in all human probability, have been rent irreparably in twain before the accomplishment of its high mission but for the opportune patriotic action of one of the delegates from Georgia. History shows this to be true. The threatening contest in the convention turned on the rule by which the states should be represented and vote in the government; the smaller states insisting on the rule of equality in all respects; the larger (or national states), on the rule of proportion to inhabitants. It was during this contest, and in view of the disastrous consequences it foreboded, that Benjamin Franklin made his memorable motion for prayer. Addressing himself to Washington, the president of the convention, he said: "In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illuminate our understandings?"

The national states carried their point as to the house of representatives, the smaller states yielding to the proportional rule, or national principle, as to that branch of congress; that is, that the votes of each state in that branch should be in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. They yielded that point, hoping that by doing so, they would secure a *compromise* that would establish the federal or state-rights principle in the second branch or senate, allowing each state an equal vote in that branch. "For," said Mr. Ellsworth, the federal leader, "if no compromise should take place, the meeting would be not only vain, but worse than vain." But the nationals pushed forward for establishing the proportional rule in the senate also, and to this the federals declared their inflexible resolve never to consent. This, then—the rule of representation in the senate—was the Gordian knot of the convention, the Scylla and the Charybdis against and around the perilous edges of which it dashed and whirled again and again, till it well-nigh went to pieces. The nationals were persistent, the smaller states were immovable, and the abrupt and speedy ending of all

negotiations between them seemed inevitable. "You *must* give each state an equal suffrage, or our business is at an end," exclaimed Luther Martin, who was a delegate from Maryland. The hour of the convention's dissolution appeared indeed to be at hand. Martin, speaking of it afterward, said it seemed "scarce held together by the strength of a hair." On Monday, the 2d of July, five weeks after the meeting of the convention, the decisive moment came, when Mr. Ellsworth moved to establish the rule "that each state be allowed an equal vote in the senate." Unless there should be found one national state patriotic and wise enough to be willing to compromise, there would be no Union. A historian of the occasion says: "It was a critical moment in the history of the country. On the change of a single vote the most stupendous issues were suspended." "On the motion of Ellsworth," says Mr. Bancroft, "five states voted for equal suffrage in the senate; five of the six national states answered, 'no.' All interest then centred on GEORGIA, the sixth national state, and the last to vote. Baldwin, fearing a disruption of the convention, and convinced of the hopelessness of assembling another under better auspices, dissented from his colleague, and divided the vote of his state." This led to the compromise which resulted in the formation of the American Constitution and the Union of the states.

There they are together: Baldwin's dissenting vote, and Iredell's dissenting opinion. Let them live, with the Constitution and the Union, in the hearts of men through all succeeding ages!

ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

J. K. Oglesby.

THE LAST TWELVE DAYS OF MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ

The treason and flight of Arnold and the apprehension and execution of André constituted a startling episode in the history of the Revolutionary War.

Arnold had endured hardship and manifested heroism and fortitude in the cause of his country which had secured him the confidence and support of the commander-in-chief of the American forces. André was a young man of taste and refinement, proud and ambitious, seeking military advancement and renown, and in the full enjoyment of the confidence and affection of his military chief. An unfortunate affair of love increased the romance which clustered round his career, and the fate that overtook him annexed a pathos to his story, which seems ever interesting and ever new.

It is the object of this paper to chronicle some interesting facts and incidents which have escaped the attention of historians, and especially to trace the movements of André during the eventful twelve days preceding his death, and to describe the exact route and roads over which he traveled, the houses and places which he visited, and the conversations he engaged in with different people, so far as they have been handed down. That history has never been written. The efforts of the historians who have undertaken to cover the ground in outline have fallen far below their aim. Their accounts are entirely wanting in precision and accuracy, and, in many instances, they are misleading and erroneous. The materials which form the basis of this paper have been gathered from all available sources, and their collection has been the work of years. The writer has passed personally over most of the roads traveled by André in Westchester and Putnam counties, and some of those in the county of Rockland. So far as the names of persons and places are given they are strictly accurate, and all the facts stated have been verified and found correct, and authority and evidence sustain every statement.

Arnold had conducted a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton for eighteen months without disclosing his name; but, when he obtained the command of West Point and its environments, his identity remained no longer in doubt. Under the disguise of mercantile language he disclosed his willingness to negotiate for a sale, and requested a personal interview for the arrangement of the terms and conditions.

André, who had been selected by Sir Henry Clinton to conduct such

negotiations for him, was in New York city on the nineteenth day of September, 1780. He made a visit on that day to Madame de Riedesel, at the Beekman mansion, in company with Sir Henry Clinton, and the evening was passed at the Kip mansion, at a dinner given by Colonel Williams to Clinton and his staff, as a parting compliment to Major André.

During the day of the nineteenth Sir Henry Clinton received a letter from Arnold directed to Colonel Beverly Robinson, in which he said he would send a person to Dobb's Ferry or on board the war-sloop *Vulture*, then lying above Teller's Point, on the night of the twentieth, who would be furnished with a boat and flag of truce, and whose secrecy might be relied upon.

Before that and on the fifteenth, the day on which his wife reached his headquarters at the Robinson house, Arnold had written a letter to André under the name of John Anderson, in which he said, "I will send a person, in whom you may confide, to meet you at Dobb's Ferry, at the landing on the east side, on Wednesday, the 20th instant, who will conduct you to a place of safety, where I will meet you . . . meet me if possible—you may rest assured that, if there is no danger in passing your lines, you will be perfectly safe where I propose a meeting, of which you shall be informed on Wednesday evening, if you think proper to be at Dobb's Ferry." A copy of this last letter was inclosed in the letter to Colonel Robinson, received by Clinton. Acting upon the information contained in these letters, Major André started the next day, the 20th of September, and went to Dobb's Ferry, on the Westchester side. He probably went by land. The roads pursued by him have not been specified, but he doubtless passed out of the city over King's bridge, and along the post road through Yonkers to Dobb's Ferry. Finding no person there to meet him, and the tide being at the flood, André proceeded by a sail-boat to the British sloop of war *Vulture*, which was then lying in Haverstraw bay, above Teller's Point, at least sixteen miles distant, and reached that vessel at seven o'clock in the evening. He found Colonel Beverly Robinson on board. André remained on the *Vulture* that night, in the expectation that General Arnold would meet him there or send a person for him, pursuant to the appointment contained in his last letter, as he had failed to send a person to Dobb's Ferry.

In the early part of the next day Arnold went from his headquarters at the Robinson House to Verplanck's Point, and from thence to the house of Joshua Hett Smith, on the other side of the river. When he crossed over to Stony Point, he dispatched an officer in his own barge up the river to Peekskill Creek, and thence up Canopus Creek to Continental Village,

with orders to bring down a row-boat from that place, and directed Major Kierse, the quartermaster at Stony Point, to send the boat, the moment it should arrive, to a certain place in Haverstraw Creek (now called Mine-seongo Creek), which I assume to have been Colonel Hays's dock. He also directed Major Kierse to notify him of its arrival.

The boat was towed down by the barge and stationed at the place indicated, and Major Kierse sent a letter to Arnold at Smith's house notifying him that the boat was in the place designated. The messenger bearing the letter was met by one dispatched by Arnold to ascertain whether the boat had arrived, who carried the letter of Kierse to Arnold at Smith's house. After receiving intelligence of the arrival of the boat, Arnold induced Samuel and Joseph Colquhoun, two of Smith's tenants, by persuasive and coercive language, to row Smith in the boat to the *Vulture* that night, and directed them to muffle their oars with sheepskin. There was an old lane leading from Smith's house to Colonel Hays's landing, through which they doubtless passed to reach the boat. It was near midnight when they left. The night was serene and pleasant, the tide was on the outflow, and the water was unruffled except by the slight current of the tide, and they passed to the *Vulture* without incident or interruption. On approaching the vessel they were assailed with a volley of oaths, and commanded to haul alongside. They did so, and Smith proceeded to the deck of the vessel. The two watermen remained in the boat. The noise on the deck was heard below, and a ship boy came on deck with orders from the captain that the man should be shown into the cabin. Descending to the captain's cabin, Smith met his old friend Colonel Robinson, in full uniform, ready to receive him. Robinson was very cordial, and Smith delivered to him a letter from Arnold dated September 21, 1780, in which he said: "This will be delivered to you by Mr. Smith, who will conduct you to a place of safety." Robinson read the letter, introduced Smith to the captain, who was in bed, and, ordering some refreshments, left the room after an apology for so doing.

Robinson proceeded to André, who was in his berth, and the two pondered over Arnold's letter. Robinson refused to leave the vessel and advised André not to do so; but André hurried from his bed and was anxious to go. Robinson was absent about twenty minutes when he returned with André, whom he introduced to Smith as John Anderson. Anderson seemed to be ready to leave the vessel, and did so in the boat with Smith, and was rowed to a point designated by Arnold.

This precise spot was recently located by Lavalett Wilson, the principal of the Haverstraw Mountain institute, who prepared a map representing

the locality, to accompany an article on the subject published in the *Magazine of American History*, February, 1885.

The landing was made at a dock used as a shipping-place for wood and stone. A portion of this dock still remains. There is an old stone house three hundred feet north of the dock, and an abandoned stone quarry north of the house, and the landing-place is therefore easily found.

There was a road leading up from the dock to the Long Clove road, and traces of that old disused way are yet distinctly visible.

Upon that way below the Long Clove road there is a small plateau, comparatively level, encircled by firs, where the interview between Arnold and André probably took place.

Arnold doubtless went down the Long Clove road to the path, or way, leading down the hill to the dock, and, leaving his horse there in charge of the negro servant, he walked down the path and hid himself among the evergreens.

The writer was thrilled with emotion as he stood upon the precise spot where the commercial Gustavus met his secret correspondent, John Anderson, in the darkness of midnight, to sell out his post, betray his trust, and consummate his crime.

Upon reaching the dock, Anderson was left with the boatmen, while Smith proceeded up the bank in pursuit of Arnold. Before Smith left his house that night to take the boat with the watermen, Arnold had appointed that place for the interview, and arranged to proceed there on horseback, accompanied by the servant of Smith, who also rode another horse. Smith in his narrative says: "On my approach to the place of appointment, I found General Arnold ready to receive me. He was *hid among the firs*. I mentioned to him Colonel Beverly Robinson's reason for not accompanying me, and the delegation of a young gentleman, a Mr. Anderson, who I had brought with me, and who was then with the watermen on the strand. He appeared much agitated, and expressed chagrin at the disappointment of not seeing Colonel Robinson. He desired me, however, to conduct Anderson to him, which being done he requested me to remain with the hands at the boat."

The length of the conference between Arnold and Anderson was such that Smith became alarmed as he discovered the approaching signs of day, and notified them to that effect.

Arnold then mounted his horse, Anderson mounted the horse rode by the servant, and both started for the house of Smith, which was about six miles distant. They rode north on the Long Clove road to the village of Haverstraw, where they were hailed by a sentinel, whom they passed, and

proceeded to the house of Smith by the road leading past the present site of the Presbyterian church. Smith and the waterman returned with the boat to Crom Island in Haverstraw Creek, where they left it, and Smith proceeded to his house, which he reached shortly after daylight. André and Arnold were there before him, and both remained in an upper room of the house together. Smith carried their breakfast to them and left them alone. The fearful errand of the emissary was accomplished, but the time consumed furnishes evidence of much disagreement respecting the terms proposed by Arnold. Ever sordid and unscrupulous, he doubtless demanded an extravagant price for his treachery, which the British agent endeavored to reduce. By the final agreement, however, Arnold was to preserve his rank and secure a large sum of money.

Having furnished the papers to André, Arnold directed the latter to place them in his stockings, and destroy them in case of accident. André's reply shows that he expected then to return to the *Vulture*, as he said he would have the papers tied to a stone when he went into the boat. Before they parted, André's return by land had been mentioned, but he objected, saying that he thought he was to return the same way he came. From the window of the Smith house André saw the *Vulture* drop down the river to escape the fire opened upon her from Teller's Point, and manifested his pain and annoyance at her change of position, and expressed with energy his wish to be on board of the vessel. The parties appear to have been at cross purposes respecting the return of André, for although he evidently expected to return the way he came, yet all of Arnold's arrangements seem to have contemplated a return by land. Whatever were his expectations, André was obliged finally to yield his consent to the return by land.

Arnold left about ten o'clock in the morning and went up the river in his barge to his headquarters at the Robinson House, while André remained in the house during the day. Smith carried his dinner to him personally in the same room; he continued there until nearly the close of the day, when they started for King's Ferry.

Before leaving, Arnold furnished André with a horse and saddle belonging to the government, and pointed out the route by which he was to travel, by way of White Plains, to New York city. He also furnished the pass, so familiar in history.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "J. O. Sherman". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping initial "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

(To be continued.)

A BOSTON WRITING-SCHOOL BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

My text is an old copy-book bearing the date 1767-'68, which has been handed along through the generations from a writing-school on Boston Common, containing among other names those of Abiah Holbrook, William Molineaux, John Fenno, and Joseph Ward, the last named being the owner of the copy-book.

This school was established by the town in 1717, and at the above date Abiah Holbrook was the master, and John Lord was in charge of the South Grammar School. The building stood on the border of the Common, at the present line of Mason street, and the gun-house was close by, separated by a fence with a gate, which before the war was occupied by Captain Paddock's train band. The guns would have fallen into the hands of the British but for the aid of the patriotic teachers and students of the school. Watching their opportunity one day, while the troops were on the opposite side from the school-house at roll-call, Schoolmaster Holbrook, with Gore, Story, and one or two others, quickly removed the guns across the yard, and concealed them in the capacious wood-box of the school-room. When a search was instituted, the master, who was lame, kept his leg resting upon the wood-box, and the soldiers quickly left the bare room. These guns were shortly removed to a wood-yard on the Neck, and subsequently came into possession of the provincial troops, did good service, received the names Hancock and Adams, and now rest in peace in the chamber of Bunker Hill monument.

The old copy-book contains the following petition of Schoolmaster Holbrook:

"To the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Town of Boston:

The Petition of Abiah Holbrook, Writing Master, humbly sheweth; That your petitioner, Master of the South Writing School, has now under his care Two Hundred and sixty Town children, which number he has had constantly the year round for many years past and sometimes near three hundred, which has obliged your Petitioner, at his own expense, to procure more help than the town allows him, otherwise a considerable number of the Youth must have been turned off, without any instruction. All this has your Petitioner done without asking the Town one Penny consideration.

That your Petitioner's salary which is his principal support has been for the most part unpaid for several years together, and at the same time your Petitioner has been obliged for several years successively to pay back one Quarter Part of his salary in Taxes yearly When others in the same service have so much Favour shown them as to pay no taxes at

all.—Your Petitioner has with great Difficulty taken care of the Youth committed to his charge ever since his Usher and the other Assistant left him which was in October 1764. That your Petitioner now has only a lad whom he has taken to bring up for the service of the town as an Assistant whose salary is fixed at £40. per annum, which your Petitioner finds is not adequate for so arduous and difficult a task.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays that the Town would be pleased to take the Premises into Consideration and grant your Petitioner some relief in regard to his taxes and for the Lad above mentioned an Equal Salary with the Usher of the other public Writing School in Town ; Or otherwise grant your Petitioner such Relief and Encouragement as the Town in their Wisdom shall think most equitable, that he may thereby be enabled with Fidelity, Cheerfulness and Success further to serve the Town. And your Petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray &c.

ABIAH HOLBROOK.

BOSTON, *February 26th, 1767.*"

At the town meeting, March 16, 1767, the petition of Abiah Holbrook was read—whereupon it was voted that "Mr. Samuel Adams, Hon^{ble} Royal Tylor, Esq., Mr. Thomas Gray, Benjamin Kent, Esq., Milatrat Brown, Esq., be a committee to consider the same and Report at the general Town meeting in May next." It is pleasant to find that the appropriation for an assistant at the South Writing School was raised from £40 to £50 at the May meeting. Mr. Holbrook's salary remained, however, at £100, with but a single appropriation of £40 to Mr. Holbrook, and the town treasurer was authorized to allow the several schoolmasters interest on the sums due to them from the dates of their warrants to the time of payment, so amenable were the people of the town to the right of petition, a right which they always jealously guarded.

The personality of this writing-book is somewhat remarkable. The page written by John Fenno is so unique in its sentiment, beautiful in its chirography, and well preserved in the texture of the paper and color of the ink, that we may almost believe the making of such paper and ink to be a lost art which left these shores with the Tories, never to return. John Fenno was for several years the keeper of the granary which stood on the common where Park Street church now stands. He was secretary and aid to General Ward, and his orderly book is preserved by the Historical Society. He went to Philadelphia and established the *United States Gazette*, making a specialty of reporting the debates in congress.

The page bearing the name William Molineaux recalls many interesting events in our history. He was one of that band of patriots who accomplished so much in so short a time that history may well regret his early death. Those who recall the "Gleaner" papers are aware that William Molineaux bought of John Alford, of Charlestown, in 1760, a lot

of land on Beacon street, just east of the path leading to the beacon, and erected thereon what was for those days a spacious mansion, where he died, in 1774. He was an ardent patriot, was one of the men who planned at the Green Dragon the destruction of the tea, and probably one of that same famous party in the disguise of a Mohawk Indian. In 1770 he was one of the committee of seven who went from the old South Meeting House to demand of the governor the removal of the troops; and, from what we know of his temper, he could not have failed to support Samuel Adams in the demand that "*both regiments must go.*" The next day he walked beside the officers in their march to the wharf, that the too zealous patriots might not precipitate a conflict between the people and the troops. It is recorded that "Col. Dalrymple went to Hancock and asked that one gentleman of the committee might accompany the troops in their march through the town. Hancock sent for William Molineaux, who walked alongside the two companies from West Boston to Wheelright's Wharf, where they embarked for the Castle." A glance at the town records from 1760 to 1774 shows that he was put upon many important committees in town meetings; perhaps one of the most noticeable instances of this kind was that of a committee to devise methods of giving relief to the poor by providing employment. It was recommended that rooms be hired, spinning-wheels and wool bought, teachers be employed, and all who desired should be taught spinning; the yarn could be sold to certain persons who proposed to manufacture "Shalloons, Durant's Camblitts, Calimancoes, Duroys and Legatnier." William Molineaux was intrusted with the carrying out of this plan of fostering home industries; he was voted £200 outright, and a loan of £300 more, and the committee say they "are of the Opinion that the Gentleman we hope may be prevailed upon to carry the emportant employment of the Poor of the Town into Execution, has in view the public good, and upon mature deliberation we apprehend there is not any probability of his advantaging htmself thereby." There have been attempts all along the line of our history as a town to build up "infant industries." It is only in these latter days that clubs are formed to persuade our people they should foster and protect the foreign manufacturer. William Molineaux died suddenly in 1774, "a martyr by his zeal and ardor for the patriot cause," says a contemporary writer.

On the 12th of August, 1774, William Molineaux, Jr., was attacked by the Welsh soldiers and roughly handled, which brings me to a curious anomaly current in our own literature. Longfellow, apparently, thought the well-known lines on the window-pane at Sudbury were written by "the great Major Molineaux," though they are signed William Molineaux, Jr.;

and Hawthorne reversed the character of Major Molineaux, making him a rabid Tory, when, in fact, he was a most ardent patriot. Both were wrong; the son wrote the lines :

“ What do you think ?
Here is good drink.
Perhaps you may not know it.
If not in haste,
Do stop and taste.
You merry folks will show it.”

WILLIAM MOLINEAUX, JR.

BOSTON, 24th June, 1774.

The owner of this copy-book, Joseph Ward, was born in Newton in 1737, and received such education as the common schools afforded. He became the assistant teacher of Abraham Fuller, under whose guidance he extended his studies until he found employment in the neighboring towns of Chelsea, Marblehead, and Portsmouth. In 1767, he was in Boston, the assistant of Abiah Holbrook, at the writing-school. That this man is less familiar to us than Otis, Hancock, and Adams, is probably owing to the fact that he was a writer rather than a talker. His active life as an officer during five years of the Revolution was brilliant, and his whole career, as schoolmaster, writer, soldier, merchant, and citizen, deserves a more careful description and wider record than the present opportunity affords. Let us consider him with reference to a single characteristic of his notable service, as one of the earliest and most insistent advocates of the independence of the colonies. The files of the *Boston Gazette*, *Massachusetts Spy*, and *Essex Gazette* will show many letters addressed to the king, to Governor Hutchinson, to the people, to the parliament, and generally signed “An American.” In these Joseph Ward constantly incited the people to demand their rights, to resist encroachments on their liberties, and to look forward to independence of the mother country. In the *Boston Gazette*, August, 1771, he writes under the title of An American to Governor Hutchinson : “Tell the ministry, tell the king, that the plans they are pursuing to tax the colonies and subject them to arbitrary power will end in the destruction of the nation. . . . Tell them they are sapping the foundations of the kingdom—the Americans throughout this vast continent murmur, complain of oppression and are determined that they will not much longer bear these burdens and insults; that the day is fast approaching wherein the union between America and Great Britain, on which the existence of the kingdom depends, will be dissolved.”

In December, 1771, he writes in the *Boston Gazette* what is entitled An

Open Letter from an American to the King, saying: "The inhabitants of these, your Majesty's colonies, have from their infancy enjoyed great freedom; have been taught to prize it above everything in life and even above life itself; 'tis liberty, and not names or families, they are in love with. However ardent is their affection for your Majesty, should future experience teach them you were unfriendly to their rights and liberties, all their affection will expire in a moment and the opposite passion animate their minds. Therefore your Majesty can have no dependence on their loyalty unless you pay a sacred regard to all their liberties, for it is an established maxim with the Americans that nothing binds them to the prince but the prince's fidelity to them; that he is made for the people, and not the people for him, and if he departs from his duty they are under no obligation to obey him; that their liberties are to be secured at any rate, if it be even at the expense of his ruin." He writes to the British parliament, through the *Boston Gazette*: "America, in spite of envy and malice and the united efforts of her enemies, will rise superior to all opposition. Her situation, extent of territory and natural advantages for wealth and power give her the most certain prospect of freedom. And nothing can be more absurd and vain than for Great Britain or any other nation to attempt the subjection of America. It is impossible in the nature of things that such a vast people, so advantageously situated for independence, should long submit to impositions."

We also find in the *Essex Gazette* of May 12, 1772: "Be of good courage, my countrymen, be resolute and stand firm, the day of our deliverance draweth near, every rolling year winds up the scene, and brings us nearer an independent state—a few years more will compleat that independency which tyranny has taught us to aspire after." And in the *Boston Gazette*, in September of same year, he writes as follows about the salaries of judges: "The rights of the people are natural and inherent, and no ruler can have any power but what is the free gift of the people whose servant he is. The powers of the crown are the gift of the people, and the crown has no powers but those that are expressed in Laws and Charters." There are many other articles from his pen on matters appertaining to taxation and finance, temperance and morals, running from 1770 to 1785, but we have quoted enough I think to show that this Boston schoolmaster was one of the strong patriots of our country.

Wm. C. Bates.

EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

In surveying the establishment of what we now call constitutional government upon the American continent, two or three cardinal conditions, which existed at the founding of no other nation, must be constantly kept in view. In the first place, here was a virgin continent, which the Almighty Ruler of the universe seems to have withheld from civilized man until he was in a state of enlightenment and progress sufficient for the due appreciation of the noble opportunities for the good of the race which such a virgin continent offered. Secondly, it must ever be remembered that in our history the possession of liberty as a fact preceded the assertion of the principles upon which that liberty was founded. Just as in science, the principle is found by induction from pre-existent facts, so originated our constitutional history. Our ancestors cared little for names. It was the substance, the reality of human liberty that they struggled for; when this had been firmly secured they proceeded to induce from the facts of their experience the true principles of liberty, their work culminating in the present Constitution of the United States, which is at once an harmonious blending of the principles and realities of constitutional liberty into one organic whole, a grand catechism of political principles, encased in noble work of the statesmen's art, standing as an awe-inspiring beacon-light, upon the shores of time—man's best gift to man. The first germs of constitutional government on this continent were planted in a compact drawn up in the cabin of the *Mayflower* by the Pilgrim fathers in 1620. This document was signed by every man of the party (forty-one in all). After acknowledging themselves as "loyal subjects" of their "dread sovereign King James," it continues: "We do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitution and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience." In this document we find all the elements of constitutional republican government, contained in a written compact, and emanating from the people as a fact, but in the name of kingly power. But there is no assertion of the great principle that government proceeds from the people. The *fact*, the *reality* was before them.

They were content with this. It was a great step in the advance of mankind, but they knew it not. This was also the first time in the history of the world that government was ever established by *consent* of the *governed*, but this momentous and vital principle of constitutional government they were totally unconscious of enacting. They came to the new world by *consent* of the king. They regarded him as the source of all political power, but circumstances unlooked for forced them to establish a government by their *own* consent. They were not economic metaphysicians. They were pilgrims seeking freedom.

In 1628 John Endicott and one hundred settlers obtained a charter for the Massachusetts Bay company, and thus the foundations of the commonwealth of Massachusetts were laid. This lasted until 1683, when the English court of chancery declared the Massachusetts Bay company's charter forfeited. But as the pilgrims at Plymouth were not acting under this charter they were not affected by its dissolution. The king sent over a royal governor, who abolished all the charter laws. It looked as if the liberties of Massachusetts were gone forever, when the revolution of 1688 drove the last Stuart king from the throne of England. But the flame of freedom still burned at Plymouth Rock. Encouraged by the sight, the men of Boston in 1689 boldly seized the royal governor, sent him a prisoner back to England, and re-established their former charter government. But it lacked legality—all legal political power must come from the king. So in 1692 they petitioned the king to grant Massachusetts a new charter. This was done, and Plymouth was united with it. Thus ended the famous compact signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, which had subsisted for seventy-two years, but had taught mankind more of free government in those few years than all the centuries that had gone before. It must be noticed here that, while the *Mayflower* compact acknowledged kingly government, it was a spontaneous act of the people, and existed of itself, without the seal of the king. The pilgrims covenanted only with *one another*, and not with the king. Herein lies the root of the constitutional idea of government from the people, and is in contrast with the charter governments which were covenants between the king and the colonies. The *Mayflower* compact, therefore, must be considered the first political act of the people themselves as such ever done on this continent. We will now follow this idea as it developed in the colonies—namely, governmental acts recognizing that the true power of government originates in the people—for this is the cardinal essence of the present Constitution of the United States, and distinguishes it from all the constitutions of history, ancient or modern.

The next compact of government originating from the people, and that existed without the royal sanction, was the constitution of Connecticut. This constitution was adopted by direct vote of the people in 1639, and recognized no higher human authority than them. It was an advance upon the idea of the *Mayflower* compact, and contained provisions that were afterward adopted into every state constitution and in the Constitution of the United States. This constitution of Connecticut divided the government into three departments—legislative, executive, and judicial—all to be filled by persons elected by and deriving their authority from the people. Thus was established a free constitutional republic, and it lasted until 1662—all during the period of Cromwell. But when the Restoration took place, the people of this colony, not realizing the precious government they had, felt uneasy as to its legality, and in 1662 obtained a charter from Charles the Second, and thereby gave up a government deriving its powers from the people for one deriving them from the king. Twenty-three years after the *Mayflower* compact, occurred the next act of government on the part of the people.

In 1643, only twenty-three years after the first settlement of New England, a league possessing some of the elements of a constitution was formed, consisting of the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. It was a league firm and perpetual, offensive and defensive, under the name of the "United Colonies of New England." It had an annual congress of commissioners, delegated by the several colonies, which congress had authority to regulate the general concerns, to levy war, and to make requisitions upon the component colonies for men and money. This confederacy lasted for forty-three years, when it was arbitrarily dissolved in 1686 by James the Second, for the very reason that it was an assertion that political power could come from the people and not from the king. In 1754 there was a congress of commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland assembled at Albany. Though this congress was called at the instance of the crown, for the purpose of defending America against France, the illustrious Franklin, who was one of its delegates, saw an opportunity to accomplish a grander object. Instead of considering merely how to defend the frontiers against France, Franklin drew up a plan of united government for all the colonies, with a general congress, having many of the rights of war and peace, and to levy imports and taxes, and a president-general to be appointed by the crown. Here was first planted that twin idea of liberty—union. This plan was rejected by the king, who was alarmed at its republican princi-

ples. This comprehensive plan of government was the third great act of the people as such. It was not established, but the idea of a union which it contained was like a torch applied to an inflammable mass. Then, in 1765, on the recommendation of Massachusetts, a congress was assembled to consider the stamp act—this was another assertion of political power, independent of and without the authority of the crown. The congress of 1765 was but a preparatory step to the great continental congress of 1774, which laid the foundation of the American republic. This congress, on October 14, 1774, passed the famous "Bill of Rights," containing the substance of the first ten amendments of the present Constitution, and must be considered, so far as its practical provisions are concerned, as the main source of the whole Constitution. This "Bill of Rights," after reciting various unconstitutional acts of the king and parliament, goes on to say: "the good *people* of the several colonies, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings, have severally elected, constituted and appointed deputies to meet and sit in general congress in the city of Philadelphia, . . . whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these colonies, declare that the inhabitants of the English colonies in North America have the following rights: First, that they are entitled to life, liberty and property, and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever a right to dispose of either without their consent." Then follow eight other resolutions, claiming the right of trial by jury, no taxation without representation, and the separation of the legislative and executive powers. Here was still further carried out the idea of the *Mayflower* compact—that the people—"the good people of these colonies"—are the source of political power. The language is bold, explicit, and clear: "The *people* have *never ceded* to any sovereign power a right." Here was a sentence never before seen in any state paper in the history of the world. Hitherto the language and idea were that the king grants rights to the people, but here is the assertion that the *people* have something to cede to the sovereign. Two years after the "Declaration of Rights" came the "Declaration of Independence," destined to become an immortal heritage dedicated to universal freedom. Thomas Jefferson enjoys a double glory. Not only is his name indissolubly linked to the immortality of the "Declaration of Independence" that emanated from his hand, but he alone possesses the fame and renown of being the first American whose more than human ken penetrated beneath the surface of facts and conditions of his country's history, and drew from thence the comprehensive and all-pervading principles of constitutional freedom. He touched the

barren facts of history, and at once a new light shone in the eager eyes of mankind, who had for so many centuries been yearning for the gladdening sight. It was as the star of morning illuminating the ebon portals of political night. For more than a century this light has been burning, year unto year adding to its already resplendent glory. A glance at this great state paper will show what we have endeavored to illustrate by these remarks—that our ancestors, though in possession of the elements and structure of constitutional government, were as yet ignorant of the great underlying principles upon which it was based, and that the “Declaration of Independence” was the first enunciation of these principles. The “Declaration of Rights” of 1774 merely states facts. It begins with a simple “Whereas”—that the king and parliament have done this and done that, and the rights claimed are merely those actually existing under the then laws. But the “Declaration of Independence” starts out in a very different manner. In its very first sentence it speaks of the colonists as “one people”: “When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for *one people* to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another.” In this phrase “one people,” the great Jefferson presented to his countrymen the glorious vision of an American nationality. The next grand thought the Declaration presents to us is a clear announcement that nature herself had imposed her immutable laws upon government and human society as firmly as she had fixed the law of gravitation upon the universe of matter. The people are “to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station which the laws of *nature* and of nature’s God entitle them.” Having given us the vision of a nationality working out its destiny through nature herself, regulated by the divine lawgiver, we are next led up to the “truths”—the principles, which must follow from these conditions. “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Here we have the assertion of those two great underlying principles of all free governments—equality of rights and liberty as the natural state of man. But these great rights would be vain unless they can be applied and secured in their full vigor. Since the dawn of creation the lightning had flashed its terrors from the heavens, irresistible and all-powerful. But until Benjamin Franklin snatched it from its empyrean abode and chained it to the service of man, it was a useless power. So with these inalienable rights of the people—unless they are put in some form of practical power, the people cannot enjoy them—they would be simply a soul without a body.

Hence the "Declaration of Independence" next proceeds to indicate the body by which the people's soul may live upon the earth and become an enduring entity. "That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men." Government, then, is the material body through which the spirit of the people may live. But there are different kinds of governments. The people must not only have a body, but a sound body. We must have governments "deriving their just power from the *consent* of the governed." Here in but eighteen lines of a printed page, the penetrating mind of Jefferson has summed up all there is of the philosophy of human history and of human hope. Then, in the last clause, we find that this great act is to be done in the name of the *people*. "We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, do in the name and by the authority of the good *people* of these colonies, solemnly declare and publish that these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States."

These principles having been thus matchlessly enunciated in a rhetoric as beautiful as the truths taught are undying, and the colonies being free and independent states, naturally the first thing to be done was to form a government to carry these principles into effect. But, alas! the same congress that passed the "Declaration of Independence," signally failed to frame a government in accordance therewith. On November 15, 1777, but little over one year after the great Declaration was given to the world, the congress proceeded to form a general government for all the states, which, in its nature and structure, was a contradiction of all the great truths in the "Declaration of Independence." This is a singular and remarkable fact, for these articles of confederation were reported to the congress by a committee on the 20th of August, 1776, only a month and a half after the "Declaration of Independence" was passed. But when one looked among the names of the delegates from Virginia who signed these articles, which were a denial of the truths of the Declaration, we do not find the name of Thomas Jefferson. Whether the delegates, in adopting these articles, acted from design or a failure to understand the remarkable doctrines of the "Declaration of Independence," we know not. The "Articles of Confederation" were to be perpetual, and it is so stated in the body of them, and yet in these articles of government intended to be permanent, the name of the people is not even mentioned; but for the mighty name of the people—the very heart of the "Declaration of Independence"—they put the word "States." Mark, then, how the "Articles of Confederation" begin: "We, the undersigned delegates of the *States* affixed to our names, send greeting. Whereas, the Delegates of the United States in Congress

assembled on November 15th, 1777, did agree to certain articles of confederation and perpetual union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts," etc., etc. Then the first article says: "The style of this *Confederacy* shall be 'the United States of America.' ART. II. Each *State* retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power and jurisdiction and right which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled. ART. III. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other."

This was to be the national government of the United States, and yet the people were to have no voice in it—not even in its establishment. The great principle of consent was violated. The "Declaration of Independence" was in the name of the people—but this is in the name of the state governments, a number of corporations. Yet the articles contain many of the practical provisions which were later incorporated into the Constitution of the United States. Like many other acts of our history, the principle of free government was not recognized while its form was retained.

The Articles of Confederation lasted until 1789. By this time the framers of the Articles of Confederation had begun to understand the great doctrines of the "Declaration of Independence," and our present Constitution is but a return to the forgotten principles of the Declaration. The first grand object the Constitution of the United States presents to the mind's view is, "We, the people"—we, the people, do ordain and establish this Constitution—thus the great and true source of constitutional government is recognized, the people. Then the last clause brings into force that other great fundamental idea of constitutional government—free consent of the people through conventions elected by the people, and not by the state governments. Thus this great charter of our liberties begins and ends with a recognition of the *people* as the source of all power.

We have now surveyed the growth of the present Constitution of the United States. We have seen that it was no sudden growth—no instantaneous creation. It was the work of many hands, the product of many toiling years that preceded it. It is, indeed, a mighty ship of state riding upon the surging sea of nations, now sinking to its nether depths, anon rising to the foaming crest of its highest wave, laden with the rich argosies of the fathers who built it as well as the dearest hopes of those who now direct it. A stately craft, whose enduring timbers were knitted firmly by the blood of heroes and welded together by the sacrifices of a martyr host from pilgrim to continentalist, it presents a synthetic frame-work, each decade of pre-Revolutionary history contributing its own peculiar portion. It bears a keel given it by one generation, masts by another, and spread-

ing sails by yet a third. Then in the fullness of time—1787—came the state-craft builders, who so deftly and ably put into place the precious materials that lay at their feet. These nation-builders launched the great ship. It lay for a year or more in the broad harbor of the nations, and the eyes of mankind were upon it. Millions of men, thirsty for liberty, were eagerly looking on from near and from far, anxious to learn if the American people were to start the mighty ship Constitution upon the voyage of the ages or scuttle it at its dock. At last the people gave the words, "Set sail!"—when, in that memorable year, 1789, the great craft of the Constitution started in its course upon the vasty deep of history, with George Washington at the helm. Had George Washington not approved and labored for the adoption of the Constitution, it would have been rejected. The people trusted him, and without his true and patriotic aid it could never have been adopted. Not only, therefore, is George Washington the Father of his Country, but he is the adopted father of this miraculous work of man—the Constitution of the United States. We may well repeat the eloquent words of Daniel Webster. "Of all the presumptions indulged by presumptuous man, that is one of the rashest which looks for repeated and favorable opportunities for the deliberate establishment of a united government over distinct and widely extended communities. Such a thing has happened once in human affairs, and but once! . . . and unless we suppose ourselves running into an age of miracles we may not expect its repetition. . . . If disastrous war sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still, under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future harvests. It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these might be rebuilt. But who shall reconstruct the fabric of demolished government? Who shall frame together the skillful architecture which unites national sovereignty and state rights, individual security and public prosperity? No, gentlemen, if these columns fall, they will be raised not again. . . . Bitterer tears, however, will flow over them than were ever shed over the monuments of Roman or Grecian art, for they will be the remnants of a more glorious edifice than Greece or Rome ever saw—the edifice of Constitutional American Liberty."

C. Oscar Beasley

MINOR TOPICS

THE STUDY OF THE MENTAL LIFE OF NATIONS

Few subjects require a more thorough and comprehensive preparation in the various branches of human knowledge than the study of the mental life of nations. Philology, jurisprudence, and ethnography, contribute their share to give a clearer and more complete understanding of the manifestations of the mind of a people.

The subject-matter of a study of this nature is naturally both varied and comprehensive. To establish it is a problem of no mean character. Though the fundamental principles most general in their nature have been applied to other sciences, still the magnitude and diversity of this field of research makes them seem limited to the extent of their application. All problems, too, that arise from this vast subject-matter are varied and multiform in character. They often trespass upon the domain of other sciences, and therefore must be viewed from their respective standpoints, which greatly adds to the complexity of the matter.

The mental life of any nation gives an infinite amount of subject-matter for psychological analysis. For what mental activity presents itself, if we contemplate a nation during any given period of its life. What excitation of feeling, what straining of the will, what variety of thought affect the multitude. These are characteristics of the individual as well as of the popular mind.

A nation, objectively considered, offers a most variegated picture. In every country there are formed a series of groups, which extend down to the family as a unit. These groups, in many instances antagonistic to one another, are variously classed, according to man's vocation, his social and political position. They are like a number of circles, the smaller representing the family, and the rest growing always larger, until they contain the entire nation; the circles are not one without another, they bisect and intersect each other variously. A process of segregation seems to be in a continual state of operation. Factions separate from a group, and gather about another more homogeneous to them. The tie that holds these elements together is the national consciousness, and through this a well-developed popular mind manifests itself.

Every nation, like every individual, has a self-consciousness by which it distinguishes itself from other nations. This peculiarity is the result of a process of development through which a nation becomes a particular nation, the same as an individual becomes a particular individual. The customs, laws, manners, habits, beliefs, form of government, language and climate, all have a bearing upon the development of the self-consciousness of a nation.

An analysis of self-consciousness will disclose that it consists of two essentially

different elements—the conception of self and the conception of one of the collective. It is in the latter that the national consciousness has its seat. The factors that determine the self-consciousness of an individual are not only certain inherent qualities, such as nature, temperament, disposition, and the like, but the relation the individual bears to the collective. This relation is determined by the desires and inclinations of the collective. Thus the national consciousness is not only based upon some inherent qualities, but upon certain objective relations.

A people's mind is founded upon the consciousness of affinity. This must not be construed as an abstract idea, for it has its existence in the very fact that every individual regards himself as one of a number, and they again regard him as one of them. In this mutual exchange a certain definite equality exists, which constitutes the mind of a nation. The ideal of a nation as represented during different historical epochs is a fair example of the stimulus of the popular mind. For a nation has its ideal the same as the individual.

A careful study of the functions of the national mind will show that during given periods there will be a strong tendency to follow the emotional, or lean to the imaginative, while at other periods a forcible expression of the popular will may manifest itself, or a profound meditation upon theological topics will occupy the popular mind.

FRANKLIN A. BECHER

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

THE WASHINGTON CENTENNIAL

A HYMN WRITTEN BY MR. J. R. BARNES

For the Jubilee of April 30, 1889

A century since our hero great
His sash and sabre laid aside—
The call obeyed, as chief of state,
Our dark affairs till noon to guide.

The great republic, newly born,
Was then but struggling hard for breath ;
Its foes looked on it as forlorn,
And friends stood fearful of its death.

But God in love foresaw this hour,
And had decreed it should not die—
He sent our chief with faith and power
To make its glory fill the sky.

So long had rulers worn a crown,
 The gift of conquest, or of birth,
 To merit kingship by renown
 Seemed quite too great a boon for worth.

But He who gives to man his place
 Had one prepared for bright career—
 A star to guide through stormy space
 The millions of a hemisphere.

All thanks to God for Washington—
 Who saved him through long years of strife,
 And when he had his battles won,
 Made him the nation's crown of life.

His great success, as President,
 Gave strength and grandeur to our name,
 Till soon throughout the continent
 And all the world, stood high our fame.

His name and story will secure
 The highest honors evermore,
 And brightly shine, while years endure,
 The glory of historic lore.

A HUNDRED YEARS TO COME

AUTHOR UNKNOWN

[Contributed by Major-General Schuyler Hamilton]

A hundred years shall pass away—
 A century beyond to-day.
 But you, nor I, nor any one
 Now living, shall behold that sun.

Not one ! and all these millions gone
 Before the lighting of that dawn !
 These stars shall flash along the skies,
 But not a gleam shall light our eyes.

There shall be armies, thrones, and states,
With all their unpredicted fates ;
Yet none, of millions now in power,
Shall move the tongue or hand, that hour.

The sceptre, banner, sword, and pen,
Shall fill the hands of other men ;
And other tyrants' heels shall tread
Upon the slave's uplifted head.

The white-winged ships shall come and go,
But manned by those we do not know ;
The breeze that wafts them o'er the waves
Shall bend the flowers above our graves.

Along the streets shall then move crowds,
While these lie silent in their shrouds ;
The same unending round of cares
That now are ours, will then be theirs.

The plow shall turn the grassy plain,
The sickle reap the golden grain ;
But those that now the valley till
Shall each lie slumbering 'neath his hill.

Where now we sit in twilight bowers
With music, pleasure, love, and flowers,
Shall others call the rising moon
To hear their vows, forgotten soon.

Like shadows o'er the fields of grass
This living century shall pass,
And fading, as a summer eve,
The earth, to those who follow, leave.

The press and commerce, church and state,
Must gain from others future fate,
For you, nor I, nor any one
Now living, shall behold that sun.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

THREE LETTERS FROM ROGER GRISWOLD TO HIS WIFE

[Roger Griswold, subsequently governor of Connecticut, was ten years a member of congress, 1795-1805, and his family letters from Philadelphia, particularly in the early part of that period, possess all the charm of current gossip. President John Adams offered him the secretaryship of war, which he declined. He was thirty-three years of age at the time of the writing of these letters, and personally one of the handsomest men of his day, with a bright, keen, flashing black eye, elegant manners, finished scholarship, with gifts and graces in conversation that were the delight of his friends. He was the son of Governor Matthew Griswold, and the grandson, through his mother, of Governor Roger Wolcott, of Connecticut. These letters are contributed by one of his great-grandchildren, Mrs. J. Osborne Moss of New York city.—EDITOR.]

WASHINGTON BEFORE CONGRESS.

PHILADELPHIA, December 10, 1795.

Dear Fanny: On Tuesday at 12 o'clock the President met the two Houses of Congress in the chamber of the House of Representatives and delivered his speech. The ceremony was interesting, and I observed that the President was considerably agitated upon the occasion. The room where we assembled is convenient as well for the meeting of the two Houses as for its ordinary purpose. The chair of the Speaker stands on the south side of the room and is elevated three steps above the floor; the seats for the members are ranged in four semi-circular rows in front of the Speaker, the first row being about thirty feet distant from the chair. In front of the chair is a passage or aisle leading through the seats directly to the front door, and on each side there are likewise passages leading through the seats for the convenience of passing in and out. All this body of seats is inclosed by a bar, leaving a passage quite around the room by the wall. Upon this occasion two chairs were placed on the right of the Speaker's chair on the floor of the House, and a little in front, for the President and Secretary of the Senate, and two on the left for the Speaker and Clerk of the House. The Senate was seated on the right of the Chair, in those seats which belong to the Representatives; the members of the House of Representatives were seated in the other semi-circular seats belonging to the House; the foreign Ministers were placed in chairs on the floor of the House, on the left of the Speaker's chair, and our own Ministers, viz.: Secretary of the Treasury, War, etc., in chairs on the right. The two Houses and Ministers were all seated when the President came in. All arose upon his entering the House. He advanced through the front door, attended by the Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of War, and passing across the area which lies in front of the chair, he ascended the steps and took his seat in the chair of the Speaker.

When he was seated all were seated. After waiting a few moments he arose, the House and spectators rising at the same time, and delivered his speech. When the speech was closed he again resumed his seat, and after sitting a few moments arose and retired in the same manner as he entered. The Senate then retired, and the ceremony was closed.

It is impossible to give any just description of the feelings excited by this ceremony. The many eminent services rendered by the President to his country all arose on the mind—the interest every one took in the proceedings communicated as it were from one to another an enthusiastic respect for the man who excited it—and the real solemnity observed filled every mind with respect and attention. The agitation which he felt discovered the feelings of a parent, and the ambition to excel in the first magistrate of a great nation. You cannot doubt but that I have been highly gratified on the occasion, and shall remember with pleasure the scene to which I have been a witness.

It is quite impossible to conjecture at this early period what course the business of the session will take. Nothing as yet has been done, and there really appears but little to do. I have, however, no doubt but that we shall have noise enough before the winter closes.

I called last evening on Mrs. Pereit, and found her in health and spirits. I really think the lady is better situated than she was when encumbered with an ill-natured father and a stupid husband. From Mrs. Pereit's I went to the circus, and attended the equestrian exhibition of Ricketts and his associates. My paper is filled up, and having nothing more to communicate, I can only add that I remain most affectionately yours,

ROGER GRISWOLD.

A PRESIDENTIAL LEVEE

PHILADELPHIA, December 12, 1795.

Dear Fanny : Last evening, agreeably to the fashion of the place, I attended the levee of the Lady of the President. Although a very formal business, it is attended with less ceremony than one would expect. The drawing-room is in the second story, and consists of two chambers, very elegantly furnished. Without any ceremony or introduction we walked up stairs and went into the first chamber, and passing through that without taking notice of any person we walked into the second chamber, and being introduced by Mr. Tracy I made my bow to the lady, and without saying a word turned on my heel and mixed with the company, and was afterward introduced to the President. The rooms were extremely crowded. The ladies were seated on the sides of the room and formed a circle quite around. The gentlemen were standing in the middle of the room, conversing with each other or with the ladies or looking around on the company. No ceremony is observed after

the first introduction and every person feels much at his ease, and leaves the room whenever he pleases without taking leave. You are treated with tea, coffee, cake, lemonade, etc. The rooms on this evening were so much crowded that one could scarcely move from one part to another.

You will very easily conjecture that nothing interesting can take place on these occasions—neither sentiment nor character are developed when ceremony and caution mark everything. Such scenes are fit only to be seen. They cannot be enjoyed. Congress has as yet transacted no business—the week has been spent in forming arrangements and preparations for business.

Having nothing new to declare, you must accept my best wishes and believe me sincerely yours,

R. GRISWOLD.

DINING WITH WASHINGTON

PHILADELPHIA, January 1, 1796.

Dear Fanny : I wish you a happy New Year. This salutation is frequently uttered without real meaning. In this instance, however, it is something more than a mere sound ; it originates from the sincerest wishes that your happiness during the year which is now ushered in may remain unclouded.

It is now the first day of January and the weather remains as pleasant as is usual in the month of May. The air is clear and the ground remains unfrozen and winter appears robbed of half its severity. I know not what may be the appearance in Connecticut, but I presume the weather remains unusually mild. This moderation of our climate may be agreeable to persons of weak and languid constitutions, but to me, I declare it is of all things the most unpleasant. Give me a clear north-wester, with an air sharp and severe, the ground covered with snow, and I can rejoice over the dreary appearance of nature. The nerves become renovated with new vigor, health smiles in our faces and the full flow of animal life elevates us above the rigor of the season.

Nothing very interesting has taken place since I wrote you at the beginning of the week ; the House has been employed in examining the case of the two persons who attempted corrupting the members to support their petition for a grant of land at Detroit. The rogues, I believe, are guilty enough ; but so much parade is made about the business that it is to be regretted any measures were taken by the Legislature with them.

The delegations from Connecticut and Maryland were this week invited to dine with the President. Less ceremony took place than one would have expected. The President, his lady and Secretary were the only persons at the table except the guests. The dinner, you may be assured, was elegant and the furniture of the table rich. Six servants in livery attended at the table. We had no grace. Mr. Trumbull was placed at one end of the table and the Secretary at the other. Every

man was at home—he ate, drank and said what he pleased, without ceremony. Conversation was unrestrained. We sat down at table at 4 and arose at 6. Each individual left the house when he pleased without saying anything to the Master of the House or anybody else. In short the business is more reasonably conducted than I expected to see it, and I feel more reconciled to the ceremony of eating and drinking with the President than to any other ceremony I have attended.

In my letter of the beginning of this week I acknowledged the receipt of yours of the 20th of December. I hope you will find leisure to write by every mail. . . .

Wish Nancy and the children a Happy New Year on my account, and believe me sincerely yours,
R. GRISWOLD.

LETTER FROM PIERRE VAN CORTLANDT TO GEORGE CLINTON

Hitherto Unpublished.

[Contributed by S. Victor Constant.]

Sir :

KINGSTON, July 3, 1777.

Upon the Receipt of your Letter by Express, the Council of Safety proceeded to the immediate Consideration of the Matters submitted by you to our Determination. We think the probability of an Attack at Ticonderoga and a Co-operation of Genl Howe by an attempt on the Posts in the Highlands a subject of the most serious importance.

We have not yet received any Account of an investiture of our Northern Post ; nor can we determine at present whether it will be most advisable to order the several Corps of Militia in the Counties of Dutchess & Ulster which you have not put under marching Orders, to reinforce either the upper or the lower Posts. A Short Time will probably enable us to direct their March. In the meantime that not a moment may be lost ; we have issued Orders to the commanding Officers of those Corps to hold themselves in Readiness with the Militia under their respective Commands, furnished with three Days Provisions to march at a Moments Warning.

I am with great Respect

Sir

Your most Obed^t Serv^t

By Order

Pierre Van Cortlandt Pres^{dt}.

The Hon^{bl} Gen^l Geo. Clinton.

This letter is endorsed—

On publick Service

To

The Hon^{ble} Brig^{er} Gen^l George Clinton,
Fort Montgomerie.

NOTES

A REVOLUTIONARY RELIC—AN ANTIQUATED BUILDING BURNED—An old building was destroyed by fire at Sandy Hill, Washington County, New York, Thursday, May 2, 1889, which was justly regarded as a Revolutionary relic and historic structure. In 1775, when parties of Continentals were summoned hurriedly to relieve Fort William Henry at Lake George, ten miles distant, when it was attacked by French and Indians, they were ambuscaded by a band of Mohawk Indians, and were obliged to take refuge in this building and defend themselves. An incessant fire was kept up, but the rifles of the frontiersmen played sad havoc with the enemy. After about one quarter of the savages were killed or wounded, they reluctantly retired from the scene, leaving the Continentals in possession of the structure. About a dozen of the latter were killed or wounded. The dead were buried in front of the old house, while the wounded were taken to the strong works at Fort Edward. The remainder, consisting of about seventy-five men, marched to relieve their comrades at Lake George, where they performed valorous service.

HENRY CLARK

RUTLAND, VT.

LORD LYNDHURST AND LORD BROUGHAM—In one of his letters to his wife, John Lothrop Motley describes Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham, both of whom were then well advanced in years. In speaking of a dinner at Lady Stanley's, of Alderley, he says: "My place at table was between Lady Stanley and the pretty Countess of Airlie, her daugh-

ter; on her right sat Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; and at the other end of the table, on each side of Lord Stanley, were Brougham and Lyndhurst. When sitting down the latter appears younger than Brougham, although really six years older (he was eighty-six last week); his voice is silvery, and his manner very suave and gentle. The company was too large for general conversation, but every now and then we at our end paused to listen to Brougham and Lyndhurst chaffing each other across the table. Lyndhurst said: 'Brougham, you disgraced the woolsack by appearing there with those plaid trousers, and with your peer's robe on one occasion put on over your chancellor's gown.' 'The devil!' said Brougham, 'You know that to be a calumny; I never wore the plaid trousers.' 'Well,' said Lyndhurst, 'he confesses the two gowns. Now the present lord chancellor never appears except in small-clothes and silk stockings.' Upon which Lady Stanley observed that the ladies in the gallery all admired Lord Chelmsford for his handsome leg. 'A virtue that was never seen in you, Brougham,' said Lyndhurst. All dinner-time Lord Lyndhurst's servant, who came with him, stood behind him, allowing him to eat only the dishes which he selected for him, and seeming very much like the doctor who stood behind Sancho Panza, when governor of Barataria, and perpetually waved away the dishes which that functionary was inclined to devour." —*Correspondence of Motley.*

CLIMATE—In his new work on American resorts, Bushrod W. James says:

"Numerous attempts have been made to define the term *climate* satisfactorily, but this is a somewhat difficult undertaking. Walsh defines it as 'the sum total of the extrinsic physical influences amid which we breathe.' Bell as, 'the sum of the influences exerted upon the atmosphere by temperature, pressure, soil, proximity to the sea, lakes, rivers, plains, forests, mountains, light, ozone, electrical conditions, and doubtless some other conditions of which we have no knowledge.' De Chaumont as, 'one of the most complex influences in existence. It is made up of questions of temperature, humidity, pressure, velocity, and direction of the wind, nature of the soil, conformation of the surface, presence or absence and kind of vegetation, proximity to the sea or great continents, electrical influences, presence or absence of malaria, and probably scores of other things of an obscure or unknown char-

acter. Its variation is practically infinite, and the integration of its many factors well nigh impossible.' "

A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION—The town of York, Maine, claims the honor of furnishing nearly the first and also the last surviving soldier of the Revolution. The last-named was William Hutchins, who was born in York, October 6, 1764, and died in Penobscot, May 2, 1866. At the close of the war he returned to Penobscot, which had been his home since four years of age, and in 1865 he joined in a Fourth of July celebration at Bangor, a revenue-cutter having been detached for his conveyance to and from that city; and as he passed by the Penobscot River the guns of Fort Knox fired a salute of welcome, an honor said never before to have been given to any person in Maine.

H. C.

QUERIES

JOHN AND GEORGE CLARKE—It appears by the will of George Clarke, sen., of Milford, that he was a brother of "John Clarke, Esq.," of Hartford, Saybrook, and Milford, one of the patentees of Connecticut. George Clarke mentions a "brother Daniell." Hon. Daniel Clarke, of Windsor, Conn., came there in 1639, the year that George Clarke appeared in Milford. There are several other coincidences, especially in the names of their children, which suggest the idea that Hon. Daniel, also a patentee, was another brother of John and George. Could Henry Clarke, who appears in

Windsor in 1640 (also a patentee), have been of the same family? He survived his wife and left no children. He gave his property to his relatives and to Harvard college and the school at Hadley, to which place he had removed. Who were the relatives? Where can his will be found? Does Hon. Daniel mention other relatives than his own children in his will? Can any facts or inferences be given to prove or disprove a relationship between John and George Clarke, of Milford, and Henry and Daniel Clarke, of Windsor? The facts are needed for a forthcoming large genealogical work in

which notes on some of the early Clarkes of Connecticut will be given. Kindly address

Mrs. EDWARD E. SALISBURY
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

coinage of a dime with the portrait of Martha Washington on same?

G. MUNSON

ST. LOUIS, MO.

FOUR QUERIES—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Will you or some of your readers tell me what authors and books are the best authority on colonial life and character?

(2) Are any of John Fisk's lectures in print? If so, who is the publisher?

(3) In what estimation does the public of to-day hold the colonial period and its principal actors?

(4) Did the mint ever authorize the

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—

Having in former years been a resident of Pennsylvania, I heard much from old inhabitants about the Hannastown Declaration of Independence. Will you kindly tell us, through the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, whether said declaration is supported by testimony? Or perhaps some correspondent who is informed will write you concerning it for the magazine.

C. S. DONALDSON

CHARLOTTE, N. C.

REPLIES

TELLING THE BEES [xxi. 434]—Some years ago, in one of the interior towns of Maine, I was chatting with a man in a garden in which were a number of bee-hives. Asking him what luck he had had in bee-keeping, he answered: "Not much lately; we had a death in the family last year, and didn't tell the bees." He then went on to say that, when a member of the family died, it was necessary "to visit the hives, and rap upon each three times, and say: 'So and so is dead.' When this is done, the bees will not leave."

I remember, also, to have heard that it is the custom, for the same reason, to deck the hives in mourning for a death.

A. N. LEWIS

Secretary of Westport Historical Society
WESTPORT, CONN.

GOVERNOR WILLIAM LIVINGSTON [xxi. 366]—"Twenty-three years," in the four-

teenth line from bottom of page, should read *thirteen* years. Livingston became the governor of New Jersey in 1776, and the error of statement was a mere slip of the pen.

EDITOR.

THE FIRST BARONET IN THE COLONIES [xxi. 425]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Your correspondent, Mr. Nathan M. Hawkes, in his very interesting article regarding Sir William Pepperell, is in error when he states that "the fish-merchant, William Pepperell, was the first and only inhabitant of the colonies so honored by the crown," *i. e.*, made a knight. On the contrary, General William Johnson, on account of his victory over Baron Dieskau at the battle of Lake George in 1755, was created a baronet of Great Britain by his sovereign, George III. Kindly insert this and oblige,

WM. L. STONE

JERSEY CITY, N. J.

TELLING THE BEES [xxi. 434]—This superstition, or curious observance, is notifying the bees of the death in a family, and is found in many parts of Europe, being kept up by the peasantry in England, Germany, Switzerland, and other places. It consists in telling the bees who is dead and putting a bit of crape on the hives, believing ill luck or death in the family will follow those who omit to "tell the bees." The country folk won't buy a hive soon after a death in the family who last owned them, fearing some serious calamity to follow, unless the hives were told and put in mourning at the time of the death.

In many places in Nottinghamshire, when the master of a family dies, the old nurse goes to the hive of bees, knocks, and says :

" The master's dead, but don't you go ;
Your mistress will be a good mistress to you."

A bit of black crape is then pinned on the hive. It is supposed that but for this precaution the bees would all desert the place. A correspondent at Pershore says : " While conversing with a farmer's wife in this neighborhood, I was gravely informed that it was certainly true that, unless the bees were 'told' when anybody died in the house, something would happen either to bees or honey before long. She considered it a great want of foresight not to go from the house, in which the 'departed one' had breathed his or her last, to the hive without delay, and 'tell the bees' what had happened."

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The meaning of the custom is lost, at least to those who now cling to its observance, like many others we cling to, not knowing why.

Jubernatis, in his zoölogical mythology, says the Aryans held the bee to be the only animal, save man, having an immortal soul—an heir of heaven, like man—and treated the bees as fellow-heirs of the world to come, holding that at times the spirits of departed friends returned to the earth as bees. Virgil, in the Georgics, holds similar views. It seems reasonable to suppose that this Aryan myth made its way into Europe in the long past, and the "telling the bees" has survived its long-forgotten origin.

W. KITE

GERMANTOWN, PA.

WHITTIER'S LINES [xxi. 434]—Whittier's beautiful poem chronicles the ceremony of "telling the bees" of a death in the family, as he witnessed it in the rural districts of early New England, as follows :

" Before them under the garden wall,
Forward and back,
Went drearily singing the chore-girl small,
Draping each hive with a shred of black.
Trembling, I listened ; the summer sun
Had the chill of snow,
For I knew she was telling the bees of one
Gone on the journey we all must go.
And the song she was singing, ever since
In my ear sounds on :
' Stay at home, pretty bees, fly not hence,
Mistress Mary is dead and gone ! ' "

EDITOR.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY— At the regular meeting of the New York Historical society, held at its rooms on the evening of May 7, the Hon. John A. King presiding, John Austin Stevens read a valuable and interesting paper on "The Merchants of New York in 1789." The paper was received with applause by the large and cultivated audience. The death of President Barnard, of Columbia college, who had long been a member of the society, was formally announced, the president speaking of the great loss the society had suffered thereby.

Mr. Charles Isham, the librarian, reported that the following memorials of Major General Horatio Gates had been presented to the society by Mr. Frederic Gallatin: 1. The gold medal voted by congress to General Gates, in recognition of the victory at Saratoga, 1777. 2. The sword worn by General Gates during the war of the Revolution. 3. The wedding-ring of General Gates. 4. Gold sleeve-buttons worn by General Gates. 5. Degree of Doctor Civilis, conferred June 18, 1779, by Harvard college on General Gates; and, 6. General Gates's certificate of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, signed by Washington, December 10, 1785. The librarian further reported that the following memorials of General Ebenezer Stevens had been presented through Mr. Frederic Gallatin to the society, in behalf of the widow of the late John Rhinelander Stevens: 1. Uniform dress coat, with epaulets, worn by Major General Stevens. 2. Certificate of membership in the So-

ciety of the Cincinnati of Lieutenant Colonel Stevens, signed by Washington, December 10, 1785; with gold badge of the order. 3. Horatio Gates Stevens's certificate of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, September 6, 1824.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—On the evening of April 9, 1889, a meeting of this society was held in honor of its late president, Professor William Gammell. The meeting was called to order by its second vice-president, Horatio Rogers, who paid a touching tribute to the character and services of the deceased, saying: "He has presided over the deliberations of this society so long, with such abounding dignity and courtesy; his flow of periods was so stately and the affluence of his information upon Rhode Island affairs was so great that it seems well-nigh impossible to fill the place that he has left vacant. So recently has he been among us that the veil that separates us seems so thin that we almost expect to see his familiar form enter yonder doors and advance to this desk to preside over us once more. We all know his deep interest in whatever pertained to this society. Only one week ago we assembled here to consider a matter in which he took the deepest interest, namely, measures for enlarging the accommodations for this society."

Rev. Samuel L. Caldwell, D.D., introduced the following minute: "The society performs a painful duty in placing upon record the decease of its president, Professor William Gammell, LL.D., which occurred on the 3d inst. He has

been a member of the society since July 19, 1844, and its president for the last seven years. Besides the official address with which he has closed each of these years, he has read thirteen papers at different meetings, probably a larger contribution than any single member has ever made.

The study of history, the teaching of history, had occupied the ripest and most vigorous period of his academic life. He was more than a mere professor of history. He had the historic temper, the historic imagination, the constructive power which enabled him to enter into and reproduce the events and the periods which interested him. He had facility in digesting materials, which in history are often rather indigestible, and working them into clear and continuous narrative. He rose readily from facts to principles, and generalized within the safe limits of induction, without wandering into regions of speculation or vagary. His style was lucid, polished, elevated, correct without coldness, and elegant without ostentation. The *Life of Roger Williams* and the *Life of Samuel Ward*, in Mr. Sparks's *Library of American Biography*, and the *History of American Baptist Missions*, are the more considerable works of his pen. The minor writings which came from his busy hand would probably make other volumes of equal or larger amount. The society has occasion to remember not only his literary contributions and his historical work, but also the dignity and courtesy with which he has presided in its meetings, the interest he has taken in whatever concerned its usefulness and its progress, but especially the successful attempt he

made to secure a large subscription for the enlargement of its building, which was almost the last labor of his life.

Beyond all this, it takes pleasure and a certain pride in remembering the course of his long and honorable life ; all he was as a citizen, a scholar, a teacher, a man, a Christian ; his fidelity in all trusts, his devotion to the highest interests, the good name he has left."

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting on the 16th of April, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The reports of the secretary and the librarian showed numerous additions to the library, and that a special catalogue of history and biography has been completed, and these two departments arranged accordingly. After the election of new members, General Isaac H. Elliott, of Princeton, Illinois, was introduced, and read a paper upon the subject of "The Patriotism of Illinois." It abounded in instructive facts and figures, and in interesting historical reminiscences, and was highly appreciated by the large audience.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its last meeting for the season, Friday evening, May 3, at the house of Gilman H. Perkins. Hon. Henry E. Rochester presented a list of the inventions and improvements he had seen adopted in his day, with reminiscences of the old order of things. Among the contributions to the society was an old-time foot-stove, which inspired considerable story-telling. Jane Marsh Parker then read an interesting paper called "Rochester in Ancient History."

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

In Paris, France, one of the interesting features of the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Washington's inauguration, was the reading of President Harrison's proclamation, appointing the day as one of prayer and thanksgiving. The audience that had assembled in the American church in the Rue de Berri was very large, although the weather was unfavorable. Rev. Edward G. Thurber, D.D., delivered a brief but touching address on the life and character of the Father of his Country, the immense development of the great republic, and the blessings of its Constitution. He then very happily introduced Hon. Robert M. McLane, who remarked that "the President's proclamation, which had just been read, was in the nature of a thanksgiving proclamation, and certainly we may consider Washington as a special blessing of an almighty and loving Providence. He seemed specially endowed for the great work of his life, which was to secure the liberty and happiness of his countrymen! He was a wonderful and most majestic man—so equal and measured in all his ways, that his greatness and genius were to be seen and felt only in its general results. From his earliest manhood, when he led the British army to safety and refuge through the wild forests of Virginia, to his mature years, when the American colonies sought in him a commander-in-chief to maintain their independence and establish their constitutional form of government, he was the same immortal hero—the synonym of courage and justice, inspired with love for Almighty God and his fellow-man."

Mr. McLane spoke without notes, but with great eloquence and feeling. He said: "Washington stands alone in our history as superior to and independent of all parties, the chief leaders of all being at his council-board, and there devoting their great talents to the general welfare and common defense of the country. As I thus think of him, I see not only the scriptural text upon the wall, but I behold that starry banner which decorates your chancel, and I remember that the thirteen stars, which were there when Washington was inaugurated, now number thirty-eight, and that the population which the thirteen represented—hardly four millions—is now near sixty millions! In a very short period of time these numbers will be duplicated, and I pray the great Almighty Ruler of the world to secure to us, in this coming future, the example of the great and good man who secured to us our constitutional liberty and national life!"

We are told by an English writer that Mr. Gladstone enjoys his morning in taking long street walks. "He is to be met almost everywhere—now in the Strand, then in Regent street, and the other day I saw him examining curiously the pretty mirrors and knickknacks in Sprigg's windows in furniture-lined Tottenham Court road. Anon he is observed making his way to Hampstead, regardless of April showers, and violating the injunctions of physicians. When the G. O. M. can't hack away at trees he goes in for pedestrianism, and gets over the ground quite wonderfully for a man of his advanced age. Being invited recently to a certain charity he replied on a post-card that innumer-

able applications of the kind were received by him, and that he had to confine his donations to local needs. The post-card was duly put up at auction, fetching two guineas, and the G. O. M. appeared on the list of subscribers as a donor to that amount !"

President Harrison's address at the sub-treasury building, on the 30th of April, was very brief. He said :

" Official duty of a very exacting character has made it quite impossible that I should deliver an address on this occasion. Foreseeing this, I early notified your committee that the programme must not contain any address by me. The selection of Mr. Depew as the orator of this occasion makes further speech not only difficult, but superfluous. He has met the demand of this great occasion on its own high level. (Applause.) He has brought before us the incidents and the lessons of the first inauguration of Washington. We seem to have been a part of that admiring and almost adoring throng that filled these streets one hundred years ago. We have come into the serious but always inspiring presence of Washington. He was the incarnation of duty, and he teaches us to-day this great lesson : that those who would associate their names with events that shall outlive a century, can only do so by high consecration to duty. Self-seeking has no public observance or anniversary. The captain who gives to the sea his cargo of rags that he may give safety and deliverance to his imperiled fellow-men, has fame ; he who lands the cargo has only wages. Washington seemed to come to the discharge of the duties of his high office impressed with a great sense of his unfamiliarity with these new calls upon him, modestly doubtful of his own ability, but trusting implicitly in the sustaining helpfulness and grace of that God who rules the world, presides in the councils of nations, and is able to supply every human defect.

We have made marvelous progress in material things, but the stately and enduring shaft that we have erected at the national capital symbolizes the fact that Washington is still the first American citizen."

The words of Dr. Storrs, in a sermon preached on the 28th of April, are worthy of many readings : " We front at once the unquestionable fact, full of significance, that the Gospel of Christ has far more power in this country now than it had one hundred years ago ; not merely more, absolutely, because the number of churches and Christian congregations is larger and the number of communicants is vastly increased, but more proportionately to the growth of the nation in population and wealth, in general intelligence, and in power in the world. For where there was one communicant to perhaps thirteen or fourteen of the population then, there is now, as you know, one communicant to every five or six of the entire population. And whereas there were less than 260,000, I think, of communicants at that time, there are now between 11,000,000 and 12,000,000 in the country."

This magazine makes no attempt to chronicle, in its current issue, the events and incidents which have rendered the months of April and May, 1889, memorable in all history. But it expects to furnish its readers, in its July number, a carefully prepared and graphic sketch of the Washington celebration as a whole, with selections from the most truthful and artistic of several hundred photographic views of the various proceedings of the three days' jubilee in New York city, made by experts in the art—an illustrated chapter that will not only be of unique present interest, but of popular and permanent value.

BOOK NOTICES

THE LAW OF MUNICIPAL BONDS, including a digest of statutory laws relating to their issue; to which is added a digest of the statutory laws governing the investment of corporate and trust funds by savings banks, insurance companies, guardians, executors, and other corporations and trustees. By J. A. BURHANS. 8vo, pp. 342. Chicago and New York: S. A. Kean & Co. 1889.

Several years ago the enterprising bankers S. A. Kean & Co. published a "Digest of Laws," which was very widely commended at the time, and proved itself of great utility. This work has now been revised, enlarged, and made much more complete and valuable. It seems to embody the experience of five and twenty years, its projectors having been for that period, and much longer even, bankers and dealers in investment securities. The first six chapters of the volume contain a synopsis of the more important legal principles governing the law of municipal bonds, with a review of the latest decisions of the highest courts. The following sixteen chapters treat of the digest of the bond laws of the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Texas, Colorado, Nevada, Oregon, California, and Dakota. The twenty-third chapter relates to "Investments by Savings Banks" in the different states, and the twenty-fourth chapter gives important information concerning "Investments by Insurance Companies." The closing chapter treats of investments by guardians, executors, and trust companies, with suggestions as to the issue of bonds by municipalities. In Ohio, for instance, it is made the duty of guardians to invest the money of their wards within a reasonable time after the same is received, and the manner thereof is specified by law. The book abounds in timely instruction, and as a hand-book for all who are interested in the public securities, or concerned in handling property or investments of any character, it cannot fail to reveal its great worth. To states, counties, cities, and school districts it will particularly commend itself. It contains an admirable general index. S. A. Kean & Co. have also had prepared especially for them a book of bond values and interest tables. The bond tables will be useful to those who desire to know what a bond at any price will pay, running a definite length of time, at a given rate of interest per annum. The interest tables are entirely new and contain a short method of computing interest.

FAMILIES OF THE WYOMING VALLEY.

Biographical, Genealogical, and Historical. **SKETCHES OF THE BENCH AND BAR** of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania. By GEORGE B. KULP. In three volumes. Vol. II, 8vo, pp. 531. Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Price, \$7.50 per volume.

It is now some four years since the first volume of this interesting work appeared, and we then called attention in these pages to the fact that the Wyoming Valley was principally settled by New-Englanders—that some of the best families in the country contributed toward laying the foundation of a Christian and enlightened community in that region. The biographical studies of Mr. Kulp, admirably conceived and ably executed, constitute the main portion of this second volume; and the work as a whole continues to bear evidence of the most conscientious and painstaking research. Each biography embraces more or less general history, as well as specific and valuable genealogy. The first volume contained a graphic sketch of Governor Henry M. Hoyt, a descendant of Simon Hoyt, the first of the name in this country. In the volume before us we have an interesting account of the ancestry of Edward Everett Hoyt, the nephew of the governor, who now is in the beginning of his career, so to speak, being only thirty years of age, a lawyer, and an earnest student. Mr. Kulp has very properly taken occasion in this chapter, which covers twenty-four pages, to write of Daniel Hoyt, who came to this valley in 1795 from Danbury, Connecticut, and of his children and some of the family connected by marriage, giving several thrilling sketches of their early adventurous pioneer life. Among the many biographies in the work, those of Cecil Reynolds Banks, Edward Baker Sturges, Thomas Lansford Foster, Henry Clay Adams, George Hollenback Butler, William Lafayette Raeder, Samuel Britton Price, Henry Amzi Fuller, and George Henry Ruggles Plumb, may be particularized as containing material of special consequence to the historical student. In the sketch of Judge Lewis Jones, we are given a brief glimpse of the Benedict family, his mother having been a descendant of Deacon Benedict, of Norwalk, Connecticut, and on the same family tree as Chancellor Benedict, of New York.

A MANUAL OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE. For the use of students, general readers, and collectors of books. By CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL.D. Third edition, re-

vised and enlarged. 12mo, pp. 720. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1889.

The author in the original preparation of this work, as well as in its recent revision with additions, has aimed to accomplish two distinct purposes—to furnish information as to the most desirable historical books for the reader and student, and to suggest the proper methods and order of using the materials so indicated. He does not attempt an exhaustive bibliography of historic literature, which accounts for the omission of some excellent and valuable works, but selects from the vast abundance a considerable number of what he esteems the best books on the themes mentioned, and describes them in such a way that the reader may know something of their peculiarities before perusal. In his introductory chapter he says: "There are unmistakable indications that popular opinion in various parts of the world is drifting more and more to the belief that wisdom, for the guidance of the present and the future, is in some way gained or aided by a careful study of the past. These indications show themselves in various ways. It is not many years since even the largest and most honored of our universities began seriously to teach history in a systematic manner. Where but a few years ago a single tired instructor taught history only as a work of charity, we now see a number of teachers zealously devoting their entire energies to the study and teaching of history alone. Nor is this new interest in the study of history confined to the universities. Every state, almost every county, now thinks it must have its historical society. . . . Whichever way we turn, we see the study of history and the use of historical methods among the striking and growing characteristics of present intellectual activity. This seems a rational tendency, and a wholesome one. It is not necessary or reasonable to claim for the study of history a superiority over all other studies. All branches of learning must stand upon a footing of democratic equality. . . . But the study of history is more distinctively the study of humanity than is any other branch of learning. Its influence is like the influence of travel. Not only is the study of history the most human of all studies, but it is also one of the most easily accessible to all men. There is scarcely a corner of the world where historical studies may not be carried on with fruitful results—with the result of quickening the intelligence, improving the judgment, enlarging the sympathies, and broadening the charities of life."

ANCESTRY OF THE CHILDREN OF JAMES WILLIAM WHITE, M.D. With accounts of the families of White, Newby, Rose, Cranmer, Stout, Smith, Stockton, Leeds,

Fisher, Gardiner, Mathews, Elton, Revell, Stacey, Tonkin, McLorinan, Dowse, Jewett, Hunt, Reddinge, Isbell, and Griswold. Compiled by WILLIAM FRANCIS CREGAR. 8vo, pp. 194. Philadelphia. 1888.

Seven years have been spent in the researches which have resulted in the handsome volume before us. The author during his investigations visited Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Virginia, North Carolina, and made two voyages to England. The work represents an almost endless amount of trouble and expense, and cannot fail meeting with a cordial welcome by every family whose genealogy appears between its covers. Among the most notable of its chapters, covering some thirty pages, is that entitled "Descendants of Richard and Abigail Stockton," dating back to 1665, when the Richard Stockton referred to was a freeholder in the town of Flushing, Long Island; he afterward removed to New Jersey. His son Richard resided in New Jersey, and in 1696 acquired five thousand five hundred acres of land, of which the town of Princeton is now the centre. This Richard's fifth son, John, was the father of Richard Stockton, the signer; also of Hannah, the wife of Hon. Elias Boudinot; of Abigail, the wife of Captain Pintard; and of Susanna, who married Louis Pintard. Several exceptionally interesting pages are given to the Griswolds, the Gardiners, the Stouts, the Hunts, the Cranmers, and other families connected with the Whites—the subject of the volume.

MEMORIALS OF OLD VIRGINIA

CLERKS. Arranged alphabetically by counties, with a complete Index of Names, and dates of service from 1634 to the present time. Compiled by F. JOHNSTON. 12mo, pp. 405. Lynchburg, Virginia. Printed by J. P. Bell Company. 1888. Handsomely bound. Price, \$1.75.

In this volume are the names and dates of service of more than *eight hundred* clerks who have held office in the counties of Virginia. It is a unique collection, and with its memorial sketches and incidents forms an entertaining and valuable contribution to the history of the state. Some of these clerks were remarkable for their skill, intelligence, and usefulness. The majority of them were men of education. John Nicholas, the second clerk of Albemarle county, held the office for a period of *sixty-six* years. James Keith, of Frederick county, held his office *sixty-two* years, and a dozen or more are introduced to the reader who held the office over half a century. James Steptoe and his descendants were successive clerks for more than one hundred years, as were the Chews of Fredericksburg, the

Millers of Goochland, the Wallers of Spottsylvania, the Pollards of Hanover county, and several others. Rolfe Eldridge, of Buckingham county, clerk of both courts under Judges William Daniel, Sr., Daniel A. Wilson, Sr., and William Leigh, was a descendant of Pocahontas. He prepared all the most important entries himself. Major John Wise, of Accomack, was the father of Governor Henry A. Wise. James Steptoe, for fifty-four years the clerk of Bedford county, was the college-mate and life-long friend of Thomas Jefferson, and was immortalized by William Wirt, in his life of Patrick Henry, as the clerk of the District Court, at New London, before which Henry made his famous speech in the *John Hook* case. The book is full of interest from cover to cover. The date of the formation of each county in the state is given, with the name of the county or counties from which it was taken. And the names of counties being given in alphabetical order, the book is easy of reference concerning any county.

HISTORY OF THE CELEBRATION of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Promulgation of the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. Edited by HAMPTON L. CARSON. In two volumes. With illustrations. Quarto, pp. 478, 516. Philadelphia, 1889: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

These two superb memorial volumes, prepared by the Constitutional Centennial Commission of Philadelphia, are in themselves a durable monument, erected in honor of the great demonstration in that historic city on the 15th, 16th, and 17th of September, 1887. The first volume contains the history of the formation of the Constitution, biographies and portraits of the members of the convention, an analytical sketch of the Constitution and its various amendments, and an account of the origin and movements of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, through which the celebration was projected. The second volume is devoted to an elaborate description of the celebration itself, including the ceremonies in Independence Square, the civic and industrial procession, the military parade, the breakfast to the Supreme Court of the United States by the bar of Philadelphia, and the banquet given by the learned societies of Philadelphia to the distinguished guests. The work also contains an account of a dinner given by citizens of Philadelphia to Hon. John A. Kasson, President of the Constitutional Centennial Commission, as an expression of hearty appreciation of his patriotic and valuable services, and to congratulate him upon the success of the undertaking. Hon. Charles Emory

Smith, who presided at this dinner, with Mr. Kasson on his right hand, said in his brilliant opening speech: "Walt Whitman begins one of his poems with these words, 'I sing myself.' Gentlemen, after the glories of our two great centennials, I think we of Philadelphia may be pardoned if we sing ourselves and chant our own works. Possibly we must add, with the late lamented Artemus Ward, 'we are saddest when we sing—and so are those who hear us,' especially if they live in New York or Boston. But, all the same, when New York undertakes to celebrate the inauguration of George Washington, whom we kindly loaned to Wall Street, as we do some other things, for that purpose, and when Boston attempts again to celebrate Bunker's Hill, if they will only come to us we will take great pleasure in showing them how."

The work is fully and well illustrated, and contains a good index.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN SPAIN. A sketch. By J. L. M. CURRY, LL.D., late minister of the United States in Spain. 12mo, pp. 222. New York, 1889: Harper & Brothers.

Those of our readers who are familiar with the brilliant and instructive papers of Mr. Curry which have appeared from time to time in this magazine, notably "The Acquisition of Florida," and "A Chapter in the History of Spain in Relation to American Affairs," will warmly welcome the little volume before us. It is a study of Spain, her manners, politics, institutions, and people, by one who has had the best possible opportunity for making researches during his official residence in Madrid. The object of the book is clearly to help those who are seeking information in the science of government, and it is a valuable contribution to historic literature. It is an account of human progress with the favoring or hindering motives which spring from the nobler and the meaner nature of man. The author says: "Such a constitutional government is no sudden creation nor easy achievement. It costs experiments, failures, sacrifices, revolutions, wars. The people fail to realize how reluctantly privilege relaxes its grasp, or traditional wrongs and usurpations yield to the demands for liberty, equality, and fraternity. In Spain the battle for constitutional government has been waged for eighty years in the face of the most formidable odds and the most persistent and virulent antagonism. What Spain has done in civil polity in this century is valuable in itself, and relatively as showing development in government and throwing light on political science."

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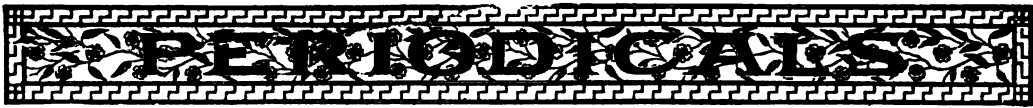
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Increase in Assets,	\$7,275,301 68
Surplus at four per cent.,	\$7,940,063 63
Increase in Surplus,	\$1,645,622 11
Policies in force,	158,369
Increase during year,	17,436
Policies written,	32,606
Increase during year,	10,301
Risks assumed,	\$103,214,261 32
Increase during year,	33,756,792 95
Risks in force,	482,125,184 36
Increase during year,	54,496,251 85
Receipts from all sources,	26,215,932 52
Increase during year,	3,096,010 06
Paid Policy-holders,	14,727,550 22

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Bonds and Mortgages,	\$49,617,874 02
United States and other securities,	48,616,704 14
Real Estate and Loans on collateral,	21,786,125 34
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,813,277 60
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit, etc.,	3,248,172 46
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Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884 . . .	\$34,681,420 . . .	\$351,780,285 . . .	\$4,743,771
1885 . . .	46,507,139 . . .	368,981,441 . . .	5,812,684
1886 . . .	56,832,719 . . .	393,800,203 . . .	5,643,568
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